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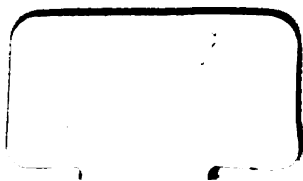
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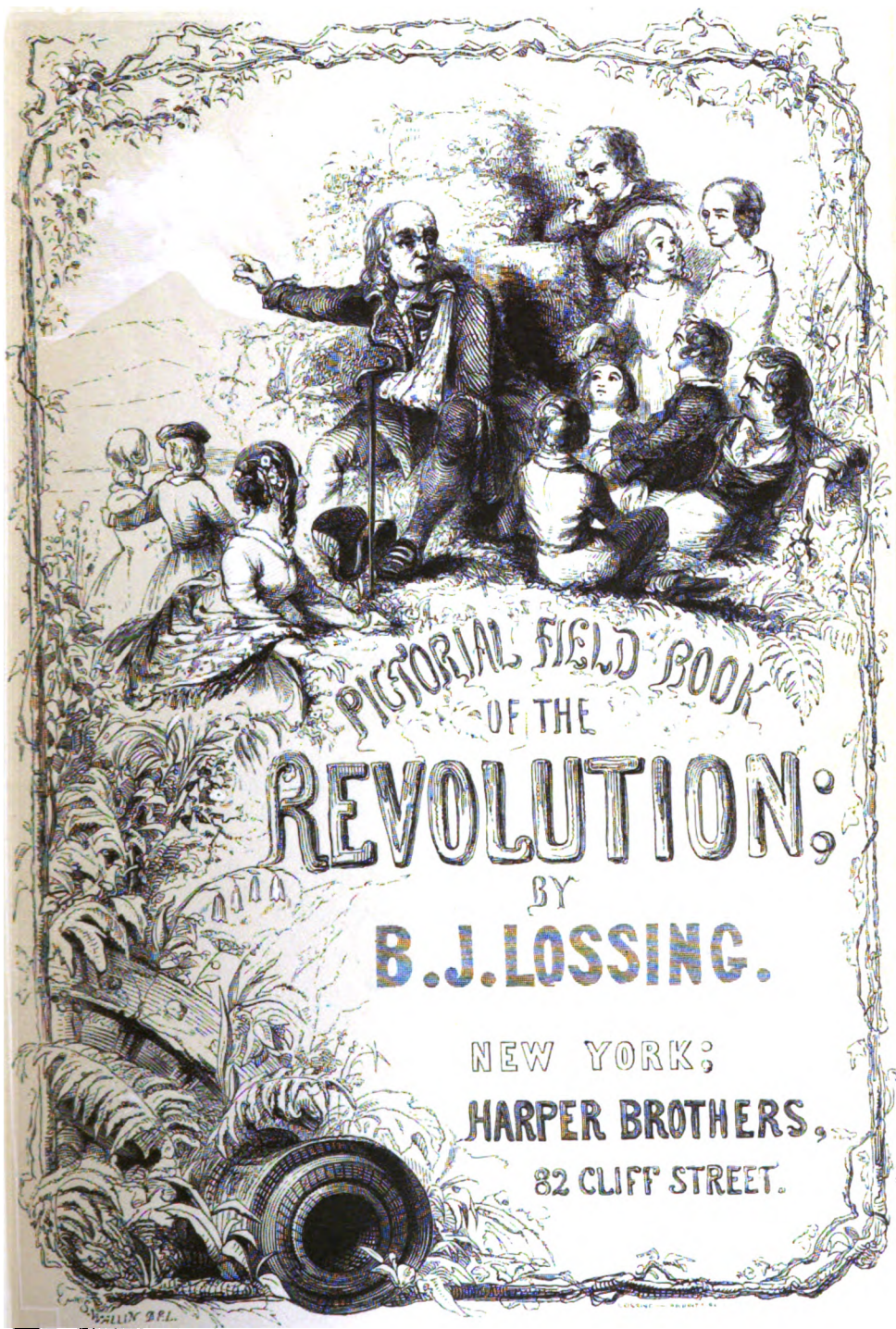
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BY
B. J. LOSSING.

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THE
PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK
OF
THE REVOLUTION;

OR,
ILLUSTRATIONS, BY PEN AND PENCIL, OF THE HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, SCENERY, RELICS, AND TRADITIONS OF THE
WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

BY BENSON J. LOSSING.

WITH SEVERAL HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD, BY LOSSING AND BARRITT,
CHIEFLY FROM ORIGINAL SKETCHES BY THE AUTHOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK

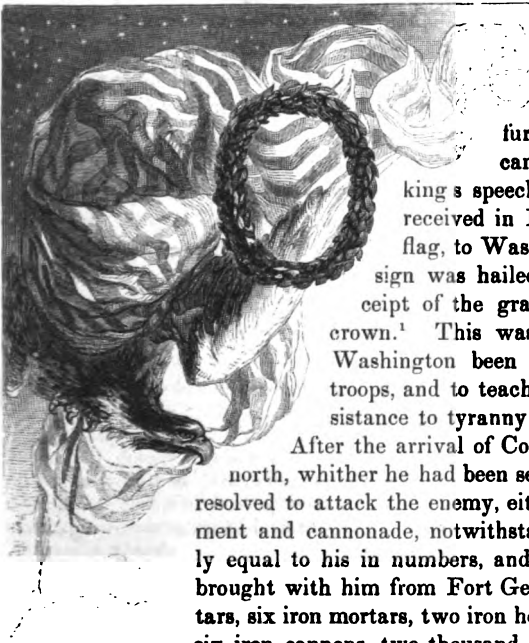
OF

THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

"When Freedom, from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldric of the skies,
And striped its pure celestial white
With streakings of the morning light;
Then from his mansion in the sun
She call'd her eagle-bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land."

JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE.



On the first of January, 1776, the new Continental army was organized, and on that day the UNION FLAG OF THIRTEEN STRIPES was unfurled, for the first time, in the American camp at Cambridge. On that day the king's speech (of which I shall presently write) was received in Boston, and copies of it were sent, by a flag, to Washington. The hoisting of the Union ensign was hailed by Howe as a token of joy on the receipt of the gracious speech, and of submission to the crown.¹ This was a great mistake, for at no time had Washington been more determined to attack the king's troops, and to teach oppressors the solemn lesson that "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

After the arrival of Colonel Knox with military stores from the north, whither he had been sent in November, the commander-in-chief resolved to attack the enemy, either by a general assault, or by bombardment and cannonade, notwithstanding the British force was then nearly equal to his in numbers, and greatly superior in experience. Knox brought with him from Fort George, on forty-two sleds, eight brass mortars, six iron mortars, two iron howitzers, thirteen brass cannons, twenty-six iron cannons, two thousand three hundred pounds of lead, and one

¹ Washington, in a letter to Joseph Reed, written on the 4th of January, 1776, said, "The speech I send you. A volume of them was sent out by the Boston gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to them without knowing or intending it; for on that day, the day which gave being to the new army, but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the *Union flag*, in compliment to the United Colonies.

Plan of Attack on Boston. Re-enforcement of the Army. Council of War. Number of the Troops. Situation of Washington.

barrel of flints. In the harbor of Boston the enemy had several vessels of war,¹ and upon Bunker Hill his works were very strong.

Washington's plan depended, in its execution, upon the weather, as it was intended to pass the troops over to Boston, from Cambridge, on the ice, if it became strong enough. The Neck was too narrow and too well fortified to allow him to hope for a successful effort to enter the town by that way. The assault was to be made by the Americans in two divisions, under Brigadiers Sullivan and Greene, the whole to be commanded by Major-general Putnam. Circumstances prevented the execution of the plan, and January passed by without any decisive movement on the part of either army. The American forces, however, were daily augmenting, and they were less annoyed by the British cannon than they had been, for Howe was more sparing of powder than Gage.²

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, at its winter session, organized the militia of the province anew. John Hancock, James Warren, and Azor Orne were appointed major generals, and thirteen regiments were formed. A new emission of paper money, to a large amount, was authorized, and various measures were adopted to strengthen the Continental army. Early in February, ten of the militia regiments arrived in camp; large supplies of ammunition had been received; intense cold had bridged the waters with ice, and Washington was disposed to commence operations immediately and vigorously. He called a council of war on the 16th, to whom he communicated the intelligence, derived from careful returns, that the American army, including the militia, then amounted to a little more than seventeen thousand men, while that of the British did not much exceed five thousand fit for duty. Many of them were sick with various diseases, and the small-pox was making terrible havoc in the enemy's camp.³ Re-enforcements from Ireland, Halifax, and New York were daily expected by Howe, and the present appeared to be the proper moment to strike. But the council again decided against attempting an assault, on account of the supposed inadequacy of the undisciplined Americans for the task. They estimated the British forces at a much higher figure; considered the fact that they were double officered and possessed ample artillery, and that the ships in the harbor would do great execution upon an army on the ice, exposed to an enfilading fire. It was resolved, however, to bombard and cannonade the town as soon as a supply of ammunition should arrive, and that, in the mean time, Dorchester Heights and Noddle's Island (now East Boston) should be taken possession of and fortified. The commander-in-chief was disappointed at this decision, for he felt confident of success himself. "I can not help acknowledging," he said, in a letter to Congress, "that I have many disagreeable sensations on account of my situation; for, to have the eyes of the whole Continent fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation for the want of the necessary means for carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means

But behold! it was received in Boston as a token of the deep impression the speech had made upon us, and as a signal of submission. So we hear by a person out of Boston last night. By this time, I presume, they begin to think it strange that we have not made a formal surrender of our lines." The principal flag hitherto used by the army was plain crimson. Referring to the reception of the king's speech, the *Annual Register* (1776) says, "So great was the rage and indignation [of the Americans], that they burned the speech, changed their colors from a plain red ground which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the number and union of the colonies." The blue field in one corner, with thirteen stars, was soon afterward adopted; and by a resolution of the Continental Congress, already referred to, passed on the 14th of June, 1777,* this was made the national flag of the United States.

¹ The *Boyne*, sixty-four guns; *Preston*, fifty guns; *Scarborough*, and another sloop, one of twenty and the other of sixteen guns, and the *Mercury*.

² From the burning of Charlestown to Christmas day, the enemy had fired more than two thousand shot and shells, one half of the former being twenty-four pounders. They hurled more than three hundred bombs at Plowed Hill, and one hundred at Lechnere's Point. By the whole firing on the Cambridge side they killed only seven men, and on the Roxbury side just a dozen!—*Gordon*, i., 418.

³ Quite a number of people, sick with this loathsome disease, were sent out of Boston; and General Howe was charged with the wicked design of attempting thus to infect the American army with the malady.

* *Journals*, iii., 194.

Condition of the British Troops in Boston. A Farce and its Termination. Bombardment of Boston. Industry of the Patriots.

used to conceal my weakness from the enemy conceal it also from our friends, and add to their wonder." In the midst of these discouragements Washington prepared for a bombardment.

The British troops in Boston were beginning to be quite contented with their lot, and Howe felt almost as secure as if he was on the shores of Old England. He wrote to Dartmouth that he was under no apprehension of an attack from the rebels; and so confident were the Tories of the triumph of British arms, that Crean Brush, a conceited and sycophantic Loyalist from New York, offered to raise a body of volunteers of three hundred men, to "occupy the main posts on the Connecticut River, and open a line of communication westward toward Lake Champlain," after "the subduction of the main body of the rebel force."¹ The enemy had also procured a plentiful supply of provisions, and the winter, up to the 1st of February, was tolerably mild. "The bay is open," wrote Colonel Moylan, from Roxbury. "Every thing thaws here except Old Put. He is still as hard as ever, crying out, 'Powder! powder! ye gods, give me powder!'" The British officers established a theater; balls were held, and a subscription had been opened for a masquerade, when Washington's operations suddenly dispelled their dream of security, and called them to lay aside the "sock and buskin," the domino, and the dancing-slipper, for the habiliments of real war. They had got up a farce called "Boston Blockaded;"² they were now called to perform in the serio-comic drama of Boston bombarded, with appropriate costume and scenery.

The design of Washington to fortify Dorchester Heights was kept a profound secret, and, to divert the attention of Howe, the Americans opened a severe bombardment and cannonade, on the night of the 2d of March, from the several batteries at Lechmere's Point, Roxbury, Cobble and Plowed Hills, and Lamb's Dam. Several houses in the city were shattered, and six British soldiers killed. The fire was returned with spirit, but without serious effect. In the course of the bombardment, the Americans burst the "Congress" thirteen inch mortar, another of the same size, and three ten inch mortars.^{1776.}

On Sunday and Monday nights a similar cannonade was opened upon the city. At seven o'clock on Sunday evening, General Thomas, with two thousand men, and intrenching tools, proceeded to take possession of Dorchester Heights. A train of three hundred carts, laden with fascines and hay, followed the troops. Within an hour, marching in perfect silence, the detachment reached the heights. It was separated into two divisions, and upon the two eminences already mentioned they commenced throwing up breast-works. Bundles of hay were placed on the town side of Dorchester Neck to break the rumble of the carts passing to and fro, and as a defense against the guns of the enemy, if they should be brought to bear upon the troops passing the Neck. Notwithstanding the moon was shining brightly and the air was serene, the laborers were not observed by the British sentinels. Under the direction of the veteran Gridley, the engineer at Bunker Hill, they worked wisely and well. Never was more work done in so short a time, and at dawn two forts were raised sufficiently high to afford ample protection for the forces within. They presented a formidable aspect to the alarmed Britons. Howe, overwhelmed with astonishment, exclaimed, "I know not what I shall do. The rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." They had done more than merely raise embankments; cannons were placed upon them, and they now completely commanded the town, placing Britons and Tories in the utmost peril.^{March 3, 4, 1776.}

¹ Frothingham; from manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts.

² This play was a burletta. The figure designed to represent Washington enters with uncouth gait, wearing a large wig, a long, rusty sword, and attended by a country servant with a rusty gun. While this farce was in course of performance on the evening of the 8th of January (1776), a sergeant entered suddenly, and exclaimed, "The Yankees are attacking our works on Bunker Hill!" The audience thought this was part of the play, and laughed immoderately at the idea; but they were soon undeceived by the voice of the burly Howe shouting, "Officers, to your alarm-posts!" The people dispersed in great confusion. The cause of the fright was the fact that Majors Knowlton, Carey, and Henly had crossed the mill-dam from Cobble Hill, and set fire to some houses in Charlestown occupied by British soldiers. They burned eight dwellings, killed one man, and brought off five prisoners.

Astonishment of the British.

Insecurity of the Fleet and Army.

Preparations for Bombarding Boston.

The morning on which these fortresses were revealed to the enemy was the memorable 5th of March, the anniversary of the *Boston Massacre*.¹ The associations connected with the day nerved the Americans to more vigorous action, and they determined to celebrate and signalize the time by an act of retributive vengeance. Howe saw and felt his danger; and his anxiety was augmented when Admiral Shulldham assured him that the British fleet in the harbor must be inevitably destroyed when the Americans should get their heavy guns and mortars upon the heights. Nor was the army in the city secure. It was therefore resolved to take immediate measures to dislodge the provincials. Accordingly, two thousand four hundred men were ordered to embark in transports, rendezvous at Castle William, and, under the gallant Earl Percy, make an attack that night upon the rebel works.² Washington was made acquainted with this movement, and, supposing the attack was to be made immediately, sent a re-enforcement of two thousand men to General Thomas. Labor constantly plied its hands in strengthening the works. As the hills on which the redoubts were reared were very steep, rows of barrels, filled with loose earth, were placed outside the breast-works, to be rolled down upon the attacking column so as to break their ranks; a measure said to have been suggested by Mifflin. All was now in readiness. It was a mild, sunny day. The neighboring heights were crowded with people, expecting to see the bloody tragedy of Breed's Hill acted again. Washington himself repaired to the intrenchments, and encouraged the men by reminding them that it was the 5th of March. The commander-in-chief and the troops were in high spirits, for they believed the long-coveted conflict and victory to be near.

While these preparations were in progress on Dorchester Heights, four thousand troops, in two divisions, under Generals Sullivan and Greene, were parading at Cambridge, ready to be led by Putnam to an attack on Boston when Thomas's batteries should give the signal. They were to embark in boats in the Charles River, now clear of ice, under cover of three floating batteries, and, assailing the city at two prominent points, to force their way to the works on the Neck, open the gates, and let in the troops from Roxbury.

Both parties were ready for action in the afternoon; but a furious wind that had arisen billowed the harbor, and rolled such a heavy surf upon the shore where the boats of the enemy were obliged to land, that it was unsafe to venture. During the night the rain came down in torrents, and a terrible storm raged all the next day. Howe abandoned his plan, and Washington, greatly disappointed, returned to his camp, leaving a strong force to guard the works on Dorchester Heights.

The situation of Howe was now exceedingly critical. The fleet and army were in peril, and the loyal inhabitants, greatly terrified, demanded that sure protection which Howe had March, 1776, so often confidently promised. He called a council of officers on the 7th, when it was resolved to save the army by evacuating the town. This resolution spread great consternation among the Tories in the city, for they dreaded the just indignation of the patriots when they should return. They saw the power on which they had leaned as almost invincible growing weak, and quailing before those whom it had affected to despise. They well knew that severe retribution for miseries which they had been instrumental in inflicting, surely awaited them, when British bayonets should leave the peninsula and the excited patriots should return to their desolated homes. The dangers of a perilous voyage to a strange land seemed far less fearful than the indignation of the oppressed Americans, and the Loyalists resolved to brave the former rather than the latter. They began, therefore, to prepare for a speedy departure; merchandise, household furniture, and private property of every kind were crowded on board the ships. Howe had been advised by Dartmouth, in

¹ The day, usually observed in Boston, was now commemorated at Watertown, notwithstanding the exciting events occurring in the city and vicinity. The Reverend Peter Thacher delivered an oration on the occasion.—*Bradford*, 94.

² Three weeks previously, suspecting that the Americans were about to take possession of Dorchester Neck, Howe sent a detachment from Castle William, under Lieutenant-colonel Leslie, and some grenadiers and light infantry, under Major Musgrove, to destroy every house and other cover on the peninsula. They passed over on the ice, executed their orders, and took six of the American guard prisoners.

Condition of the Patriots in Boston. Tacit Agreement to spare the Town. Cannonade renewed. Commission to plunder.

November, to evacuate Boston, but excused himself by pleading that the shipping was inadequate. He was now obliged to leave with less, and, in addition to his troops, take with him more than three thousand refugee Loyalists, and their effects. Ammunition and warlike magazines of all kinds were hurried on board the vessels; heavy artillery, that could not be carried away, was dismounted, spiked, or thrown into the sea, and some of the fortifications were demolished. The number of ships and transports was about one hundred and fifty; but these were insufficient for the conveyance of the multitude of troops and inhabitants, their most valuable property, and the quantity of military stores to be carried away.¹

The few patriots who remained in Boston now felt great anxiety for the fate of the town. They saw the preparations for departure, and were persuaded that the enemy, smarting under the goadings of disappointed pride and ambition, would perform some signal act of vengeance before leaving—probably set fire to the city.² Actuated by these surmises (which were confirmed by the threat of Howe that he would destroy the town if his army was molested in departing), and by the fearful array of ships which the admiral had arranged around the city, a delegation of the most influential citizens communicated with the British commander, through General Robertson. The conference resulted in a promise, on the part of Howe, that, if Washington would allow him to evacuate quietly, the town should be spared. A communication to this effect, signed by four leading men—John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall, and Samuel Austin—was sent to the camp at Roxbury without any special address. It was received by Colonel Learned, who carried it to Washington. The commander-in-chief observed, that as it was an unauthenticated paper, without an address, and not obligatory upon General Howe, he would take no notice of it. Learned communicated this answer to the persons through whom the address from Boston was received. Although entirely non-committal, it was received as a favorable answer, and both parties tacitly consented to the arrangement.

Washington, however, did not relax his vigilance, and continued his preparations for an assault upon Boston if the enemy did not speedily leave. A battery was placed near the water on Dorchester Neck on the 9th, to annoy the British shipping. On the same night a detachment marched to Nooks' Hill, a point near the city completely commanding it, and planted a battery there. A fire imprudently kindled revealed their labor in progress to the enemy. A severe cannonade was immediately opened upon the patriots from the British batteries in the city. This was a signal for a general discharge of cannons and mortars from the various American batteries, and until dawn there was a continual roar of heavy guns. More than eight hundred shot were fired during the night. It was a fearful hour for the people of Boston, and all the bright anticipations of a speedy termination of the dreadful suspense in which for months they had lingered were clouded. But the belligerents were willing to avoid bloodshed. Washington determined to have possession of Boston at all events, but preferred to take it peaceably; while Howe, too cautious to risk a general action, and desirous of employing his forces in some quarter of the colonies where better success might be promised, withheld his cannonade in the morning, and hastened his preparations for evacuation.

And now a scene of great confusion ensued. Those who were about to leave and could not carry their furniture with them, destroyed it; the soldiers broke open and pillaged many stores; and Howe issued an order to Crean Brush,³ who had fawned at his feet ever since the siege began, to seize all clothing and dry goods not in possession of Loyalists, and place

¹ General Howe's official account.

² Congress gave Washington instructions in the Autumn to destroy Boston if it should be necessary to do so in order to dislodge the enemy. This instruction was given with the full sanction of many patriots who owned much property in the city. John Hancock, who was probably the largest property holder in Boston, wrote to Washington, that, notwithstanding such a measure would injure him greatly, he was anxious the thing should be done, if it would benefit the cause. Never were men more devoted than those who would be the greatest sufferers.

³ This order, which is dated March 10th, 1776, is in the office of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts and bears Howe's autograph.—*Frothingham*.

Bad Conduct of the British Troops.

The Embarkation.

Entrance of the Americans into the City.

The Refugees.

them on board two brigantines in the harbor. This authorized plunder caused great distress, for many of the inhabitants were completely stripped. Shops and dwellings were broken open and plundered, and what goods could not be carried away were wantonly destroyed.

March 12. These extremes were forbidden in general order the next day, but the prohibition was little regarded.

On the 15th, the troops paraded to march to the vessels, the inhabitants being ordered to remain in their houses until the army had embarked. An easterly breeze sprang up, and the troops were detained until Sunday, the 17th. In the mean while, they did much mischief by destroying and defacing furniture, and throwing valuable goods into the river. They acted more like demons than men, and had they not been governed by officers possessed of some prudence and honor, and controlled by a fear of the Americans, the town would doubtless have suffered all the horrors of sack and pillage.

Early on Sunday morning, the embarkation of the British army and of the Loyalists commenced. The garrison on Bunker Hill left it at about nine o'clock. Washington observed these movements, and the troops in Cambridge immediately paraded. Putnam with six regiments embarked in boats on the Charles River, and landed at Sewall's Point. The sentinels on Bunker Hill appeared to be at their posts, but, on approaching, they were observed to be nothing but effigies; not a living creature was within the British works. With a loud shout, that startled the retreating Britons, the Americans entered and took possession. When this was effected, the British and Tories had all left Boston, and the fleet that was to convey them away was anchored in Nantasket Roads, where it remained ten days.¹ A detachment of Americans entered the city, and took possession of the works and the military stores that were left behind.² The gates on Boston Neck were unbarred, and General Ward, with five thousand of the troops at Roxbury, entered in triumph, Ensign Richards bearing the Union flag. General Putnam assumed the command of the whole, and in the name of the *Thirteen United Colonies* took possession of all the forts and other defenses which the retreating Britons had left behind.³ On the 20th, the main body of the army,

March 18, 1776. with Washington at the head, entered the city, amid the joyous greetings of hundreds, who for ten months had suffered almost every conceivable privation and insult. Their friends from the country flocked in by hundreds, and joyful was the reunion of many families that had been separated more than half a year. On the 28th, a thanksgiving sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Elliot, from the words of Isaiah, "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eye shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down: not one of the stakes thereof shall be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken."⁴ It was a discourse full of hope for the future, and con-

¹ The whole effective British force that withdrew, including seamen, was about eleven thousand. The Loyalists, classed as follows, were more than one thousand in number: 132 who had held official stations; 18 clergymen; 105 persons from the country; 213 merchants; 382 farmers, traders, and mechanics: total 924. These returned their names on their arrival at Halifax, whither the fleet sailed. There were nearly two hundred more whose names were not registered. It was a sorrowful flight to most of them; for men of property left all behind, and almost every one relied for daily food upon rations from the army stores. The troops, in general, were glad to depart. Frothingham (page 312) quotes from a letter written by a British officer while lying in the harbor. It is a fair exhibition of the feelings of the troops: "Expect no more letters from Boston; we have quitted that place. Washington played upon the town for several days. A shell which burst while we were preparing to embark did very great damage. Our men have suffered. We have one consolation left. You know the proverbial expression, 'Neither Hell, Hull, nor Halifax can afford worse shelter than Boston.' To fresh provision I have for many months been quite an utter stranger. An egg was a rarity. The next letter from Halifax."

² So crowded were the vessels with the Loyalists and their effects that Howe was obliged to leave some of his magazines. The principal articles which were left at Castle Island and Boston were 250 pieces of cannon, great and small; four thirteen and a half inch mortars; 2500 chaldrons of sea coal; 2500 bushels of wheat; 2300 bushels of barley; 600 bushels of oats; 100 jars of oil, containing a barrel each, and 150 horses. Some of the ordnance had been thrown into the water, but were recovered by the Americans. In the hospital at Boston a large quantity of medicine was left, in which it was discovered that white and yellow arsenic was mixed! The object can be easily guessed.—Gordon, ii., 32.

³ Isaiah, xxxiii., 20.

Condition of Boston after the Evacuation.	Troops sent to New York.	Lingering of British Vessels.	Final Departure.
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firmed the strong faith of the hundreds of listeners in the final triumph of liberty in America.

Sadness settled upon the minds of the people when the first outburst of joyous feeling had subsided, for Boston, the beautiful city—the metropolis of New England—was a desolation. Many of the finest houses were greatly injured; shade-trees were cut down; churches were disfigured; ornamental inclosures were broken or destroyed; and the public buildings were shamefully defaced. The spacious old South meeting-house, as we have seen, was changed into a riding-school; and in the stove that was put up within the arena were burned, for kindling, many rare books and manuscripts of Prince's fine library. The parsonage house belonging to this society was pulled down for fuel. The old North Chapel was demolished for the same purpose, and the large wooden steeple of the West Church was converted to the same use. Liberty Tree, noticed on page 466, vol. i., furnished fourteen cords of wood. Brattle Street and Hollis Street churches were used for barracks, and Faneuil Hall was converted into a neat theater.¹ A shot from the American lines, which struck the tower of Brattle Street Church, was picked up, and subsequently fastened at the point where it first struck, and there it remains.

Ignorant of the destination of Howe, and supposing it to be New York, Washington sent off five regiments, and a portion of the artillery, under General Heath, for that city. They marched to New London, where they embarked, and proceeded to New York through the Sound. On the departure of the main body of the British fleet from Nantasket Roads, Washington ordered the remainder of the army to New York, except five regiments, which were left for the protection of Boston, under General Ward. Sullivan marched on the 27th; another brigade departed on the 1st of April; and the last brigade, under Spencer, marched on the 4th. Washington, also, left Cambridge for New York on that day. March 18,
1776.
April 4.

A portion of the British fleet, consisting of five vessels, still lingered in the harbor, and was subsequently joined by seven transports, filled with Highlanders. The people of Boston were under great apprehension of Howe's return. All classes of people assisted in building a fortification on Noddles Island (now East Boston) and in strengthening the other defenses. These operations were carried on under the general direction of Colonel Gridley. In May, Captain Mugford, of the schooner Franklin, a Continental cruiser, captured the British ship Hope, bound for Boston, with stores, and fifteen hundred barrels of powder. May 17. On the 19th, the Franklin and Lady Washington started on a cruise, but got aground at Point Shirley. Thirteen armed boats from the British vessels attacked them, and a sharp engagement ensued. Captain Mugford, while fighting bravely, received a mortal wound. His last words were those used nearly forty years afterward by Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship! You will beat them off!" And so they did. The cruisers escaped, and put to sea.

In June, General Lincoln proposed a plan for driving the British fleet from the harbor. It was sanctioned by the Massachusetts Assembly, and was put in execution on the 14th. He summoned the neighboring militia, and, aided by some of General Ward's regular troops, took post on Moon Island, Hoff's Neck, and at Point Anderton. A large force also collected at Pettick's Island, and Hull; and a detachment with two eighteen pounders and a thirteen inch mortar took post on Long Island. Shots were first discharged at the enemy from the latter point. The fire was briskly returned; but the commander, Commodore Banks, perceiving the perilous situation of his little fleet, made signals for weighing anchor. After blowing up the light-house, he spread his sails and went to sea, leaving Boston harbor and vicinity entirely free from an enemy, except in the few dissimulating Tories who lurked in secret places. Through a reprehensible want of foresight, no British cruisers were left in the vicinity to warn British ships of the departure of the troops and fleet. The consequence was, that several store-ships from England soon afterward arrived, and, sailing into the harbor

¹ Frothingham, page 328.

Capture of Campbell and Store-ships.

Effect of the Evacuation of Boston.

Medal awarded to Washington.

without suspicion, fell into the hands of the Americans. In this way, Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and seven hundred men were made prisoners in June.

The evacuation of Boston diffused great joy throughout the colonies, and congratulatory addresses were received by Washington and his officers from various legislative bodies, assemblages of citizens, and individuals. The Continental Congress received intelligence of the evacuation, by express, on the 25th of March, and immediately, on motion of John Adams, passed a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief and the soldiers under his command, and also ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to the general. John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins were appointed a committee to prepare a letter of thanks and a proper device for the medal.¹

The intelligence of this and other events at Boston within the preceding ten months produced great excitement in England, and attracted the attention of all Europe. The British Parliament exhibited violent agitations, and party lines began to be drawn almost as definitely among the English people, on American affairs, as in the colonies. In the spring, strong measures had been proposed, and some were adopted, for putting down the rebellion, and these had been met by counter action on the part of the American Congress.² During the summer, John Wilkes, then Lord Mayor of London, and his party, raised a storm of indignation against government in the English capital. He presented a violent address to the king in the name of the livery of London,

GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO WASHINGTON.³

¹ Journals of Congress, ii., 104.

² Congress issued a proclamation, declaring that "whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies for favoring, aiding, or abetting the cause of American liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind, and in the same degree, upon those in their power, who had favored, aided, or abetted, or shall favor, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression." This made the Tories and the British officers cautious in their proceedings toward patriots in their power.

³ This drawing is the size of the medal. It was struck in Paris, from a die cut by Duvivier. The device is a head of Washington, in profile, with the Latin legend "GEORGIO WASHINGTONI, SUPREMO DUCI EXERCITIVM ADSECTORI LIBERTATIS COMITIA AMERICANA;" "The American Congress to George Washington, commander-in-chief of its armies, the assertors of freedom." Reverse: troops advancing toward a town; others marching toward the water; ships in view; General Washington in front, and mounted, with his staff, whose attention he is directing to the embarking enemy. The legend is "HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS;"

Denunciations by John Wilkes. The King teased. Boldness of the Common Council. Governor Penn. John Horne Tooke.

in which it was asserted that it was plainly to be perceived that government intended to establish arbitrary rule in America without the sanction of the British Constitution, and that they were also determined to uproot the Constitution at home, and to establish despotism upon the ruins of English freedom. The address concluded by calling for an instant dismissal of the ministers. The king was greatly irritated, and refused to receive the address, unless presented in the corporate capacity of "mayor, aldermen, livery," &c. This refusal Wilkes denounced as a denial of the right of the city to petition the throne in any respectful manner it pleased; "a right," he said, "which had been respected even by the accursed race of Stuarts." Another address, embodying a remonstrance and petition, was prepared, and inquiry was made of the king whether he would receive it while sitting on the throne, it being addressed by the city in its corporate capacity. The king replied that he would receive it at his next levee, but not on the throne. One of the sheriffs sent by Wilkes to ask the question of his majesty, assured the king that the address would not be presented except when he was sitting upon the throne. The king replied that it was his prerogative to choose *where* he would receive communications from his subjects. The livery of London declared this answer to be a denial of their rights, resolved that the address and remonstrance should be printed in the newspapers, and that the city members in the House of Commons should be instructed to move for "an impeachment of the evil counselors who had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and were the advisers of a measure so dangerous to his majesty and to his people as that of refusing to hear petitions."¹ The common council adopted a somewhat more moderate address and remonstrance, which the king received, but whether sitting upon the throne or at his levee is not recorded.²

On the 23d of August, the government, informed of the events of the 17th of June 1775 at Charlestown, issued a proclamation for suppressing rebellion, preventing seditious correspondences, et cetera. Wilkes, as lord mayor, received orders to have this proclamation read in the usual manner at the Royal Exchange. He refused full obedience, by causing it to be read by an inferior officer, attended only by a common crier; disallowing the officers the use of horses, and prohibiting the city mace to be carried before them. The vast assembly that gathered to hear the reading replied with a hiss of scorn.

A few days afterward the respectful petition of the Continental Congress was laid before the king by Richard Penn. Earl Dartmouth soon informed Penn that the king had resolved to take no notice of it; and again the public mind was greatly agitated, particularly in London, at what was denominated "another blow at British liberty." The strict silence of ministers on the subject of this petition gave color to the charge that they had a line of policy marked out, from which *no action* of the Americans could induce them to deviate short of absolute submission. The Duke of Richmond determined to have this silence broken, and procured an examination of Governor Penn before the House of Lords. That examination brought to light many facts relative to the strength and union of the colonies which ministers would gladly have concealed. It revealed the truth that implicit obedience

"First flight of the enemy." The exergue under the device "BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM XVII MARTII MDCCCLXXVI;" "Boston recovered, 17th March, 1776."

¹ Pictorial History of England, v., 235.

² It was about this time that the celebrated John Horne Tooke, a vigorous writer and active politician, was involved in a proceeding which, in November, 1775, caused him to receive a sentence of imprisonment for one year, pay a fine of one thousand dollars, and find security for his good behavior for three years. His alleged crime was "a libel upon the king's troops in America." The libel was contained in an advertisement, signed by him, from the CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY (supposed to be revolutionary in its character), respecting the Americans. That society called the Lexington affair a "murder," and agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars should be raised "to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects" who had preferred death to slavery. This was a set-off against subscriptions then being raised in England for the widows and orphans of the British soldiers who had perished. The sum raised by this society was sent to Dr. Franklin, who, as we have seen, paid it over to the proper committee, when he visited the army at Cambridge, in October, under the direction of Congress. Out of the circumstance of Horne Tooke's imprisonment arose his letter to Counselor Dunning, which formed the basis of his subsequent philological work, *The Diversions of Parley*, published in 1780.

to Congress was paid by all classes of men ; that in Pennsylvania alone there were twenty thousand effective men enrolled for military service, and four thousand minute men ; that the Pennsylvanians perfectly understood the art of making gunpowder ; that the art of casting cannon had been carried to great perfection in the colonies ; that small arms were also manufactured in the best manner ;¹ that the language of Congress was the voice of the people ; that the people considered the petition as an olive branch ; and that so much did the Americans rely upon its effect, that if rejected, or treated with scorn, they would abandon all hope of a reconciliation.

On the 11th of October an address, memorial, and petition, signed by eleven hundred and seventy-one "gentlemen, merchants, and traders of London," was laid before his majesty, in which it was charged that all the troubles in America, and consequent injury to trade, arose from the bad policy pursued by Parliament ; and the new proposition which had just leaked out, to employ foreign soldiers against the Americans, was denounced in unmeasured terms. A counter petition, signed by nine hundred and twenty citizens of London, was presented three days afterward, in which the conduct of the colonists was severely censured. This was followed by another on the same side, signed by ten hundred and twenty-nine persons, including *the livery of London*, who, a few months previously, under Wilkes, had spoken out so boldly against government. This address glowed with loyalty to the king and indignation against the *rebels*.² Like petitions from the provincial towns, procured by ministerial agency, came in great numbers, and the government, feeling strengthened at home, contemplated the adoption of more stringent measures to be pursued in America. Suspected persons in England were closely watched, and several were arraigned to answer various charges against them.³ Lord North became the idol of the government party, and, in addition to being *fêted* by the nobility, and thoroughly bespattered with fulsome adulation by corporate bodies and the ministerial press, the University of Oxford had a medal struck in his honor.



MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOR OF LORD NORTH.

Parliament assembled on the 26th of October, much earlier than common, on account of the prevalent disorders. The king, in his speech at the opening,⁴ after mentioning the rebellious position of the American colonies, expressed (as he had done before) his determination to act decisively. He alleged that the course of government hitherto had been moderate and forbearing ! but now, as the rebellion seemed to be general, and the ob-

¹ I have in my possession a musket manufactured here in 1774, that date being engraved upon the breech. It is quite perfect in its construction. It was found on the battle field of Hubbardton, in Vermont, and was in the possession of the son of an American officer (Captain Barber) who was in that action. See page 146.

² On the 23d of October (1775), Stephen Sayre, a London banker, an American by birth, was arrested on a charge of high treason, made against him by a sergeant in the Guard (also a native of America), named Richardson. He charged Sayre with having asserted that he and others intended to seize the king on his way to Parliament, to take possession of the town, and to overturn the present government. Sayre was known to be a friend to the patriots, and on this charge Lord Rochford, one of the secretaries of state, caused his papers to be seized and himself to be arrested. Sayre was committed to the Tower, from which he was released by Lord Mansfield, who granted a writ of habeas corpus. Sayre was subsequently tried and acquitted. He prosecuted Lord Rochford for seizing his papers, and the court awarded him a conditional verdict of five thousand dollars damages. The conditions proved a bar to the recovery of the money, and Sayre was obliged to suffer a heavy pecuniary loss in costs, besides the personal indignity.

³ This is the speech alluded to in the beginning of this chapter, which the British officers in Boston supposed had produced a determination on the part of the Americans to submit.

Tenor of the King's Speech.

His false Hopes.

Warm Debates in Parliament.

Duke of Grafton in opposition.

jects of the insurgents an independency of empire, they must be treated as rebels. He informed Parliament that he had increased the naval establishment, and greatly augmented the land forces, "yet in such a manner as to be least expensive or burdensome to the kingdom." This was in reference to the employment of German troops, which I shall presently notice. He professed a desire to temper his severity with mercy, and for this purpose proposed the appointment of commissioners to offer the olive branch of peace and pardon to all offenders among "the unhappy and deluded multitude" who should sue for forgiveness, as well as for whole communities or provinces. He also expressed a hope that his friendly relations with other European governments would prevent any interference on their part with his plans.¹

The address of Parliament responsive to the king's speech was, of course, but an echo of that document. It was firmly opposed by all the old leaders of opposition, and the management of the summer campaign in America was severely commented upon. Ministers were charged with placing their sovereign in a most contemptible position before the world, and with wresting from him the scepter of colonial power in the West. "They have acted like fools in their late summer campaign," said Colonel Barré. "The British army at Boston," he said, "is a mere wen—an excrescence on the vast continent of America. Certain defeat awaits it. Not the Earl of Chatham, nor Frederic the Great, nor even Alexander the Great, ever gained so much in one campaign as ministers have lost." "They have lost a whole continent," said Fox; and at the same time he characterized North as "the blundering pilot who had brought the vessel of state into its present difficulties." "It is a horrible idea, that the Americans, our brethren, shall be brought into submission to ministerial will by fleets and armies," said General Conway; and other members were equally severe upon ministers. In the Upper House, the Duke of Grafton, Lords Shelburne, Camden, Richmond, Gower, and Cavendish, and the Marquis of Rockingham, took decided ground against ministers. Chatham was very ill, and could not leave his country seat. The Duke of Grafton, one of the minority, was bold in his denunciations, and in the course of an able speech declared that he had been greatly deceived in regard to the Americans, and that nothing short of a total repeal of every act obnoxious to the colonists passed since 1763 could now restore peace. The Cabinet, of course, did not concur with his grace, and he resigned the seals of office, and took a decided stand with the opposition.² Dr. Hinchcliffe, bishop of Peterborough, followed Grafton, and also became identified with the opposition. Thurlow and Wedderburne were North's chief supporters. The address was carried in both houses by large majorities.

Burke again attempted to lead ministers into a path of common sense and common justice, by proposing a conciliatory bill. It included a proposition to repeal the Boston Port Bill; a promise not to tax America; a general amnesty; and the calling of a Congress by royal authority for the adjustment of remaining difficulties. North was rather pleased with the proposition, for he foresaw heavy breakers ahead in the course

November 16,
1775.

¹ The king did not reckon wisely when he relied upon the implied or even expressed promises of non-intervention on the part of other powers. He had made application to all the maritime powers of Europe to prevent their subjects from aiding the rebel colonies by sending them arms or ammunition; and they all professed a friendship for England, while, at the same time, she was the object of their bitterest jealousy and hate, on account of her proud commercial eminence and political sway. The court of Copenhagen (Denmark) had issued an edict on the 4th of October against carrying warlike articles to America. The Dutch, soon afterward, took similar action; the punishment for a violation of the edict being a fine of only four hundred and fifty dollars, too small to make shipping merchants long hesitate about the risk where such enormous profits were promised. In fact, large quantities of gunpowder were soon afterward shipped to America from the ports of Holland in glass bottles invoiced "gin." France merely warned the people that what they did for the Americans they must do upon their own risk, and not expect a release from trouble, if they should get into any, by the English admiralty courts. Spain flatly refused to issue any order.

² His office of Lord of the Privy Seal was given to Lord Dartmouth, and the office of that nobleman was filled by his opponent, Lord George Germaine—"the proud, imperious, unpopular Sackville." Germaine had taken an active part in favor of all the late coercive measures, and he was considered the fit instrument to carry out the plans of government toward the Americans, in the capacity of Colonial Secretary.

The Colonies placed under Martial Law.

Augmentation of the Army and Navy.

Proposition to employ foreign Troops.

of the vessel of state; but he had abhorred concession, and this appeared too much like it. A large majority voted against Burke's proposition.

November 22.

Lord North introduced a bill a few days afterward, prohibiting all intercourse or trade with the colonies till they should submit, and placing the whole country under martial law. This bill included a clause, founded upon the suggestion in the king's speech, to appoint resident commissioners, with discretionary powers to grant pardons and effect indemnities.¹ The bill was passed by a majority of one hundred and ninety-two to sixty-four in the Commons, and by seventy-eight to nineteen in the House of Lords. Eight peers protested. It became a law by royal assent on the 21st of December.

Having determined to employ sufficient force to put down the rebellion, the next necessary step was to procure it. The Committee of Supply proposed an augmentation of the navy to twenty-eight thousand men, and that eighty ships should be employed on the American station. The land forces necessary were estimated at twenty-five thousand men. The king, as Elector of Hanover, controlled the troops of that little kingdom. Five regiments of Hanoverian troops were sent to Gibraltar and Minorca, to allow the garrisons of English troops there to be sent to America. It was also proposed to organize the militia of the kingdom, so as to have an efficient force at home while the regulars should go across the Atlantic. For their support while in actual service it was proposed to raise the land-tax to four shillings in the pound. This proposition touched the pockets of the country members of Parliament, and cooled their warlike ardor very sensibly.

The peace establishment at home being small, it was resolved, in accordance with suggestions previously made, to employ foreign troops. The king wrote an autograph letter to the States General of Holland, soliciting them to dispose of their Scotch brigade for service against the Americans. The request was nobly refused. A message was sent to the Parliament of Ireland requesting a supply of troops; that body complied by voting four thousand men for the American service. They servilely agreed to send men to butcher their brethren and kinsmen for a consideration; while the noble Hollanders, with a voice of rebuke, dissented, and refused to allow their soldiers to fight the strugglers for freedom, though strangers to them in blood and language.²

The king was more successful with some of the petty German princes. He entered into a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, the Prince of Hesse, and the Prince of Waldeck, for seventeen thousand men, to be employed in America. On the 29th of February, 1776, Lord North moved "that these treaties be referred to the Committee of Supply." A most vehement debate ensued in the House of Commons. Ministers pleaded necessity and economy as excuses for such a measure. "There was not time to fill the army with recruits, and hired soldiers would be cheaper in the end, for, after the war, if native troops were employed, there would be nearly thirty battalions to claim half pay." Such were the ostensible reasons; the real object was, doubtless, not so much economy, as the fear that native troops, especially raw recruits, unused to the camp, might affiliate with the insurgents. The opposition denounced the measure as not merely cruel toward the Americans, but disgraceful to the English name; that England was degrading herself by applying to petty German princes for succors against her own subjects; and that nothing would so effectually bar the way for reconciliation with the colonists as this barbarous prep-

¹ This bill became a law, and under that clause General Howe, and his brother, Lord Howe, were appointed commissioners.

² I can not forbear quoting the remarks of John Derk van der Chapelle, in the Assembly of the States of Overijssel, against the proposition. "Though not as principals, yet as auxiliaries our troops would be employed in suppressing (what some please to call) a rebellion in the American colonies; for which purpose I would rather see janisaries hired than troops from a free state. In what an odious light must this unnatural civil war appear to all Europe—a war in which even savages (if credit can be given to newspaper information) refuse to engage. More odious still would it appear for a people to take a part therein who were themselves once slaves, bore that hateful name, but at last had spirit to fight themselves free. But, above all, it must appear superlatively detestable to me, who think the Americans worthy of every man's esteem, and look upon them as a brave people, defending, in a becoming, manly, and religious manner, those rights which, as men, they derive from God, and not from the Legislature of Great Britain."

Reasons for employing German Troops.	Opposition to it in Parliament.	Terms on which the Mercenaries were hired.
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aration to enslave them. It was also intimated that the soldiers to be hired would desert as soon as they reached America; for their countrymen were numerous in the colonies, were all patriots, and would have great influence over them; that they would accept land, sheathe their swords, and leave the English soldiers to do the work which their German masters sent them to perform. On the other hand, ministers counted largely upon the valor of their hirelings, many of whom were veterans, trained in the wars of Frederic the Great, and that it would be only necessary for these blood-hounds to show themselves in America to make the rebellious people lay down their arms and sue for pardon. The opposition, actuated by a sincere concern for the fair fame of their country, pleaded earnestly against the consummation of the bargain, and used every laudable endeavor to arrest the incipient action. But opposition was of little avail; North's motion for reference was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-two to eighty-eight.

Another warm debate ensued when the committee reported on the 4th of March; and in the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond moved not only to countermand the order for the mercenaries to proceed to America, but to cease hostilities altogether. The Earl of Coventry maintained that an acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies was preferable to a continuance of the war. "Look on the map of the globe," he said; "view Great Britain and North America; compare their extent, consider the soil, rivers, climate, and increasing population of the latter; nothing but the most obstinate blindness and partiality can engender a serious opinion that such a country will long continue under subjection to this. The question is not, therefore, how we shall be able to realize a vain, delusive scheme of dominion, but how we shall make it the interest of the Americans to continue faithful allies and warm friends. Surely that can never be effected by fleets and armies. Instead of meditating conquest and exhausting our strength in an ineffectual struggle, we should, wisely abandoning wild schemes of coercion, avail ourselves of the only substantial benefit we can ever expect, the profits of an extensive commerce, and the strong support of a firm and friendly alliance and compact for mutual defense and assistance."¹ This was the language of wise and sagacious statesmanship—of just and honorable principles—of wholesome and vigorous thought; yet it was denounced as treasonable in its tendency, and encouraging to rebellion. The report recommending the ratification of the bargain was adopted, and the disgraceful and cruel act was consummated. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel agreed to furnish twelve thousand one hundred and four men; the Duke of Brunswick, four thousand and eighty-four; the Prince of Hesse, six hundred and sixty-eight, and the Prince of Waldeck, six hundred and seventy; making in all seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six soldiers, including the officers. Perceiving the stern necessity which compelled the British government to negotiate with them, these dealers in fighting machines drove a hard bargain with Lord George Germaine and Lord Barrington, making their price in accordance with the principle of trade, where there is a small supply for a great demand. They asked and received thirty-six dollars for each man, and in addition were to receive a considerable subsidy. The whole amount paid by the British government was seven hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars! The British king also guaranteed the dominions of these princes against foreign attack. It was a capital bargain for the sellers; for, while they pocketed the enormous poll-price for their troops, they were released from the expense of their maintenance, and felt secure in their absence. Early in the spring these mercenaries, with a considerable number of troops from England and Ireland, sailed for America, under convoy of a British fleet commanded by Admiral Lord Howe.² The fierce German

¹ It was estimated that, when the Revolution broke out, there were about one hundred and fifty thousand German emigrants in the American colonies, most of whom had taken sides with the patriots.

² Cavendish's Debates.

³ Admiral Howe, who was a man of fine feelings, hesitated long before he would accept the command of the fleet destined to sail against his fellow-subjects in America. In Parliament, a few days before he sailed, he spoke with much warmth upon the horrors of civil war, and "declared that he knew no struggle so painful as that between a soldier's duties as an officer and a man. If left to his own choice, he should decline serving; but if commanded, it became his duty, and he should not refuse to obey." General Conway said

Parliament alarmed by a Rumor.

French Emissary in Philadelphia.

Official Announcement of the Evacuation of Boston.

warriors—fierce, because brutish, unlettered, and trained to bloodshed by the continental butchers—were first let loose upon the patriots in the battle of Long Island,¹ and thenceforth the *Hessians* bore a prominent part in many of the conflicts that ensued.

During the residue of the session of Parliament under consideration, American affairs occupied a good portion of the time of the Legislature, but nothing of great importance was done. The Duke of Grafton made an unsuccessful attempt to have an address to the king adopted, requesting that a proclamation might be issued to declare that if the colonists should, within a reasonable time, show a willingness to treat with the commissioners, or present a petition, hostilities should be suspended, and their petition be received and respected. He assured the House that both France and Spain were arming; and alarmed them by the assertion that “two French gentlemen had been to America, had conferred with Washington at his camp, and had since been to Philadelphia to confer with Congress.” The duke’s proposition was negatived.

A very brief official announcement of the evacuation of Boston appeared in the *London Gazette* of the 3d of May, 1776.² Ministers endeavored to conceal full intelligence of the transaction, and assumed a careless air, as if the occurrence were of no moment. But Colonel Barré would not allow them to rest quietly under the cloak of mystery, but moved in the House of Commons for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of the dispatches of General Howe and Admiral Shulldham might be laid before the House. There, and in the House of Lords, the ministry were severely handled. Lord North declared that the army was not compelled to abandon Boston, when he well knew to the contrary; and Lord George Germaine’s explanation was weak and unsatisfactory. The thunders of Burke’s eloquent denunciations were opened against the government, and he declared that “every measure which had been adopted or pursued was directed to impoverish England and to enslave America; and though in twelve months nearly one thousand dollars a man had been

a war with our fellow-subjects in America differed very widely from a war with foreign nations, and that before an officer drew his sword against his fellow-subjects he ought to examine well his conscience whether the cause were just. Thurlow declared that such sentiments, if once established as a doctrine, must tend to a dissolution of all governments.—*Pictorial History of England*, v., 248.

¹ I intended to defer a notice of these German troops (generally called *Hessians*, because the greater portion came from Hesse and Hesse-Cassel) until the battle of Long Island should be under consideration; but the action relative to their employment occupies such a conspicuous place in the proceedings of the session of Parliament, where the most decided hostile measures against America were adopted, that here seemed the most appropriate place to notice the subject in detail.

² Some time in the month of November, 1775, Congress was informed that a foreigner was in Philadelphia who was desirous of making to them a confidential communication. At first no notice was taken of it, but the intimation having been several times repeated, a committee, consisting of John Jay, Dr. Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to hear what he had to say. They agreed to meet him in a room in Carpenters’ Hall, and, at the time appointed, they found him there—an elderly, lame gentleman, and apparently a wounded French officer. He told them that the French king was greatly pleased with the exertions for liberty which the Americans were making; that he wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly his friendly sentiments toward them. The committee requested to know his authority for giving these assurances. He answered only by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, “Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.” They then asked what demonstrations of friendship they might expect from the King of France. “Gentlemen,” he answered, “if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it.” The committee observed that these were important assurances, and again desired to know by what authority they were made. “Gentlemen,” said he, again drawing his hand across his throat, “I shall take care of my head;” and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more.—See *Life of John Jay*, written by his son, William Jay.

³ The official announcement in the *Gazette* was as follows: “General Howe, commander-in-chief of his majesty’s forces in North America, having taken a resolution on the 7th of March to remove from Boston to Halifax with the troops under his command, and such of the inhabitants, with their effects, as were desirous to continue under the protection of his majesty’s forces; the embarkation was effected on the 17th of the same month, with the greatest order and regularity, and without the least interruption from the rebels. When the packet came away, the first division of transports was under sail, and the remainder were preparing to follow in a few days, the admiral leaving behind as many men-of-war as could be spared from the convoy for the security and protection of such vessels as might be bound to Boston.”

Royal Approval of Howe's Course. Opinions of the People. Position of the Colonies. Count Rumford. Fortifications.

spent for salt beef and sour-kraut,¹ the troops could not have remained ten days longer if the heavens had not rained down manna and quails."

The majority voted down every proposition to elicit full information respecting operations in America, and on the 23d of May his majesty, after expressing a hope "that his rebellious subjects would yet submit," prorogued Parliament. 1776.

The evacuation of Boston was approved by the king and his ministers, and on the day when the announcement of the event was made in London, Lord George Germaine wrote to Howe, deploring the miscarriage of the general's dispatches for the ministers,² praising his prudence, and assuring him that his conduct had "given the fullest proofs of his majesty's wisdom and discernment in the choice of so able and brave an officer to command his troops in America." May 3, 1776.

Thus ended the SIEGE OF BOSTON, where the first decided triumph of American arms over the finest troops of Great Britain was accomplished. The departure of Howe was regarded in England as a flight; the patriots viewed it as a victory for themselves. Confidence in their strength to resist oppression was increased ten-fold by this event, and doubt of final and absolute success was a stranger to their thoughts. "When the siege of Boston commenced, the colonies were hesitating on the great measures of war; were separated by local interests; were jealous of each other's plans, and appeared on the field, each with its independent army under its local colors. When the siege of Boston ended, the colonies had drawn the sword and nearly cast away the scabbard. They had softened their jealousy of each other; they had united in a political association; and the Union flag of thirteen stripes waved over a Continental army."³

Few events of more importance than those at other large sea-port towns occurred at Boston after the flight of the British army. The Americans took good care to keep their fortifications in order, and a full complement of men to garrison them sufficiently.⁴ This fact

¹ A Dutch or German dish, made of cabbage.

² It appears that Howe sent dispatches to England on the 23d of October, 1775, by the hands of Major Thompson, and those were the last from him that reached the ministry before the army left Boston for Halifax. Major Thompson was afterward the celebrated philosopher, Count Rumford. He was a native of Woburn, in Massachusetts, and was born on the 26th of March, 1753. He early evinced a taste for philosophy and the mechanic arts, and obtained permission to attend the philosophical lectures of Professor Winthrop at Cambridge. He afterward taught school at Rumford (now Concord), New Hampshire, where he married a wealthy young widow. In consequence of his adhesion to the British cause, he left his family in the autumn of 1775, went to England, and became a favorite of Lord George Germaine, who made him under secretary in the Northern Department. Near the close of the Revolution he was sent to New York, where he commanded a regiment of dragoons, and returning to England, the king knighted him. He became acquainted with the minister of the Duke of Bavaria, who induced him to go to Munich, where he became active in public affairs. The duke raised him to a high military rank, and made him a count of the empire. He added to his title the place of his marriage, and became Count Rumford. He was in London in 1800, and projected the Royal Institution of Great Britain. His wife, whom he abandoned, died in 1794 in New Hampshire. Count Rumford died August 20th, 1814, aged sixty-one years. His scientific discoveries have made his name immortal. He bequeathed fifty thousand dollars to Harvard College.

³ Frothingham, page 334.

⁴ With the exception of Dorchester, Bunker Hill, and Roxbury, I believe there are few traces of the fortifications of the Revolution that can be certainly identified; and so much altered has been the fortress on Castle Island that it exhibits but little of the features of 1776. Every year the difficulty of properly locating the several forts becomes greater, and therefore to preserve, in this work, a record of those landmarks by which they may be identified, I condense from Silliman's Journal for 1822 an interesting article on the subject which was communicated by J. Finch, Esq., with such references as later writers have made. A recurrence to the map on page 566, vol. i., will assist the reader.

I. BREED'S HILL AND BUNKER HILL.—These works were on the summits and slopes of the hills, looking toward Boston. Bunker Hill Monument now stands upon the spot where Prescott's redoubt was thrown up.

II. PLOWED HILL.—This fort was upon the summit of the eminence, commanding the Mystic River and the Penny Ferry. It was in a direct line from Charlestown Neck to Winter Hill, further northward.

III. COBBLE OR BARRELL'S HILL.—In consequence of its strength, the fort on this hill was called Putnam's impregnable fortress. This was on the north side of Willis's Creek, in full view of Bunker and Breed's Hills, and commanding the whole western portion of the peninsula of Charlestown.

IV. LECHMERE'S POINT was strongly fortified at a spot one hundred yards from West Boston Bridge.

seemed to be well known to the enemy; for while Newport and the places adjacent suffered from the naval operations of British vessels, Boston Harbor was shunned by them. Some

There was a causeway across the marsh, and a line of works along Willis's Creek to connect with those on Cobble Hill.

V. WINTER HILL.—The works at this point, commanding the Mystic and the country northward from Charlestown, were more extensive than any other American fortification around Boston. There rested the right wing of the army under General Lee, at the time of the siege of Boston. There was a redoubt near upon the *Ten Hill Farm*, that commanded the Mystic; and between Winter and Prospect Hills was a redoubt, where a quarry was opened about the year 1819. This was called *White House Redoubt*, in the rear of which, at a farm-house, Lee had his quarters.

VI. PROSPECT HILL has two eminences, both of which were strongly fortified, and connected by a rampart and fosse, or ditch. These forts were destroyed in 1817. There is an extensive view from this hill.

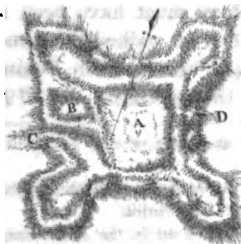
VII. THE CAMBRIDGE LINES, situated upon Butler's Hill, consisted of six regular forts connected by a strong intrenchment. These were in a state of excellent preservation when Mr. Finch wrote. The *Second Line of Defense* might then be traced on the College Green at Cambridge.

VIII. A SEMICIRCULAR BATTERY, with three embrasures, was situated on the northern shore of Charles River, near its entrance into the bay. It was rather above the level of the marsh.

IX. BROOKLINE FORT, on Sewall's Point, was very extensive. The ramparts and irregular bastion, which commanded Charles River, were very strong. The fort was nearly quadrangular.

X. There was a battery on the southern shore of Muddy River, with three embrasures. Westward of this position was a redoubt; and between Stony Brook and Roxbury were three others.

XI. ROXBURY.—There were strong fortifications at this point, erected upon eminences which commanded Boston Neck, sometimes called Roxbury Neck. About three quarters of a mile in advance of these redoubts were THE ROXBURY LINES, situated northward of the town. There were two lines of intrenchments, which extended quite across the peninsula; and the ditch, filled at high water, made Boston an island. The works thrown up by Gage when he fortified Boston Neck were near the present Dover Street.



GROUND PLAN OF THE FORT.³

Upon a higher eminence, in the rear of the Roxbury lines (at present [1850] west of Highland Street, on land owned by the Honorable B. F. Copeland), was Roxbury Fort,² a strong quadrangular work, with bastions at each angle. The magazine appears to have been on the southwest side, near which was a covered way and sally-port. I have nowhere seen a fortification of the Revolution so well preserved as this, except the old quadrangular fort or castle at Chambly, on the Sorel; and it is to be hoped that patriotic reverence will so consecrate the ground on which this relic lies, that unhallowed gain may never lay upon the old ramparts the hand of demolition.



ROXBURY FORT.¹

The history of the construction of *Roxbury Fort* is somewhat obscure. It is known to have been the first regular work erected by the Americans when they nearly circumvallated Boston. Tradition avers, that when the Rhode Island "Army of Observation," which hastened toward Boston, under Greene, after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, encamped at Jamaica Plain, a detachment was sent forward and commenced this redoubt at Roxbury. General Ward, who, by common consent, was captain-general of the accumulating forces, ordered them to desist, as he was about to commence a regular line of fortifications under the direction of Gridley. The Rhode Islanders, acknowledging no authority but their own Provincial Assembly, proceeded in their work; and when Washington took command of the army, he regarded this fort as the best and most eligibly located of all the works then in course of construction. During the siege

¹ This view is from the southwest angle of the fort. In the foreground a portion of the ramparts is seen. These are now overgrown, in part, with shrubbery. On the right is seen the house of Mr. Benjamin Perkins, on Highland Street, and extending across the picture, to the left, is the side of the fort toward Boston, exhibiting prominent traces of the embrasures for the cannons. It was a foggy day in autumn when I visited the fort, in company with Frederic Kidder, Esq., of Boston, to whose courtesy and antiquarian taste I am indebted for the knowledge of the existence of this well-preserved fortification. No distant view could be procured, and I was obliged to be content with the above sketch, made in the intervals of "sun and shower." The bald rocks on which the fort stands are huge boulders of *pudding-stone*, and upon three sides these form natural revetments, which would be difficult for an enemy to scale. The embankments are from eight to fifteen feet in height, and within, the *terre-plein*, on which the soldiers and cannons were placed, is quite perfect.

² See map on page 566, vol. I.

³ This is a ground plan of the fort as it now appears. A is the parade; B, the magazine; C, the sally-port; D, the side toward Boston.

The "Convention Troops."

Their Parade of Honor.

Picture of the Captives.

Burgoyne in Boston.

of the Tories who went with Howe to Halifax returned, and cast themselves upon the clemency of the new government. Those who possessed influence that might be dangerous were immediately arrested and thrown into prison, where they were confined for several months, until satisfactory arrangements were made for their release.

Boston was the place whither the captured troops of Burgoyne were sent in 1777, to embark for England on parole.¹ They entered Cambridge on the 7th of November, during the prevalence of a severe northeast storm. A graphic description of the appearance of the Hessians is given in a letter from Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren, printed on page 82. Speaking of the British portion of the captive army, the same writer says: "Their baggage-wagons were drawn by poor half-starved horses; but to bring up the rear was a noble-looking guard of Americans, brawny, victorious yeomanry, who assisted in bringing these sons of slavery to terms. Some of our wagons, drawn by fat oxen, driven by joyous-looking Yankees, closed the cavalcade. The generals and other officers went to Bradish's, where they quarter at present. The privates trudged through thick and thin to the hills, where we thought they were to be confined; but what was our surprise when, in the morning, we beheld an inundation of these disagreeable objects filling our streets." These captive troops were quartered in some of the best private houses, and the students of Harvard College were dismissed to make room for these foreign soldiers. Alluding to this fact, Mrs. Winthrop writes, "Is there not a degree of unkindness in loading poor Cambridge, almost ruined before this great army seemed to be let loose upon us?" Surprising that our general [Gates], or any of our colonels, should insist on the first university in America being disbanded for their genteel accommodation, and we, poor oppressed people, seek an asylum in the woods against a piercing winter. General Burgoyne dined on Sunday in Boston with General ——. He rode through the town properly attended, down Court Street and through the Main Street, and on his return walked to Charlestown ferry, followed by a great number of spectators as ever attended a pope." There must have been a great contrast between the feelings of Burgoyne at that time and when he walked the same streets two years before, a general covered with fresh laurels won upon the Spanish Peninsula.² The captive army were sent to Charlottesville, in Virginia, at the beginning of 1779.

of Boston, ROXBURY FORT was considered superior to all others for its strength and its power to annoy the enemy.

XII. DORCHESTER HEIGHTS.—The ancient fortifications there are covered by the remains of those erected in 1812, and have little interest except as showing the locality of the forts of the Revolution.

XIII. AT NOOK'S HILL, near South Boston Bridge, the last breast-work was thrown up by the Americans before the flight of the British. It was the menacing appearance of this suddenly-erected fort that caused Howe to hasten his departure. The engineers employed in the construction of these works were Colonel Richard Gridley, chief; Lieutenant-colonel Rufus Putnam, Captain Josiah Waters, Captain Baldwin, of Brookfield, and Captain Henry (afterward general) Knox, assistants. These were the principal works erected and occupied by the Americans at Boston. When Mr. Finch wrote in 1822, many of these were well preserved, and he expressed a patriotic desire that they should remain so. But they are gone, and art has covered up the relics that were left. But it is not yet too late to carry out a portion of his recommendation, by which to preserve the identity of some of the localities. "The laurel, planted on the spot where Warren fell, would be an emblem of unfading honor; the white birch and pine might adorn Prospect Hill; at Roxbury, the cedar and the oak might yet retain their eminence; and upon the heights of Dorchester we would plant the laurel, and the finest trees which adorn the forest, because there was achieved a glorious victory, without the sacrifice of life!"

¹ I have before me the original *paroles of honor*, signed by all the surviving officers of Burgoyne's captured army. They are the property of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, who kindly placed them in my hands for use. The paroles are dated at Cambridge, December 13th, 1777. One is signed by 185 English officers, headed by Burgoyne; the other by 95 German officers, headed by Riedesel, the Brunswick general.

² This sudden influx menaced the country about Boston with famine, for the five thousand prisoners of war had to be fed. Every article rapidly rose in price; wood was sold at twenty-seven and a half dollars a cord.

³ When Burgoyne left Boston for England, General Phillips was left in chief command of the captive troops, quartered on Prospect Hill. He was a conceited, irritable person, and often his haughty pride made him forget the relation in which he stood to the victorious Americans, whom he had been taught to despise. On one occasion, one of his officers was returning from Boston, with two females, to the British camp, and refused to answer the challenge of the sentinel. He was shot dead, and the act was justified by the rules

Expedition against Penobscot. Its Failure. General Phillips. General Wadsworth. Close of the Chronicles of Boston.

In July, 1779, the State of Massachusetts fitted out an expedition at Boston to go against the British troops at Penobscot, a small town on the east side of Penobscot River in Maine. The enemy were estimated to be one thousand strong. Fifteen hundred men were ordered to be raised for the expedition, but only about nine hundred were actually employed, and some of these were pressed into the service. Some were conveyed thither by a fleet, consisting of several sloops of war, carrying from sixteen to twenty-eight guns, one of thirty-two guns, seven armed brigs, and twenty-four other vessels, which served as transports. Other portions of the militia marched from the lower counties of Maine. Commodore Saltonstall commanded the fleet, and Generals Lovell and Wadsworth led the land forces. A disagreement arose between the commanders of the fleet and army, which greatly weakened the power of the expedition. It was agreed, however, to attack the enemy. The American land force debarked, and rushed to the assault of the fort up a steep declivity, in the face of a storm of shot from the enemy. The marines did not come to their support, and a large naval re-enforcement for the British arriving at that moment, the assailants were repulsed and forced to abandon the expedition. The Americans destroyed many of their vessels to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, and in scattered detachments, the troops, marines, and sailors, made their way back to their homes, suffering great hardships in their route through the almost unbroken wilderness. It was a most unfortunate affair. The General Court of Massachusetts instituted an inquiry, which resulted in censuring the naval commander, and commending Lovell and Wadsworth.¹

Here let us close the chronicles of Boston. Henceforth we shall only refer to them incidentally, as the elucidation of prominent events elsewhere shall make this necessary. We have seen the discontents of the colonies ripen into open rebellion in this hot-bed of patriotism; we have seen a Continental army organized, disciplined, and prepared for action, and those yeomanry and artisans, drawn from the fields and workshops, piling, with seeming Titan strength, huge fortifications around a well-disciplined British army, and expelling it from one of the most advantageous positions on the continent. Let us now proceed to places where other scenes in the great drama were enacted.

of war. General Phillips was greatly enraged, and wrote the following impudent letter to General Heath, the commanding officer:

"Cambridge, June 17, 1778.

"Murder and death have at length taken place. An officer, riding out from the barracks on Prospect Hill, has been shot by an American sentinel. I leave the horrors of that bloody disposition, which has joined itself to rebellion in these colonies, to the feelings of all Europe. I do not ask for justice, for I believe every principle of it has fled from this province. I demand liberty to send an officer to General Sir Henry Clinton, by way of the head-quarters of General Washington.

WM. PHILLIPS, Major General."

This was strange language for a prisoner of war to use toward his keeper! Before the insulting note had been received by Heath, the sentry had been put under guard to await the decision of a jury of inquest. Heath had also written a polite note to Phillips, informing him of the fact. As I have observed before, the haughty insolence of the British functionaries, civil and military, toward the Americans, did more to engender hatred and foster the rebellion than any other single cause. Phillips's conduct is a fair picture, among many others, of the haughty bearing of the Britons in authority. I have before me an autograph letter to General Heath, written at about the same time, by Lieutenant Kingston, Burgoyne's deputy adjutant general. It is marked by flippant insolence, although a little more polite than Phillips's letter.

¹ Peleg Wadsworth was a native of Massachusetts, and graduated at Harvard College in 1769. After his unsuccessful attempt against the British fort at Penobscot in 1779, where his bravery was acknowledged, he was sent to command in the district of Maine, whither he took his family. In February, 1781, a party of the enemy captured him in his own house, and conveyed him to the British quarters at Bagaduce or Castin. In company with Major Burton, he effected his escape from the fort in June, crossed the Penobscot in a canoe, and traveled through the wilderness to his home. Of his capture, sufferings, and escape, Dr. Dwight has given a long and interesting account in the second volume of his *Travels in New England*. For many years Wadsworth was a member of Congress from Cumberland district. He died at Hiram, in Maine, in November, 1829, aged eighty years. His son, Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, was blown up in a fire-ship in the harbor at Tripoli in September, 1804.—*Allen's American Biography*.

Departure from Boston.	Scenery on the Route.	Cochituate.	The Quinebaug.	Tradition of Mashapaug.
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CHAPTER II.

"Day wanes; 'tis autumn's eventide again;
 And, sinking on the blue hill's breast, the sun
 Spreads the large bounty of his level blaze,
 Lengthening the shades of mountains and tall trees,
 And throwing blacker shadows o'er the sheet
 Of the dark stream, in whose unruffled tide
 Waiver the bank-shrub and the graceful elm,
 As the gray branches and their trembling leaves
 Catch the soft whispers of the evening air."

GEORGE LUNT.



It was in the afternoon of a warm, bright day in October, that I left Boston for Norwich and New London, upon the Thames, in Connecticut, where I purposed to pass two or three days in visiting the interesting localities in their respective neighborhoods. I journeyed upon the great Western rail-way from Boston to Worcester, forty-four miles westward, where the Norwich road branches off in the direction of Long Island Sound, and courses down the beautiful valleys of the French and Quinebaug Rivers. Every rood of the way is agreeably diversified. Hill and mountain, lake and streamlet, farm-house and village, charmed the eye with a kaleidoscope variety as our train thundered over the road at the rate of thirty miles an hour. Yet memory can fix upon only a few prominent points, and these appear to make the sum of all which the eye gazed upon. Thus I remember the sweet Lake Cochituate, whose clear waters now bless the city of Boston with limpid streams. I remember it stretching away north from the rail-way, pierced with many green headlands, and rippled by the wings of waterfowl. Thus, too, I remember the beautiful little Mashapaug,¹ lying in a bowl of the wooded hills of Killingly, sparkling in the slant rays of the evening sun as we swept by and became lost among the rugged heights and dark forests at twilight.

The Quinebaug is dotted with pretty factory villages at almost every rift in its course; and, as we halted a moment at the stations, the serried lights of the mills, and the merry laughter of troops of girls just released from labor, joyous as children bursting from school, agreeably broke the monotony of an evening ride in a close car. We reached the Shetucket Valley at about half past seven o'clock, and at eight I was pleasantly housed at the Mer-

¹ This sheet of water is now known by the unpoetical name of Alexander's Lake, from the circumstance that a Scotchman, named Neil Alexander, settled there, and owned all the lands in the vicinity in the year 1720. The Indians, who called it Mashapaug, had a curious tradition respecting the origin of the lake. I quote from *Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut*, p. 431: "In ancient times, when the red men of this quarter had long enjoyed prosperity, that is, when they had found plenty of game in the woods and fish in the ponds and rivers, they at length fixed the time for a general *powwow*—a sort of festival for eating, drinking, smoking, singing, and dancing. The spot chosen for this purpose was a sandy hill, or mountain, covered with tall pines, occupying the situation where the lake now lies. The *powwow* lasted four days in succession, and was to continue longer, had not the Great Spirit, enraged at the licentiousness that prevailed there, resolved to punish them. Accordingly, while the red people, in immense numbers, were capering about on the summit of the mountain, it suddenly gave way beneath them and sunk to a great depth, when the waters from below rushed up and covered them all, except one good old *squaw*, who occupied the peak which now bears the name of Loon's Island. Whether the tradition is entitled to credit or not, we will do it justice by affirming that in a clear day, when there is no wind, and the surface of the lake is smooth, the huge trunks and leafless branches of *gigantic pines* may be occasionally seen in the deepest part of the water, some of them reaching almost to the surface, in such huge and fantastic forms as to cause the beholder to startle!"

chants' Hotel in Norwich, a city beautifully situated at the confluence of the Yantic and Shetucket Rivers, whose wedded waters here form the broad and navigable Thames.

Early in the morning I started in search of celebrities, and had the good fortune to meet with Edwin Williams, Esq., the widely-known author of the "Statesman's Manual" and other standard works. Norwich is his birth-place, and was his residence during his youth, and he is as familiar with its history and topography as a husbandman is with that of his farm. With such a guide, accompanied by his intelligent little son, an earnest delver among the whys and wherefores in the mine of knowledge, I anticipated a delightful journey of a day. Nor was I disappointed; and the pleasures and profit of that day's ramble form one of the brightest points in my interesting tour. I procured a span of horses and a barouche to convey us to Lebanon, twelve miles northward, the residence of Jonathan Trumbull, the patriot governor of Connecticut during the Revolution. While the hostler is harnessing our team, let us open the chronicles of Norwich and see what history has recorded there.

Like that of all the ancient New England towns, the Indian history of Norwich, commencing with the advent of the English in that neighborhood about 1643, is full of romance, and woos the pen to depict it; but its relation to my subject is only incidental, and I must pass it by with brief mention.

Norwich is in the midst of the ancient Mohegan country, and Mohegan was its Indian name. Uncas was the chief of the tribe when the English first settled at Hartford, and built a fort at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. He formed a treaty of amity with the whites; and so fair were his broad acres upon the head waters of the Pequot River, now the Thames, that the sin of covetousness soon pervaded the hearts of the Puritan settlers. Wawekus Hill, now in the center of Norwich, was a famous observatory for his warriors, for eastward of them were the powerful Narragansets, sworn enemies of the Mohegans, and governed by the brave Miantonōmoh, also a friend of the white men. In the spring of 1643 the flame of war was lighted between these powerful tribes, and Miantonōmoh led his warriors to an invasion of the Mohegan country. His plans were secretly laid, and he hoped to take Uncas by surprise. For this purpose six hundred of his bravest warriors were led stealthily, by night marches, toward the head waters of the Pequot. At dawn, one morning, they were discovered at the Shetucket Fords, near the mouth of the Quinebang, by some of the vigilant Mohegan scouts upon the Wawekus. From the rocky nooks near the falls of the Yantic, a canoe, bearing a messenger with the intelligence, shot down the Thames to Shantock Point, where Uncas was strongly fortified. With three or four hundred of his best warriors he marched to meet Miantonōmoh. They confronted at the Great Plains, a mile and a half below Norwich, on the west side of the Thames. A fierce conflict ensued. The advantage gained by Uncas by strategy¹ was maintained, and the Narragansets were put to flight, closely pursued by the Mohegans. Through tangled woods and over rocky ledges, across the Yantic, and over the high plain of Norwich toward the Shetucket Fords, the pursued and pursuers swept like a blast. Two swift-footed Mohegans pursued Miantonōmoh with unwearied pertinacity, and finally outstripped him, he being encumbered with a heavy corselet. They impeded his progress, but did not attempt to seize him, that honor being reserved for their chief. As soon as Uncas touched Miantonōmoh, the latter halted and sat down in silence. He was conducted in triumph to Shantock, where Uncas treated him with generous kindness and respect. The conflict had been brief, but thirty of the Narragansets were slain. Among the prisoners were a brother of the captive king, and two sons of Canonius, his uncle.

Uncas, probably fearing that the Narragansets would make an attempt to recapture their

¹ When Uncas saw the superior number of Miantonōmoh's warriors, he sent a messenger to that chief to say, in the name of Uncas, "Let us two fight single-handed. If you kill me, my men shall be yours; if I kill you, your men shall be mine." Miantonōmoh, suspecting treachery, disdainfully rejected the proposition. Uncas then fell on his face, a signal previously agreed upon with his warriors, who, with bent bows, rushed upon the Narragansets, who were carelessly awaiting the result of the conference, and thus put them to flight.

Surrender of Miantonômoh to the English. Unjust Decision. Murder of Miantonômoh. Settlement of New London.

chief, sent him to Hartford, and surrendered him into the custody of the English, agreeing to be governed in his future conduct toward his prisoner by their advice. Miantonômoh was imprisoned until September, when the commissioners of the United Colonies, at their meeting in Boston, after debating the question whether it would be lawful to take the life of Miantonômoh, referred his case to an ecclesiastical tribunal, composed of five of the principal ministers of the colonies. Their decision was in favor of handing him over to Uncas for *execution, without torture*, within the dominions of that sachem. Delighted with the verdict of his Christian allies, the equally savage Mohegan, with a few trusty followers, conducted Miantonômoh to the spot where he was captured, and, while marching unsuspecting of present danger, a brother of Uncas, at a sign from that chief, buried his hatchet in the head of the royal prisoner. Uncas cut a piece of flesh from the shoulder of the slain captive and ate it, saying, "It is very sweet; it makes my heart strong." Satisfied revenge made it sweet; and no doubt his heart felt stronger when he saw his powerful enemy lying dead at his feet. The whole transaction was base treachery and ingratitude. Miantonômoh had been the firm friend of the whites on Rhode Island, and his sentence was a flagrant offense against the principles of common justice and Christianity. He was buried where he was slain, and from these circumstances the place has since been called the Sachem's Plain.¹

The Narragansets, burning with revenge, and led by Pessacus, a brother of Miantonômoh, invaded the Mohegan country in the spring of 1645. Plantations were laid waste, and Uncas, with his principal warriors, was driven into his strong fortress at Shantock. There he was closely besieged, but found means to send a messenger to Captain Mason, the destroyer of the Pequots, then commanding the fort at Saybrook. As in duty bound, that officer sent succor to his ally, not in men, for they were not needed, but in provisions. Thomas Leffingwell, a young man of undaunted courage, paddled a canoe up the Pequot at night, laden with many hundred weight of beef, corn, pease, &c., and deposited them safely within the fort at Shantock. This timely relief was made known to the besiegers by hoisting a piece of beef upon a pole above the ramparts of the fort. Unable to break down the fortress, the Narragansets raised the siege and returned to their own country. This invasion was repeated, and with almost fatal effect to Uncas. The English saved him, and, finally, after nearly twenty years of strife, the hatchet was buried between these tribes.

It was in the midst of these hostilities that the younger Winthrop and others commenced a settlement at Pequot Harbor, now New London; and in 1659 Uncas and his two sons signed a deed at Saybrook, conveying a tract of land, "lying at the head of the Great River," nine miles square, to Thomas Leffingwell and others, for a value consideration of about three hundred and fifty dollars. Leffingwell had thirty-five associates, and there founded the city of Norwich, at the head of the plain now known as the *old town*, or *up town*. It is not my province to trace the progress of settlement, but simply to note the prominent points

UNKOS,

his mark.
OWANKEO,

his mark.
ATTAWAUHOOD,

his mark.
SIGNATURES OF UNCAS
AND HIS SONS.²

¹ The spot where Miantonômoh was buried is a little northward of the village of Greenville, on the west bank of the Shetucket, and about a mile and a half from Norwich. A pile of stones was placed upon his grave, and for many years a portion of his tribe came, in the season of flowers, and mourned over his remains, each one adding a stone to the tumulus. At length their visits ceased, and the voice of tradition being seldom heard at that isolated spot, the proprietor of the land, ignorant of the fact that the pile of stones was sepulchral and sacred to patriotism, used them in the construction of the foundation of a barn. On the 4th of July, 1841, the people of Greenville celebrated, by a festival, the erection of a monument to Miantonômoh, on the spot where he was slain. It is a block of granite eight feet high, and about five feet square at the base, bearing the inscription

Miantonômoh.
1643.

I did not visit the spot, but, from description, I think the initial letter I, at the beginning of this chapter, is a fair representation of it.

² Owankeo was a bold warrior in his youth, and was distinguished in King Philip's War. In maturity,

Settlement of Norwich.

Mohegan Cemetery.

Uncas's Monument.

Revolutionary Spirit.

Owaneco.

in the colonial history of a people who were among the earliest and most ardent supporters of the Revolution.¹

It was a charming spot where the Puritan settlers founded the city of Norwich, a name given to it in honor of the English birth-place of some of them. "Birds and animals of almost every species belonging to the climate were numerous to an uncommon degree; and the hissing of snakes, as well as the howling of wolves and bears must soon have become familiar to their ears. To complete the view, it may be added, that the streams swarmed with fish and wild fowl; in the brooks and meadows were found the beaver and the otter, and through the whole scene stalked at intervals the Indian and the deer." The planting of this settlement greatly pleased Uncas, but irritated the Narragansets; the former regarding it with pleasure, as the latter did with anger, as a barrier to the meditated invasions of the Mohegan country by the tribe of Miantonomoh. Uncas remained a firm friend to the whites until his death, which occurred soon after the close of King Philip's War, probably in 1683. He died at Mohegan (Norwich), and was interred in the burial-ground of his family, situated upon the high plain just above the falls of the Yantic. The royal cemetery has been inclosed, and a granite monument erected therein to the memory of the celebrated sachem.

UNCAS'S MONUMENT.²

The first male white child born in Norwich was November 1, 1660. Christopher Huntington, afterward recorder of the town. The name of Huntington is intimately connected with the whole history of that settlement, and is prominent in our revolutionary annals. Several of that name were engaged in the army, and one, Samuel Huntington, was President of Congress. Indeed, the whole population seemed to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of freedom, and from the Stamp Act era until the close of the war for independence, almost every patriotic measure adopted was an act of the town, not of impromptu assemblages of the friends of liberty or of committees.⁴ Like

having lost the stimulus of war, "he used to wander about with his blanket, metonep, and sandals, his gun, and his squaw," says Miss Caulkins, "to beg in the neighboring towns, quartering himself in the kitchens and outhouses of his white friends, and presenting to strangers, or those who could not well understand his imperfect English, a *brief*, which had been written for him by Mr. Richard Bushnell. It was as follows:

"Oneco king, his queen doth bring
To beg a little food:
As they go along their friends among
To try how kind, how good.
Some pork, some beef, for their relief;
And if you can't spare bread,
She'll thank you for your pudding, as they go a gooding,
And carry it on her head."

¹ The reader is referred to a well-written volume of 360 pages, *A History of Norwich, Connecticut, from its Settlement in 1660, to January, 1845*: by Miss F. M. Caulkins. It is carefully compiled from the town records, old newspapers, and well-authenticated traditions, many of the latter being derived from then living witnesses of the scenes of the Revolution. I am indebted to this valuable little work for much interesting matter connected with Norwich.

² Miss Caulkins, page 40.

³ This monument is on the south side of Prospect Street, and stands within a shaded inclosure surrounded by a hedge of prim, upon the estate of Judge Goddard. The obelisk is a single block of granite, and, with the pedestal, is about twenty feet high. The monument was erected by the citizens of Norwich. The foundation-stone was laid by President Jackson, while visiting Norwich during his Eastern tour in 1832. Several small tomb-stones of those of the royal line of Uncas are within the inclosure. The name has now become extinct, the last Uncas having been buried there about the beginning of the present century. A descendant of Uncas, named Mazeon, was buried there in 1827, on which occasion the wife of Judge Goddard (he being absent) invited the remnant of the Mohegan tribe, then numbering about sixty, to partake of a cold collation.

⁴ On the 7th of April, 1765, on the receipt of intelligence of the passage of the Stamp Act, the people, in town-meeting assembled, voted unanimously "that the town clerk shall proceed in his office as usual, and the town will save him harmless from all damage that he may sustain thereby."

Norwich Liberty Tree. Celebration under it. Honors to John Wilkes. Patriotic Town Meeting. Benevolence of the People.

those of Boston, the people of Norwich had their *Liberty Tree*, under which public meetings were held in opposition to the Stamp Act. It was brought from the forest, and erected in the center of the open plain. Ingersoll, the stamp distributor for Connecticut, was burned in effigy upon the high hill overlooking the plain, just above the site of the old meeting-house. The repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated, on the first anniversary of the event, on the 18th of March, 1767, with great festivity; under *Liberty Tree*, which was decked with standards and appropriate devices, and crowned with a Phrygian cap. A tent, or booth, was erected under it, called a pavilion. Here, almost daily, people assembled to hear news and encourage each other in the determination to resist every kind of oppression.¹

The inhabitants of Norwich entered heartily into the scheme of non-importation from Great Britain. The pledge was generally signed, and almost all were strictly faithful. On the 7th of June, 1768, an entertainment was given at Peck's tavern,² to celebrate the election of John Wilkes to a seat in Parliament. Every thing was arranged in excellent taste. All the table furniture, such as plates, bowls, tureens, tumblers, and napkins, were marked "45," the number of the *North Briton*, Wilkes's paper, that drew down upon his head the ire of the British government, and, consequently, as a *persecuted patriot*, obtained for him a seat in the House of Commons. The Tree of Liberty was decorated with new banners and devices, among which was a flag inscribed "No. 45, WILKES AND LIBERTY." Another celebration was held there in September, avowedly to ridicule the commissioners of customs at Boston; and in various ways the people manifested their defiance of British power, where it wielded instruments of oppression. The margins of their public records, for a series of years, were emblazoned with the words LIBERTY! LIBERTY! LIBERTY! Every man was a self-constituted member of the committee of vigilance, and none could drink tea, or use other proscribed articles with impunity. Some who offended were forced publicly to recant. The conduct of such persons was under the special inspection of the Sons of Liberty, of whom Captain Joseph Trumbull, a younger son of Governor Trumbull, was one of the most active.

On the 6th of June, 1774, a town meeting was held in Norwich, to take into consideration "the melancholy state of affairs." Honorable Jabez Huntington was chosen moderator; a series of resolutions, drawn up by Captain Trumbull and Samuel Huntington, were adopted,³ and a standing committee of correspondence, composed of some of the leading patriots of the town, was appointed.⁴ The people of Boston, in their distress, consequent upon the closing of the port,⁵ received substantial testimonies of the sympathy of those of
 Norwich;⁶ and when the rumor which went abroad that the British soldiers were massacring the people of Boston, reached Norwich, a multitude gathered around the Liberty Tree, and the next morning (Sunday) four hundred and sixty-four men,

September 3,
1774.

¹ Miss Caulkins, page 208.

² This building, though somewhat altered, is yet standing on one side of the green in the upper town, not far from the court-house. Belah Peck, Esq., son of the proprietor of the house at that time, and then a half-grown boy, was yet living. I met him upon the road, when returning from Lebanon, sitting in his wagon as erect as most men at seventy. He died toward the close of 1850, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

³ One of these resolutions, looking favorably to a general Congress, was as follows: "That we will, to the utmost of our abilities, assert and defend the liberties and immunities of British America; and that we will co-operate with our other brethren, in this and the other colonies, in such reasonable measures as shall, in general Congress or otherwise, be judged most proper to release us from burdens we now feel, and secure us from greater evils we fear will follow from the principles adopted by the British Parliament respecting the town of Boston." This was one of the earliest movements in the colonies favorable to a general Congress.

⁴ The committee consisted of Captain Jedediah Huntington, C. Leffingwell, Dr. Theophilus Rogers, Captain William Hubbard, and Captain Joseph Trumbull. Captain Huntington was afterward aid to General Washington, and brigadier general in the Continental army. Captain Trumbull was made a commissary in the army.

⁵ The inhabitants of Norwich sent cash, wheat, corn, and a flock of three hundred and ninety sheep, for the relief of the suffering poor of Boston. This liberality was greatly applauded in the public prints of the day. A further instance of the liberal devotion of the people of Norwich to the cause may be mentioned. The Connecticut Gazette for January, 1778, published at New London, says, "On the last Sabbath of December, 1777, a contribution was taken up in the several parishes of Norwich for the benefit of the officers

March of Militia to Boston.

General Huntington.

The French Officers.

Benjamin Huntington.

a large proportion of them well mounted, started for the oppressed city, under Major John Durkee. The report proved to be false; but the following year, when the skirmish at Lexington inflamed all Anglo-America, a large proportion of these same men hastened to Cambridge, and Durkee and others were in the battle of Bunker Hill.¹ A company of one hundred choice men, raised by Durkee in Norwich, marched thither under Lieutenant Joshua Huntington, and were annexed to Putnam's brigade.

In the spring of 1776, the Continental army that left Boston for New York after the British evacuation of the former place, passed through Norwich to embark for New London. There General Washington met Governor Trumbull by appointment, and both dined together at the table of Colonel Jedediah Huntington. The dwelling of that active patriot, pictured in the engraving, is well preserved in its original character. It is in the present possession of his nieces, the daughters of Colonel Ebenezer Huntington. Its roof at different times sheltered several of the foreign officers—La Fayette, Steuben, Pulaski, the Duke de Lauzun, and the Marquis de Chastellux. While Lauzun's legion was cantoned at Lebanon, in the winter of 1780–81, General Huntington invited that nobleman and his officers

RESIDENCE OF GENERAL HUNTINGTON.²

to a banquet at his house. The noble and brilliant appearance of these men when they rode into the town attracted great attention. After the dinner was over, the whole party went into the yard, now adorned with flowering shrubs, and gave three loud huzzas for liberty!

Our vehicle is at the door; let us take the reins and depart for Lebanon.

Before leaving Norwich, we called upon Jonathan G. W. Trumbull, Esq., a grandson of the patriot governor of that name, who kindly furnished us with a letter of introduction to "the oldest inhabitant" of Lebanon, Captain Hubbard Dutton. Mr. Trumbull is a lineal descendant, through his grandmother, of the Reverend John Robinson, the Puritan divine whose flock were the PILGRIM FATHERS. Among other relics, Mr. Trumbull showed us a

and soldiers who belonged to said town, when they collected 386 pairs of stockings, 227 pairs of shoes, 118 shirts, 78 jackets, 48 pairs of overalls, 208 pairs of mittens, 11 buff caps, 15 pairs of breeches, 9 coats, 22 rifle frocks, 19 handkerchiefs, and £258 17s. 8d. [about \$1295], which was forwarded to the army. Also collected a quantity of pork, cheese, wheat, rye, Indian corn, sugar, rice, flax, wood, &c., &c., to be distributed to the needy families of the officers and soldiers. The whole amounted to the sum of £1400," or about \$7000.

¹ This was the Colonel Durkee engaged in affairs at Wyoming, and known as "the bold Bean Hiller." See note, vol. i., page 345.

² This pleasant mansion is situated in Old Norwich, or "up town," a few rods eastward of that of Governor Huntington. The original owner, Jedediah Huntington, was one of five sons of General Jabez Huntington, who were in the Continental army at different times during the war. He was born at Norwich, August 15, 1745, and graduated at Harvard College in 1763. The address which he delivered upon that occasion was "the first English oration ever heard upon the commencement boards" of that institution. When opposition to British rule began, young Huntington was aroused, and at once espoused the cause of the colonists. He was an active Son of Liberty, and was one of the earliest captains of militia in his native town. He raised a regiment, and with it joined the Continental army in 1775. In 1777, Congress commissioned him a brigadier, which office he held until the close of the war. Washington highly esteemed him, and appointed him collector of the port of New London in 1789. He resided there until his death, which occurred on the 25th of September, 1818. His first wife was daughter of Governor Trumbull. She died at Dedham, while her husband was on his way to Cambridge, in 1775. His second wife was sister to the late Bishop Moore of Virginia. She died in 1831.

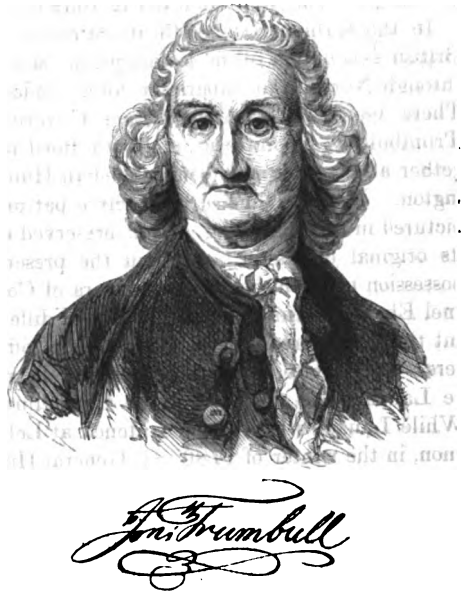
Benjamin Huntington, of another family, was the first mayor of Norwich, and was a representative in the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1787 inclusive; also during Washington's administration. His son Benjamin married a daughter of General Jedediah Huntington, who became the mother of Huntington, our distinguished artist. He was at one time one of the most eminent of New York brokers. He died on the 3d of August, 1850, at the age of seventy-three years.

A precious Heir-loom. The Road to Lebanon. Bozrah and Fitchville. Situation of Lebanon. Governor Trumbull.

silver cup, with a richly-wrought handle, and bearing the initials I. R., which belonged to Mr. Robinson. It is properly preserved as a most precious heir-loom.

The road to Lebanon passes through a broken but fertile country, every where thoroughly cultivated where tillage is practicable. We passed through Old Norwich and over Bean Hill, but, mistaking the Colchester road for the Lebanon turnpike, found ourselves at Fitchville, in Bozrah, nearly two miles from our most direct way.¹ The ride along the high banks of the winding Yantic, couraging in a deep bed among stately trees, was ample compensation for the loss of time, and we had no inclination to chide the road-fork that deceived us.

The gentle hills rise one above another toward Lebanon, until they are lost in a high, rolling plain, on which the old town is situated. The land throughout that region has ever been held in the highest estimation for its fertility; and around Lebanon, the focus of Connecticut patriotism and vigilance during the Revolution, cluster associations of the deepest interest. Here was the residence of Governor Trumbull, whose name and deeds are worthily associated with those of Washington, on the records of our war for independence. No man during that contest acted with more



¹ The origin of this name is a little amusing. A plain man, who lived where Fitchville now is, was not remarkable for quoting Scripture correctly. On one occasion, in quoting the passage from Isaiah, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah," &c., he stated that the *Prophet Bozrah* said thus and so. He was afterward called the Prophet, and the place of his residence *Bozrah*. When the town was incorporated, that name was given to it.—*Barber*, 302.

² Jonathan Trumbull was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, on the 10th of June (O. S.), 1710. He graduated at Harvard in 1727, and commenced the study of theology with the Reverend Solomon Williams, of Lebanon. The death of an elder brother, who was engaged in a mercantile business with his father at Lebanon, caused him to become a merchant instead of a clergyman. At the age of twenty-three he was elected a member of the Connecticut Assembly, where his business capacities raised him rapidly in public estimation. He was elected lieutenant governor of the colony in 1766, and by virtue of that office became chief justice of the Superior Court. His first bold step in opposition to Great Britain was in refusing to take the oath enjoined in 1768, which was an almost unconditional submission to all the power claimed by Parliament; nor would he be present when others, more timorous than he, took it. Because of his firmness he was chosen governor of the colony in 1769, and he has the proud distinction of being the only colonial governor at the commencement of the Revolution who espoused the cause of the colonies. He was considered the whig leader in New England while the Adamses and Hancock were legislating in the Continental Congress; and during the whole contest no man was more implicitly relied upon as a firm, consistent, and active friend of liberty than Governor Trumbull. "General Washington relied on him," says Sparks, "as one of his main pillars of support." In 1783, when peace for the colonies returned, Governor Trumbull, then seventy-three years old, declined a re-election to the office of governor, which he had held fourteen consecutive years. He retired from public life, but did not live long to enjoy the quiet he so much coveted in the bosom of his family. He was seized with a malignant fever in August, 1785, and on the 17th of that month died. His son was afterward Governor of Connecticut, and in 1849 his grandson filled that responsible office.

The Marquis de Chastellux, who came to America with Rochambeau in 1780, has left behind him a charming, life-like description of his sojourn here. He thus pleasantly alludes to Governor Trumbull. "I have already painted Governor Trumbull. At present you have only to represent to yourself this little old man, in the antique dress of the first settlers in this colony, approaching a table surrounded by twenty huzar officers, and, without either disconcerting himself or losing any thing of his formal stiffness, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *benedicite*. Let it not be imagined that he excites the laughter of his auditors; they are too well trained; you must, on the contrary, figure to yourself twenty *Amens*,

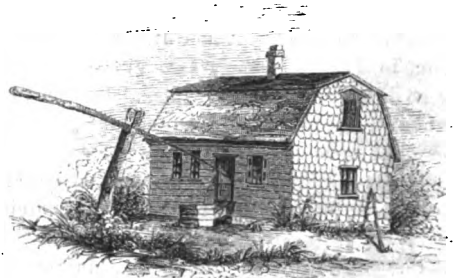
Character and Services of Governor Trumbull.

His Dwelling and War Office.

Settlement of Lebanon.

Lauzun.

energy, or plied his talents and resources with more industry than he. During the whole war, the responsible duties and services of governor of the state rested upon him, yet he performed immense labors in other departments of the field to which he was called, notwithstanding he was more than threescore years old. His correspondence was very extensive, and he sat in council no less than one thousand days during the war. Washington never applied to him for supplies of any kind without receiving an immediate response. It is a fact worthy of record that, although Connecticut can not point to any brilliant battle field within her borders, she furnished for that war more troops and supplies than any other colony, except Massachusetts. If the old *war office* of Governor Trumbull, yet standing at Lebanon, had a tongue to speak, it might tell of many a scheme elaborated there, which, in its consummation, may have been the act that turned the scale of destiny in favor of the Americans. There the illustrious owner discussed, with Washington, Franklin, Rochambeau, and others, the gravest questions which then occupied the attention of two hemispheres. Such a spot is like consecrated ground, and the shoes of irreverence should never press the green-sward around it.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL'S WAR OFFICE.¹

THE TRUMBULL HOUSE.

We dined at the upper end of the village, and then proceeded to visit the relics of the era of the Revolution which remain. I have called Lebanon an old town. A portion of the tract was purchased about 1698, of *Owaneko*, the son of *Uncas*. There were several tracts purchased by the whites in the vicinity, all of which were united in the year 1700. The village is situated principally upon a street thirty rods wide, and more than a mile in length. Several well-built houses erected before or about the time of the Revolution yet remain. Among them is that of Governor Trumbull. It is a substantial frame building, and is now (1849) owned by Mrs. Eunice Mason, a widow eighty years of age. We were denied the pleas-

ure of an interview with her on account of her feeble health. The house is on the west side of the street, near the road running westward to Colchester. Sixty or seventy rods southwest from the Trumbull House is the "barrack lot," the place where Lauzun's legion of cavalry were encamped.² His corps consisted of about five hundred horsemen. Rocham-

issuing at once from the midst of forty mustaches, and you will have some idea of the little scene."—*Travels*, i., 458.

¹ This was the building in which Governor Trumbull transacted his public business. It formerly stood near his dwelling, but is now several rods northwest of it, on the same side of the Common. For many years it was occupied as a post-office. This sketch was taken from the open field in the rear, looking north.

² The Duke de Lauzun was an accomplished, but exceedingly voluptuous and unprincipled man. His personal beauty, talents, wit, wealth, and bravery were passports to the friendship of men who abhorred his profligacy. Why he espoused the cause of the Americans it is not easy to determine, unless, surfeited with sensual indulgences, he was desirous of engaging in new excitements, where he might regain the waning vigor of his body. His conduct here made him very popular. After his return to Europe he became acquainted with Talleyrand, and accompanied him on a mission to England in 1792. There one of his familiar associates was the Prince of Wales, afterward George IV. On the death of his uncle, the Duke de Biron, Lauzun succeeded to the title. He became involved in the stormy movements of the French Revolution, and being found guilty of secretly favoring the Vendéans, was executed on the 31st of December, 1793. Two officers in his regiment in America, named Dillon, brothers, also suffered death by the guillotine.

The Alden Tavern.

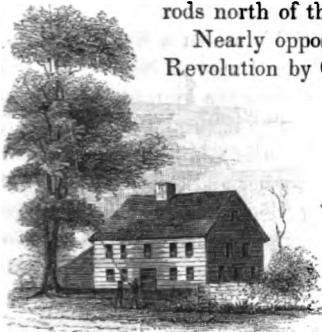
General Prescott horsewhipped there.

The Williams House.

The Trumbull Vault.

beau was there, with five regiments, for about three weeks, in the winter of 1780, and while he tarried Washington arrived, stayed a few days, and reviewed the French troops. A French soldier was shot for desertion, a few rods north of the "barrack lot."

Nearly opposite the Trumbull mansion is the old tavern kept during the Revolution by Captain Alden. It is famous generally as a place of rendezvous of the French officers, for drinking and playing, and more particularly as the house where General Prescott, the British officer who was captured on Rhode Island, stopped to dine, while on his way, under an escort, to Washington's camp, and received a horsewhipping from the landlord.¹ Of the remarkable circumstances of Prescott's capture I shall hereafter write. Mr. Wattles, the present proprietor of the old tavern, is a descendant of Captain Alden. While making the annexed sketch we were joined by Captain Dutton, the venerable citizen to whom we bore a letter of introduction, but who was ab-



THE ALDEN TAVERN.

sent from home when we arrived in the village. He has a distinct recollection of all the revolutionary events about Lebanon and vicinity, and could direct us to every spot made memorable by those events.

On the corner of the road leading from Lebanon to Windham is the house once occupied by William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It has been slightly modified, but its general appearance is the same as it was during the Revolution. Its present occupant is Mr. Simeon Peckam. A bi-

ographical sketch of Mr. Williams will be found among those

of the Signers, in another portion of this work, and the most prominent events of his life are also noticed in his epitaph, given on the next page.

We will pass on to the sacred inclosure containing the vault of the Trumbull family. It is in a cemetery a little eastward of the village, and near the Windham Road — a cemetery which, probably contains the remains of more distinguished men of the Revolution than any other in the country. In the Trumbull tomb are the remains of two governors of Connecticut, the first com-

THE TRUMBULL VAULT.²

missary general of the United States, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

¹ While at table, Mrs. Alden brought on a dish of succotash (boiled beans and corn), a dish much valued in America. Prescott, unused to such food, exclaimed indignantly, "What! do you treat me with the food of hogs?" and taking the dish from the table, strewed the contents over the floor. Captain Alden, being informed of this, soon entered with a horsewhip, and flogged the general severely. After Prescott was exchanged and restored to his command on Rhode Island, the inhabitants of Newport deputed William Rotch, Dr. Tupper, and Timothy Folger to negotiate some concerns with him in behalf of the town. They were for some time refused admittance to his presence, but the doctor and Folger finally entered the room. Prescott stormed with great violence, until Folger was compelled to withdraw. After the doctor had announced his business, and Prescott had become calm, the general said, "Was not my treatment to Folger very uncivil?" "Yes," replied the doctor. "Then," said Prescott, "I will tell you the reason; he looked so much like a d—d Connecticut man that horsewhipped me, that I could not endure his presence." — *Thatcher's Journal*, p. 175.

² The marble monument standing in front of the tomb is in memory of William Williams, a signer of the



THE WILLIAMS HOUSE.

Return to Norwich. Destruction of the Yantic Falls. Birth-place of Arnold. Inscription upon the Trumbull Monument.

The day was waning when I finished my sketches, and bidding Lebanon and its interesting associations adieu, we returned to Norwich, stopping for a few minutes at the Schem's Burial-ground, on the verge of the city, to delineate the monument of Uncas, printed on page 30.

On the following morning, accompanied by Mr. Williams and his son in a light dearborn, I proceeded to visit the many points of historic interest within and around Norwich. We went to the plain and the upper town by the road that passes along the margin of the Yantic, to the once romantic falls near the mouth of that river. The natural beauties of this cascade were half hidden and defaced long ago by towering factories; but the chief spoiler was *public improvement*, which, with pick and powder-blast, hammer and trowel, has dugged down the crown of the waterfall, and bridged it by a rail-way viaduct. A curve of a few rods might have spared the beautiful Yantic Falls; but what right has Nature to intrude her charms in the way of the footsteps of Mammon? I saw at the house of Mr. Trumbull, in Norwich, a fine picture of these romantic falls, painted by the eminent artist JOHN TRUMBULL, a son of the patriot governor, before a layer of brick or the sound of an ax had desecrated the spot. It was, indeed, a charming scene.

About half way between Norwich city and the upper town, on the right or south side of the road, is the birth-place of Benedict Arnold, depicted in the annexed engraving. The view is from the road, looking southeast. The house has had some slight additions to its size since Arnold played in its garden in petticoats and bib, yet its general appearance is the same as at that time. Several circumstances bord-



BIRTH-PLACE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Declaration of Independence, and bears the following inscription: "The remains of the Honorable WILLIAM WILLIAMS are deposited in this tomb. Born April 8th, 1731; died the 2d of August, 1811, in the 81st year of his age. A man eminent for his virtues and piety. For more than 50 years he was constantly employed in public life, and served in many of the most important offices in the gift of his fellow-citizens. During the whole period of the Revolutionary war, he was a firm, steady, and ardent friend of his country, and in the darkest times risked his life and wealth in her defense. In 1776 and 1777 he was a member of the American Congress, and as such signed the Declaration of Independence. His public and private virtues, his piety and benevolence, will long endear his memory to his surviving friends; above all, he was a sincere Christian, and in his last moments placed his hope, with an humble confidence, in his Redeemer. He had the inexpressible satisfaction to look back upon a long, honorable, and well-spent life."

On the pedestal upon the top of the tomb are the following inscriptions: "Sacred to the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., who, unaided by birth or powerful connections, but blessed with a noble and virtuous mind, arrived to the highest station in government. His patriotism and firmness during 50 years' employment in public life, and particularly in the very important part he acted in the American Revolution, as Governor of Connecticut, the faithful page of history will record. Full of years and honors, rich in benevolence, and firm in the faith and hopes of Christianity, he died, August 9, 1785, *Ætates* 75."

"Sacred to the memory of Madam Faith Trumbull,* the amiable lady of Governor Trumbull, born at Duxbury, Mass., A.D. 1718. Happy and beloved in her connubial state, she lived a virtuous, charitable, and Christian life at Lebanon, in Connecticut, and died lamented by numerous friends A.D. 1780, aged 62 years."

"Sacred to the memory of Joseph Trumbull, eldest son of Governor Trumbull, and first commissary general of the United States of America; a service to whose perpetual cares and fatigues he fell a sacrifice A.D. 1778, aged 42 years. Full soon, indeed! may his person, his virtues, and even his extensive benevolence be forgotten by his friends and fellow-men. But blessed be God! for the Hope that in his presence he shall be remembered forever."

"To the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq.,† late Governor of the State of Connecticut. He was born March 26th, 1740, and died August 7th, 1809, aged 69 years. His remains were deposited with those of his father."

* Her maiden name was Robinson, and she was a lineal descendant of the Reverend Mr. Robinson, pastor at Leyden of many of the Pilgrim Fathers.

† Son of the first governor.

Arnold's early Years. Attempt to commit Murder. A Ringleader in Mischief. His Mother. Scorching Acrostic.

ering upon the marvelous, and viewed with a little superstition, gave the house an unpleasant notoriety, and for many years it was untenanted, because it was haunted! by what or whom rumor never deigned to reveal. When I visited it, only two or three rooms were occupied, the others being empty and locked. The room in which Arnold was born, in the southwest corner of the second story, was occupied, and the people seemed to be familiar with the traditions respecting the boyhood of that distinguished man. Arnold was blessed with a mother (Hannah King, of Norwich), who was, says her epitaph, "A pattern of patience, piety, and virtue," but her lessons seem to have been fruitless of good effect upon the headstrong boy.¹ He was wayward, disobedient, unscrupulous, and violent—traits of character which finally worked his ruin. He even attempted *murder*, while a young man residing at Norwich, by shooting a youthful Frenchman, who paid court to Arnold's sister, Hannah, by whom his love was reciprocated. Young Arnold disliked him, and finding persuasion powerless on the mind of his sister to induce her to break off her engagement with the foreigner, vowed vengeance upon him if he ever caught him in the house again. The opportunity occurred, and Arnold discharged a loaded pistol at him as he escaped from a window, fortunately without effect. The young man left the place forever, and Hannah Arnold lived the life of a maiden. Arnold and the Frenchman afterward met at Honduras. They fought a duel, in which the latter was severely wounded.

When a mere boy, Arnold's courage was remarkable, and among his playmates he was a perfect despot. A ringleader in every mischievous sport, he often performed astonishing feats of daring. On a gala-day, he set a field-piece upright, poured powder into it, and dropped from his own hand a firebrand into the muzzle. On another occasion, at the head of a number of boys, he rolled away some valuable casks from a ship-yard at Chelsea,² to make a thanksgiving bonfire. An officer, sent by the owner to recover them, arrested the casks on their way. The stripling Arnold was enraged, and, taking off his coat upon the spot, dared the constable, a stout man, to fight him! Such was the boyhood of one of the most intrepid generals of our Revolution—such was the early type of the unscrupulous, violent man whose memory is black with the foulest treason.³ We have met him in preceding

¹ Miss Caulkins publishes the following letter from Mrs. Arnold to Benedict, while he was at school in Canterbury. It exhibits the character of his mother in strong contrast with his own in after life.

"Norwich, April 12, 1754.

"DEAR CHILD,—I received yours of the 1st instant, and was glad to hear that you was well. Pray, my dear, let your first concern be to make your peace with God, as it is of all concerns of the greatest importance. Keep a steady watch over your thoughts, words, and actions. Be dutiful to superiors, obliging to equals, and affable to inferiors, if any such there be. Always choose that your companions be your betters, that by their good examples you may learn.

"From your affectionate mother,

HANNAH ARNOLD.

"P.S.—I have sent you \$0s. Use it prudently, as you are accountable to God and your father. Your father and aunt join with me in love and service to Mr. Cogswell and lady, and yourself. Your sister is from home."

² Chelsea is the old port of Norwich. The houses cluster chiefly at the mouth of the Shetucket.

³ Oliver Arnold, a cousin of Benedict, and also a resident of Norwich, was the reputed author of the following scorching acrostic, written after the treason of his kinsman. It is bad poetry and worse sentiment.

"Born for a curse to virtue and mankind,
Earth's broadest realm ne'er knew so black a mind.
Night's sable veil your crimes can never hide,
Each one so great, 'twould glut historic tide.
Defunct, your cursed memory will live,
In all the glare that infamy can give.
Curses of ages will attend your name,
Traitors alone will glory in your shame.

"Almighty vengeance sternly waits to roll
Rivers of sulphur on your treacherous soul;
Nature looks shuddering back with conscious dread
On such a tarnish'd blot as she has made.
Let hell receive you riveted in chains,
Doom'd to the hottest focus of its flames!"

The author of the above had a peculiar talent for making extempore verses. Joel Barlow once met him

Residence of Governor Huntington.

Unpublished Letter written by Washington.

pages in his glorious career as a bold patriot; we shall meet him again presently amid the scenes of his degradation.

Leaving the Arnold House, we rode to the upper town, and halted at the spacious mansion of Charles Spaulding, Esq., formerly the residence of Governor Samuel Huntington, who was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and President of Congress. It was considered the finest dwelling in Norwich when occupied by the governor, and now presents an excellent specimen of the architecture of that era. Surrounded by shade-trees and adorned with shrubbery, it is a summer residence to be coveted by those who love spacious rooms and a quiet location. I saw in the possession



GOVERNOR HUNTINGTON'S MANSION.

of Mrs. Spaulding an autograph letter of General Washington, written to Governor Huntington, then President of Congress. It has never been published, and as its purport is of an interesting public nature, I give a copy of it here.¹

"Head-quarters, New Windsor, 10th April, 1781."

"SIR,

"I beg leave to introduce to your excellency Colonel Menonville, deputy adjutant general to the French army. This gentleman, who is charged by his excellency the Count de Rochambeau with matters respecting a contract entered into by Dr. Franklin, in behalf of the United States, for the supply of a quantity of provision, will, through your excellency, lay his business generally before Congress.

"He will also, agreeably to the wishes of Count Rochambeau, make an application for some heavy iron cannon for the use of the works at Newport, which he understands were imported into New Hampshire for the use of the seventy-four gun ship now upon the stocks. The brass artillery at present in them are the artillery of siege, and must be removed should the army remove. If there are such cannon in New Hampshire, and there is no probability of their being soon wanted for the purpose for which they were intended, I think a part of them can not be better applied.

"I recommend Colonel Menonville to your excellency's personal attention as a gentleman of peculiar merit.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

"His Excellency the President of Congress."

In the rear of the Huntington mansion is the cemetery of the first Congregational society of Norwich. Within it lie the remains of many of the early inhabitants of the town, and

in a book-store in New Haven, and asked him for a specimen of his talent. Arnold immediately repeated the following:

"You've proved yourself a sinful cre'tur;
You've murder'd Watts and spoil'd the meter;
You've tried the Word of God to alter,
And for your pains deserve a halter."

To understand the witty sarcasm of these lines, it must be remembered that Barlow, at that time, was enjoying much notoriety by a publication of a revised and altered edition of Watts's Psalms and Hymns.

¹ The only letter written by Washington at this date, and published in his "Life and Writings" by Sparks, was addressed to the Count de Rochambeau, on the subject of an expedition to Penobscot. See Sparks, viii., 8.

Family Vault of Governor Huntington. Tomb of General Jabez Huntington. His five Sons. The old Burying-ground

upon the steep southern slope of a hill is the family vault of Governor Huntington. It is substantially built of brick. On the front, over the entrance, is an inscribed marble tablet.¹ The tomb is somewhat dilapidated, and the ground overgrown with brambles. In the southern portion of the cemetery, separated from the others by a stone fence, is the family vault of General Jabez Huntington,² formerly one of the leading men of Norwich, and peculiarly honored in contributing five hardy sons to the Continental army. Jedediah was a brigadier general; Andrew was a commissary; Joshua and Ebenezer were colonels. Zachariah, the youngest, was still living with his son, Thomas M. Huntington, Esq., a few rods north of the residence of General Jedediah Huntington, pictured on page 32. We called to see him, but indisposition prevented his receiving visitors. He was then nearly eighty-six years of age. He was drafted in the militia in 1780, but saw little of active military service.³



GOVERNOR HUNTINGTON'S TOMB.



GENERAL HUNTINGTON'S TOMB.

General Jabez Huntington's tomb, like that of the governor, is constructed of brick, having an inscribed marble tablet in front;⁴ but, unlike the other, it was not covered with brambles, nor was there a blade of grass upon the old graves that surround it. The ground had been burned over to clear it of bushes and briars, and the ancient tomb-stones were shamefully blackened by fire. A few yards from Huntington's tomb is the more humble grave of Diah Manning, who was a drummer in the Continental army. He was the jailer at Norwich during the French Revolution. When

Boyer, afterward President of Hayti, was brought to Norwich, among other French prisoners, in 1797, he was treated with great kindness by Manning. The prisoner did not forget it, and when President of St. Domingo, he sent presents to Manning's family.

Leaving the ancient cemetery, we returned to the city, and called upon the almost centenarian Captain Erastus Perkins, residing on Shetucket Street. He is yet living (1850), in the ninety-ninth year of his age. We found him quite strong in body and mind. Many scenes of his early years are still vivid pictures in his memory, and he was able to reproduce them with much interest. He said he distinctly remembered the circumstance of quite a large body of men going from Norwich to New Haven, in 1765, to assist in compelling In-

¹ The following is a copy of the inscription: "SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, Esq., Governor of Connecticut, having served his fellow-citizens in various important offices, died the 5th day of January, A.D. 1796, in the 65th year of his age."

"His consort, Mrs. Martha Huntington, died June 4th, A.D. 1794, in the 57th year of her age."

A portrait and biographical sketch of Governor Huntington will be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in another part of this work.

² Jabez Huntington was born in Norwich, in 1719. He graduated at Yale College in 1741, and soon afterward entered into mercantile business. At one time himself and sons owned and fitted out at the port of Norwich twenty vessels for the West India trade. In 1750 he was elected a member of the Connecticut Assembly, was speaker for several years, and also a member of the Council. He lost nearly half his property by the capture of his vessels when the Revolution broke out. He was an ardent patriot, a very active member of the Council of Safety, and held the office of major general in the militia. He died at Norwich in 1786.

³ General Zachariah Huntington is no more. He died in June, 1850, at the age of eighty-eight. Thus one after another of those whom I visited has since gone to rest in the grave.

⁴ The following is a copy of the inscription: "The family tomb of the Honorable Jabez Huntington, Esq., who died October 5, 1786, aged 67 years."

Captain Perkins.

Old Men of Norwich.

Greenville.

Tory Hill.

Letter of General Williams.

gersoll, the stamp distributor, to resign his office. Captain Perkins went to Roxbury in 1775, and was a sutler in Colonel Huntington's regiment at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill. He was in New York about two years ago, and pointed out the spot ¹⁸⁴⁸ in Wall Street where he stood and saw Washington take the oath as President of the United States, sixty-one years before. For many years Captain Perkins was surveyor of the port of Norwich, and throughout a long life has preserved the esteem of its citizens. He is now the honored head of five generations.¹ A few friends of his youth are still living in Norwich, but most of that generation have long since departed. I was informed by Dr. W. P. Eaton that, the day before I visited Norwich, Captain Perkins and three other men were in his store, whose united ages were three hundred and fifty-seven years—an average of eighty-nine!

Toward evening we strolled up the Shetucket to Greenville, visited the extensive paper and cotton mills there, and returning, crossed, at Chelsea, to the Preston side of the river, and ascended by a winding road to the lofty summit of Tory Hill, so called from the circumstance that it was the confiscated property of a Tory of the Revolution. A magnificent prospect opens to the view from that bald, rocky pinnacle. Southward was visible the dark line of Long Island Sound; on the west, half hidden by groves, rolled the Thames; northward and eastward lay a vast amphitheater of cultivated hills, and the valleys of the Yantic, Quinebaug, and the Shetucket, and at our feet was Norwich city, in crescent form, clasping a high, rocky promontory, like the rich setting of a huge emerald, for in the midst rose the towering Wawekus, yet green with the lingering foliage of summer. A more picturesque scene than this grand observatory affords need not be sought for by the student and lover of nature. There we lingered until the sun went down behind the hills that skirt the great Mohegan Plain, and in the dim twilight we made our way back to the city. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening I bade my kind friend Mr. Williams' adieu, and left Nor-

¹ It is a rather singular fact that Captain Perkins and his wife were both born on Sunday. Their first child was born on Sunday. They had one born on every day of the week—the first on Sunday morning, and the last on Saturday evening; and the head of each of the five generations of which he is the eldest was born on Sunday.

² Mr. Edwin Williams, and his elder brother, Mr. Joseph Williams, of Norwich, are sons of General Joseph Williams, who, though a young man, was an active patriot during the Revolutionary war. He was a merchant, and, in connection with his partner, William Coit, whose daughter he married, was engaged in fitting out armed vessels from Norwich and New London. In one of these he made a voyage to the West Indies. The vessel was pursued by a British armed ship, and an action ensued in which the American vessel was the winner. General Williams spent much of the latter portion of his life in organizing and disciplining the militia of New London county; and until his death he was extensively engaged as a shipping and importing merchant. He died in October, 1800, aged forty-seven years.

Mrs. Russell Hubbard, of Norwich, daughter of General Williams, permitted me to have a copy of a letter of his, written in 1776, from near New York, to his business partner, Mr. Coit. Young Williams had accompanied the Connecticut Continental troops to New York, taking with him a supply of articles adapted to the use of the army. He was then only twenty-three years of age. The letter is interesting, as exhibiting a feature in the business life of the day, and the perfect coolness with which trade was carried on in the midst of the most imminent peril. The letter is written on the blank leaf of an account book.

"New York, seven miles from the city, September 8, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,

"Ever since I wrote you by Mr. Walden we have been in confusion. The enemy opened two batteries opposite to our fort at Hell Gate last Saturday evening, and began cannonading and bombarding early on Sunday morning. They fired several shot into the house where we kept our store. We thought it prudent to move a little back, which we have done, but have not got clear of their shot; they are flying about us continually. We have about £140 in value on hand, besides money that I have purchased since I came here with what was on hand before.

"The enemy are now landing on the island between Hell Gate and the main, and 'tis supposed they mean to make a push for Kingsbridge, and cut us off from the main; but I believe they can not do it, as we are prepared for them at Kingsbridge; but I make no doubt we shall soon have an engagement.

"Colonel Sergeant, Dr. Hamans, and I, have sent what money we have to West Chester by Dr. Hamans's boy. I have sent about £150. It will not do to move our stores till the regiment is obliged to go, as they can not do without some necessaries here.

New London.	Its Settlement.	Fortifications.	The Harbor.	Revolutionary Movements.
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wich, in the cars, for Allyn's Point, seven miles below, whence I embarked for New London, eight miles further down the Thames, arriving there at ten.

New London is pleasantly situated upon a rocky slope on the right bank of the Thames, three miles from Long Island Sound, and one hundred and thirty-four miles eastward of New York city. From the high ground in the rear of the city, whereon many fine residences are built, a very extensive view of the Sound and the surrounding country is obtained. Its earliest Indian name was *Nameaug*; but the first English settlers, John Winthrop and others, called it Pequot, from the people who had inhabited the country on the banks of the Pequot or Thames River. By an act of the Assembly of Connecticut, in March, 1658, it was named New London, to perpetuate in America the title of the capital of England. The river was also named Thames, by the same authority and for a similar reason. The harbor is one of the best in the United States. It is commanded by forts Griswold and Trumbull, situated, the former upon its east bank, at Groton, and the latter upon the west. The fortifications are upon the sites of those of the same name which were erected there in the time of the Revolution.

New London and Norwich were intimately associated in all political matters when the controversy with Great Britain arose. The latter, included within New London county, was regarded as the chief place; while the former, being the port of entry, became the point of most importance when British fleets and armies came to subdue the Americans. From an early period the harbor of New London was a favorite resort for vessels navigating the Sound, on account of the depth of water and its sheltered position. Here the brigantines and other vessels of the famous buccannery sometimes sought shelter from storms; and it is believed that therein lay the vessel of the notorious Captain Kidd about the time when his treasures were concealed on Gardiner's Island, on the opposite side of the Sound. Great efforts were made by the commanders of British ships to obtain possession of the city and harbor during the Revolution, and for a long time a fleet of some thirty vessels hovered along the coast in the vicinage, chiefly in Gardiner's Bay and the neighborhood of Fisher's Island. But the vigilant authorities and people of Connecticut kept them at bay. From the time of the Bunker Hill battle until the town was burned by British troops, headed by the then traitor, Benedict Arnold, a strong military force was kept there, and every attention was paid to fortifying the harbor.



NEW LONDON HARBOR.

In 1774 the people of New London held a town meeting, and passed strong resolutions in reference to the oppressive acts of the British Parliament. After expressing their sincere loyalty to the king, they resolved that "the cause of Boston is the common cause of all the North American colonies;" that a *union* of all the colonies was of the greatest importance; that they earnestly wished for, and would promote, the assembling

"I shall send Isaac* out to-day. If we are taken or killed, you can send for the money I have sent out. I would not have this stop your sending the goods I wrote for, as far as it will do to come by water.

"From your humble servant,

"JOSEPH WILLIAMS.

"P.S.—Commandant Serjeant tells me he has just received intelligence that our Congress has appointed a committee to wait on Lord Howe."[†]

* He was a brother of the writer of the letter, and was then about fifteen years old. He served his country during a greater portion of the war, and was finally captured by the English and pressed into their naval service, in which he lost a leg. So great was his hatred of the English, that he engaged in the French marine service during the French Revolution, in consequence of which he was tried for violating the United States laws of neutrality, was found guilty, and fined and imprisoned. He died at Preston, when about eighty years of age. General Williams had two other brothers in the Continental army—Frederic, who died or was killed in New York in 1776, and was buried in St. Paul's church-yard; and Benjamin, who lost his life in the Jersey prison-ship, in 1781, at the age of twenty-three.

[†] The conference of this committee with Lord Howe was held on the 11th of September, 1776, at the house of Colonel Billop, yet standing at the southwest end of States Island. A drawing of the building will be found in another part of this work.

Forts Griswold and Trumbull.

Prizes.

Clinton's Designs.

Arnold's Expedition.

Naval Force of Connecticut.

of a general Congress; and that they would religiously observe and abide by the resolves of such a body. They also appointed a committee of correspondence for the town.¹

NEW LONDON HARBOR, LOOKING NORTH.²

In 1775 the erection of two forts for the defense of the harbor of New London was begun, one upon the rocky extremity of a peninsula on the west side of the Thames, about a mile below the city, and the other upon Groton Hill, on the opposite side of the harbor. The former, when completed, was called Fort Trumbull, and the latter Fort Griswold. Several vessels of the little naval armament of Connecticut were fitted out at New London; and into that port a number of prizes captured by American cruisers were taken, and their cargoes disposed of.³ In 1777, a frigate of thirty-six guns, ordered by the Continental Congress to be built in Connecticut, was constructed in the Thames, between New London and Norwich, under the direction of Captain Joshua Huntington. Several small armed vessels on private account sailed from this port, and greatly annoyed the enemy upon the coast, capturing their provision vessels, and injuring transports that happened to be separated from convoys. These things so irritated the British commanders here, that New London was marked for special vengeance, and Benedict Arnold was the chosen instrument to execute it.

I have already alluded to the junction of the American and French armies upon the Hudson, in the summer of 1781, and their departure for Virginia—the original design of attacking New York city having been abandoned, in consequence of the reception, by Clinton, of re-enforcements from abroad, and the intelligence that the Count de Grasse might not be expected from the West Indies in time for such an operation.⁴ When Sir Henry Clinton became certain of the destination of the allied armies, and perceived that they were too far on their way for him to hope to overtake them in pursuit, he dispatched Arnold, who had just returned from a predatory expedition in Virginia, to make like demonstrations upon the New England coast. Clinton's hoped-for result of this measure was to deter Washington from his purpose of pushing southward, or, at least, to make him weaken his army by sending back detachments for the defense of the New England frontier upon the Sound. But he failed to effect his purpose, and the expedition of Arnold was fruitful only of misery for a few inhabitants, and of abundant disgrace and contumely for the perpetrators of the outrage.

At daybreak on the morning of the 6th of September, 1781, a British fleet, under Captain Beasley, consisting of twenty-four sail, bearing a considerable land and marine force under the general command of Benedict Arnold, appeared off the harbor of New London, having left the eastern end of Long Island the evening previous. A large proportion of the land forces consisted of Tories and some Hessians, the instruments employed when any thing cruel

¹ This committee consisted of Richard Law, Gurdon Saltonstall, Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Samuel H. Parsons, and Guy Richards. The little village of Groton, opposite, also held a town meeting the week previous, and, after passing similar resolutions, appointed a committee of correspondence.—See Hinman's *Historical Collections*, p. 52–56.

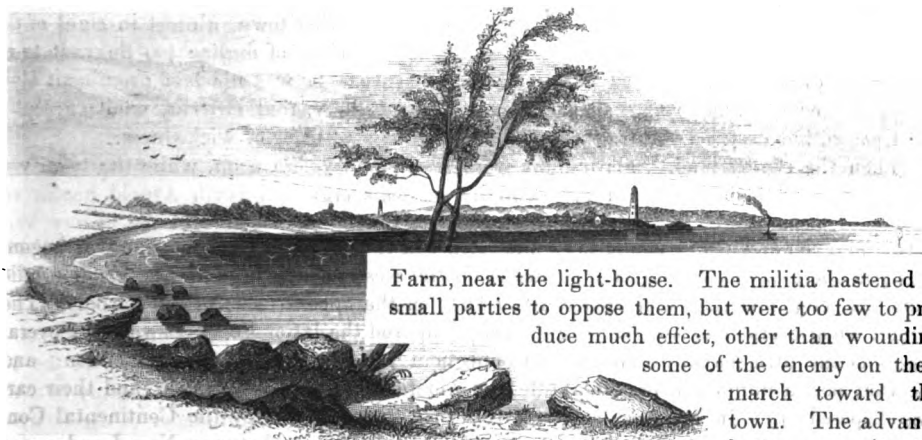
² This little sketch shows the relative position of the forts. Fort Trumbull is seen on the left of the picture, and Fort Griswold, with the Groton Monument, is on the extreme right.

³ The following are the names of the war-vessels in the service of the State of Connecticut during the Revolution: Brigs Minerva, American, Silliman; ship Oliver Cromwell; frigates Trumbull, Bourbon; schooners Spy, Defense; sloops Dolphin, Mifflin, Resistance, Schuyler, Stark, Young Cromwell, Confederacy, Count de Grasse, Tiger, Alliance, Phoenix; and row-galleys Shark, Whiting, Crane, The Guilford, New Defense, Putnam, and Revenge.

⁴ See page 436, vol. i.

Landing of the Enemy. March toward New London. Destruction of the Town. Property destroyed. "Fire Lands."

was to be performed.¹ They landed in two divisions of about eight hundred each : one on the east or Groton side of the Thames, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and the other on the New London side, led by the traitor general, who debarked in the cove at Brown's



VIEW OF THE LANDING-PLACE OF ARNOLD.²

Farm, near the light-house. The militia hastened in small parties to oppose them, but were too few to produce much effect, other than wounding some of the enemy on their march toward the town. The advance battery, situated about half way between Fort Trumbull and the light-house, in which were eight pieces of cannon, as well as the fort itself, was too feebly manned to offer resistance, and the troops of each evacuated, and crossed over to the stronger post of Fort Griswold, on Groton Hill. The city was thus left exposed to the enemy, whose great weapon of destruction was the torch. First, the stores upon the wharves were set on fire, and then the dwellings on Mill Cove were consumed. Nearly the whole town was laid in ashes, and several vessels were burned.³ Many inhabitants in comfortable circumstances were now houseless and wanderers, reduced to absolute beggary. None were permitted to save their furniture, and the soldiery were allowed free scope for brutality and plunder. It is said that Arnold stood in the belfry of a church,

¹ The division under Arnold consisted of the 38th regiment of regulars, the Loyal Americans, the American Legion, refugees, and a detachment of fifty Yagers. Colonel Eyre's was composed of the 40th and 54th regiments, the third battalion of Jersey volunteers, and a detachment of Yagers and artillery.

² This sketch is from the west side of the cove in which the troops under Arnold landed. In the distance, on the extreme right, is the point where the division under Eyre debarked, and near the center is seen the monument on Groton Hill, near Fort Griswold. The shores of the cove are sandy, but the projections which form them are bold promontories of granite rock.

³ The buildings burned in this expedition were 65 dwelling-houses containing 97 families, 31 stores, 18 shops, 20 barns, and 9 public and other buildings, among which were the court-house, jail, and church; in all 143. Fifteen vessels with the effects of the inhabitants escaped up the river. The value of property destroyed was estimated at \$485,980. This was the estimate of the committee which was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, after the war, to ascertain the amount of loss sustained by the several towns in the state by conflagrations during the predatory inroads of the enemy. In 1793, the Assembly granted to the sufferers five hundred acres of land, lying within the precincts of the Western Reserve, in Ohio, and now included in the counties of Huron and Erie, and a small part of Ottawa. This tract is known as the "Fire Lands." I have noticed on page 371, vol. i., the settlement, by commissioners, who met at Trenton in 1782, of the question of jurisdiction over the Valley of Wyoming, and that it was decided in favor of Pennsylvania. Although Connecticut acquiesced in that decision, that state still claimed a right to the country westward of Pennsylvania, in extent north and south equal to its own limits in that direction, and indefinitely westward, according to the letter of its charter. Connecticut, however, waived this claim, by a sort of compromise, in 1786, by ceding to the United States all the lands thus included within its charter limits westward of Pennsylvania, except the reservation of a tract one hundred and twenty miles in length, adjoining that state. This tract was called the *Western Reserve*. After giving the half million of acres to the sufferers of Danbury, Fairfield, Norwalk, New Haven, and New London, the remainder was sold in 1795, and the proceeds were used as a school fund, for the support of schools in the state. Congress confirmed the title of Connecticut to the *Reserve* in 1800. It now forms a part of the State of Ohio, and is settled chiefly by New England people.

Infamy of Arnold.

Attack on Fort Griswold.

Its Defense and Capture.

Murder of Colonel Ledyard.

while the town was burning, and looked upon the scene with the apparent satisfaction of a Nero. Had he been content to be a traitor merely, the extenuating circumstances that have been alleged in connection with his treason might have left a feeling of commiseration in the bosoms of the American people; but this murderous expedition against the neighbors of his childhood and youth, and the wanton destruction of a thriving town, almost in sight of the spire of the church wherein he was baptized, present an act of malice too flagrant to be overlooked even by "meek-eyed pity" or loving charity. It was his last prominent blow against his country, and was such a climax to his treachery, that Britons, who "accepted the treason, but despised the traitor," shunned him as a monster of wickedness.

When the enemy landed, alarm-guns were fired; and before noon, while the town was burning, the militia collected in large numbers. Perceiving his peril, Arnold hastily retreated to his boats, closely pursued by the armed inhabitants. Five of the enemy were killed, and about twenty wounded. The Americans lost four killed, and ten or twelve wounded, some of them mortally.

When Fort Trumbull was evacuated, Arnold sent an order to Lieutenant-colonel Eyre to take immediate possession of Fort Griswold, in order to prevent the American shipping from leaving the harbor and sailing up the river. The militia hastily collected for the defense of the fort to the number of one hundred and fifty-seven—so hastily that many of them were destitute of weapons. Colonel William Ledyard was the commander of the fortress. The enemy approached cautiously through the woods in the rear, and captured a small advanced battery. Colonel Eyre then sent Captain Beckwith, with a flag, to demand a surrender of the fort, which was peremptorily refused.¹ An assault was begun; the American flag on the southwest bastion was shot down, and an obstinate battle of about forty minutes ensued, during which the British were repulsed, and were on the point of fleeing back to their shipping. The attack was made on three sides, the fort being square, with flanks. There was a battery between the fort and the river, but the Americans could spare no men to work it. The enemy displayed great coolness and bravery in forcing the pickets, making their way into the fosse, and scaling the revetment, in the face of a severe fire from the little garrison. When a sufficient number had obtained entrance thus far, they forced their way through the feebly-manned embrasures, and decided the conflict with bayonets, after a desperate struggle with the handful of determined patriots, many of whom were armed only with pikes. The fort was surrendered unconditionally. Colonel Eyre was wounded near the works, and died within twelve hours afterward on ship-board. Major Montgomery was pierced through with a spear, in the hands of a negro, and killed as he mounted the parapet, and the command devolved upon Major Bromfield. The whole loss of the British was two commissioned officers and forty-six privates killed, and eight officers (most of whom afterward died), with one hundred and thirty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. The Americans had not more than a dozen killed before the enemy carried the fort. When that was effected, Colonel Ledyard ordered his men to cease firing and to lay down their arms, relying upon the boasted generosity of Britons for the cessation of bloodshed. But instead of British regulars, led by honorable men, his little band was surrounded by wolf-like Tories, infernal in their malice, and cruel even to the worst savagism, and also by the hired assassins, the German Yagers. They kept up their fire and bayonet thrusts upon the unarmed patriots, and opening the gates of the fort, let in blood-thirsty men that were without, at the head of whom was Major Bromfield, a New Jersey Loyalist. "Who commands this garrison?" shouted Bromfield, as he entered. Colonel Ledyard, who was standing near, mildly replied, "I did, sir, but you do now," at the same time handing his sword to the victor. The Tory miscreant immediately murdered Ledyard by running him through the body with the weapon he had just surrendered!² The massacre continued in all parts

¹ There were several hundreds of the people collected in the vicinity, and an officer had been sent out to obtain re-enforcements. Upon these Colonel Ledyard relied; but the officer became intoxicated, and the expected aid did not arrive.

² Colonel Ledyard was a brother of John Ledyard, the celebrated traveler, who was a native of Groton.

Creakles at Fort Griswold.

Fanny Ledyard.

Departure of the Enemy.

Events in 1813.

Arnold's Dispatches.

of the fort, until seventy men were killed, and thirty-five mortally or dangerously wounded.¹ The enemy then plundered the fort and garrison of every thing valuable. Their appetite for slaughter not being appeased, they placed several of the wounded in a baggage-wagon, took it to the brow of the hill on which the fort stands, and sent it down with violence, intending thus to plunge the helpless sufferers into the river. The distance was about one hundred rods, the ground very rough. The jolting caused some of the wounded to expire, while the cries of agony of the survivors were heard across the river, even in the midst of the crackling noise of the burning town! The wagon was arrested in its progress by an apple-tree, and thus the sufferers remained for more than an hour, until their captors stretched them upon the beach, preparatory to embarkation. Thirty-five of them were paroled and carried into a house near by, where they passed the night in great distress, a burning thirst being their chief tormentor. Although there was a pump in a well of fine water within the fort, the wounded were not allowed a drop with which to moisten their tongues, and the first they tasted was on the following morning, when Fanny Ledyard, a niece of the murdered colonel, came, like an angel of mercy, at dawn, with wine, and water, and chocolate. She approached stealthily, for it was uncertain whether the enemy had left. Fortunately, they had sailed during the night, carrying away about forty of the inhabitants prisoners.² Thus ended the most ignoble and atrocious performance of the enemy during the war, and the intelligence of it nerved the strong arms of the patriots in the conflict at Yorktown, in Virginia, a few weeks later, which resulted in the capture of the British army of the South under Cornwallis.

During the war between the United States and Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815, New London was several times menaced with invasion by the enemy. In May, 1813, as Commodore Decatur, then in command of the *United States*, with his prize, the *Macedonian*, fitted out as an American frigate, was attempting to get to sea, he was chased by a British squadron under Commodore Hardy, and driven into New London, where he was blockaded for some time. On one occasion the town and neighborhood were much alarmed on account of a report that the enemy were about to bombard the place. A considerable military force was stationed there, and preparations were made to repel the invaders. The forts were well garrisoned with United States troops, and the militia turned out in great numbers. The enemy, however, did not attempt an attack, and, becoming wearied of watching Decatur, the British squadron put to sea, soon followed by our gallant commodore. Since that time no event has disturbed the repose or retarded the progress of New London. The whaling business, and other commercial pursuits, have poured wealth into its lap, and spread its pleasant dwellings over more than thrice its ancient area.

The most prominent point of attraction to the visitor at New London is the Groton Monument, on the eastern side of the Thames, which, standing upon high ground, is a conspicuous object from every point of view in the vicinity. I crossed the Thames early on the

His niece, Fanny, mentioned in the text, was from Southold, Long Island, and was then on a visit at the house of her uncle. The vest worn by Colonel L. on that occasion (as I have already noticed) is preserved in the cabinet of the Connecticut Historical Society.

¹ Arnold, in his dispatch to Sir Henry Clinton, gave the impression that the killed were victims of honorable strife. Of course he knew better, for his dispatch was written two days after the event, and every circumstance must have been known by him. Hear him: "I have inclosed a return of the killed and wounded, by which your excellency will observe that our loss, though very considerable, is short of the enemy's, who lost most of their officers, among whom was their commander, Colonel Ledyard. *Eighty-five men were found dead in Fort Griswold*, and sixty wounded, most of them mortally. Their loss on the opposite side (New London) must have been considerable, but can not be ascertained."

² See Arnold's *Dispatch to Sir H. Clinton*; Gordon, iii., 249; Sparks's *Life of Arnold*; *The Connecticut Journal*, 1781; *Narrative of Stephen Hempstead*. Mr. Hempstead was a soldier in the garrison at the time of the massacre, and was one of the wounded who were sent down the declivity in the baggage-wagon, suffered during the night, and experienced the loving kindness of Fanny Ledyard in the morning. His narrative was communicated to the Missouri Republican in 1826, at which time he was a resident of that state. Mr. Hempstead was a native of New London, and entered the army in 1775. He was at Dorchester during the siege of Boston, was in the battle of Long Island, and also in the engagement on Harlem Heights, where he had two of his ribs broken by a grape-shot.

The Groton Monument.

Inscription upon it.

Ascent of its Stair-case.

View from the Top.

October 12, 1848, morning after my arrival, and ascended to Fort Griswold, now a dilapidated fortress, without ordnance or garrison, its embankments breaking the regular outline of Groton Hill, now called Mount Ledyard. A little northward of the fort rises a granite monument, one hundred and twenty-seven feet high, the foundation-stone of which is one hundred and thirty feet above tide-water. It was erected in 1830, in memory of the patriots who fell in the fort in 1781. Its pedestal, twenty-six feet square, rises to the height of about twenty feet, and upon it is reared an obelisk which is twenty-two feet square at the base, and twelve feet at the top. It is ascended within by one hundred and sixty-eight stone steps; and at the top is a strong iron railing for the protection of visitors. Marble tablets with inscriptions are placed upon the pedestal.¹ The cost of its erection was eleven thousand dollars, which amount was raised by a lottery authorized by the state for that purpose.

MONUMENT AT GROTON.¹

I paid the tribute-money of a "levy," or York shilling, to a tidy little woman living in the stone building seen at the right of the monument, which procured for me the ponderous key of the structure, and, locking myself in, I ascended to the top, with the privilege of gazing and wondering there as long as I pleased. It was a toilsome journey up that winding stair-case, for my muscles had scarcely forgotten a similar draught upon their energies at Breed's Hill; but I was comforted by the teachings of the new philosophy that the *spiral* is the only true ascent to a superior world of light, and beauty, and expansiveness of vision;² and so I found it, for a most magnificent view burst upon the sight as I made the last upward revolution and stood upon the dizzy height. The broad, cultivated hills and valleys; the forests and groves slightly variegated by the penoil of recent frost; the city and river at my feet, with their busy men and numerous sails; the little villages peeping from behind the hills and woodlands in every direction, and the heaving Sound glittering in the southern horizon, were all basking in the light of the morning sun, whose radiance, from that elevation, seemed brighter than I had ever seen it. It was a charming scene for the student of nature, and yet more charming for the student of the romance of American history. At the

¹ This is a view from the southwest angle of old Fort Griswold, looking northeast. The embankments of the fort are seen in the foreground; near the figure is the well, the same mentioned by Mr. Hempstead in his narrative; and just beyond this is the old entrance, or sally-port, through which the enemy, under Bromfield, entered the fort.

² Over the entrance of the monument is the following inscription:

This Monument
was erected under the patronage of the State of Connecticut, A.D. 1830,
and in the 55th year of the Independence of the U. S. A.,
In memory of the brave Patriots
who fell in the massacre at Fort Griswold, near this spot,
on the 6th of September, A.D. 1781,
when the British under the command of
the traitor Benedict Arnold,
burned the towns of New London and Groton, and spread
desolation and woe throughout this region.

On the south side of the pedestal, toward the fort, on a large tablet, are the names of the eighty-five persons who were killed in the fort, over which is the following:

"Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeopardized their lives until the death in the high places of the field.—*Judges, 5 chap., 18 verses.*"

³ See Swedenborg's *Views of the Spiritual World*, and *Revelations of Davis*, the clairvoyant.

A Retrospect.	The Pequots.	English Expedition against them.	Attack on their Fort.	Pequot Hill.
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base of the monument were the ruined fortifications where patriot blood flowed in abundance; and at a glance might be seen every locality of interest connected with the burning of New London and the massacre at Groton. Here was Fort Griswold; there were Fort Trumbull and the city; and yonder, dwindling to the stature of a chessman, was the lighthouse, by whose beacon the arch-traitor and his murderous bands were guided into the harbor.

Let us turn back two centuries, and what do we behold from this lofty observatory? The Thames is flowing in the midst of an unbroken forest, its bosom rippled only by the zephyr, the waterfowl, or the bark canoe. Here and there above the tree tops curls of blue smoke arise from the wigwams of the savages, and a savory smell of venison and fish comes up from the Groton shore. Around us spreads the broad fair land known as the Pequot country, extending from the Nahantic, on the west, to the dominion of the Narragansets—the Rhode Island line—on the east, and northward it interlocks with that of the Mohegans, where Uncas, the rebel sachem, afterward bore rule.¹ On yonder hill, a little southeast from our point of view, crowned with the stately oak and thick-leaved maple, is the royal residence of Sassacus, the prince of the Pequots. Haughty and insolent, he scorns every overture of friendship from the whites, and looks with contempt upon the rebellious doings of Uncas. Near by is his strong fort upon the Mystic River, and around him stand seven hundred warriors ready to do his bidding. The English are but a handful, what has he to fear? Much, very much!

It is the season of flowers. The white sails of vessels flutter in Narraganset Bay (now the harbor of Newport), and Captain Mason and seventy-seven well-armed men kneel upon their decks in devotion, for it is the morning of the Christian Sabbath. On Tuesday they land. Miantonomoh, the chief sachem, gives them audience, and a free passport through his country. Nor is this all; with two hundred of his tribe, Miantonomoh joins the English on their march of forty miles through the wilderness toward the Mystic River; and the brave Niantics and the rebellious Mohegans, led by Uncas, swell the ranks, until five hundred savage "bowmen and spearmen" are in the train of Captain Mason.

May, 1637.

It is a clear moonlight night. Sheltered by huge rocks on the shore of the Mystic sleeps the little invading army,² while the unsuspecting Pequots in their fort near by are dancing and singing, filled with joy, because they have seen the pinnaces of the English sail by without stopping to do them harm, and believe that the Pale-faces dare not come nigh them. Little do they think that the tiger is already crouching to spring upon his prey! On that high hill, upon the right, is the Pequot fort.³ It is early dawn, and the little army is pressing on silently up the wooded slope. The Narragansets and Niantics, seized with fear, are lagging, while the eager English and Mohegans rush up to the attack.⁴ All but a sentinel are in a deep sleep. Too late he cries, "*Owanua! Owanua!*" "Englishmen! Englishmen!" The mounds are scaled; the entrance is forced; the palisades are

May 26, 1637.

¹ Uncas was of the royal blood of the Pequots, and a petty sachem under Sassacus. When the English first settled in Connecticut, he was in open rebellion against his prince. To save himself and be revenged on his adversary, he sought and obtained the alliance of the English, and when the Pequot nation was destroyed, Uncas became the powerful chief of that tribe of Pequots called the Mohegans, from the circumstance of their inhabiting the place called Mohegan, now Norwich.

The Pequot country comprised the present towns of Waterford, New London, and Montville, on the west side of the Thames, and Groton, Stonington, and North Stonington, on the east of that river. Windham, and a part of Tolland county, on the north, was the Mohegan country.

² These are called *Porter's Rocks*, and are situated near Portersville, on the west side of the Mystic. They are on the shore, about half a mile south of the residence of Daniel Eldridge.—See Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Conn.*, p. 313.

³ This hill, eight miles northeast from New London, is known at the present day by the name of Pequot Hill. It is a spot of much interest, aside from the commanding view obtained from its summit, as the place where the first regular conflict between the English and the natives of New England took place. Such was the terror which this event infused into the minds of the Indian tribes, that for nearly forty years they refrained from open war with the whites, and the colonies prospered.

⁴ Sassacus was the terror of the New England coast tribes. A belief that he was in the fort on Pequot Hill was the cause of the fear which seized the Narragansets. "Sassacus is in the fort! Sassacus is all one god!" said Miantonomoh; "nobody can kill him."

Destruction of the Fort. Terrible Massacre. Departure of the English. Another Invasion. Destruction of the Pequots.

broken down; the mattings of the wigwams and the dry bushes and logs of the fort are set on fire, and seven hundred men, women, and children, perish in the flames or by the sword! It is a dreadful sight, this slaughter of the strong, the beautiful, and the innocent; and yet, hear the commander of the assailants impiously exclaiming, "God is above us! He laughs his enemies and the enemies of the English to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus does the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies!"¹

From the other fort near the Pequot (Thames), where dwells Sassacus, three hundred warriors approach with horrid yells and bent bows. But the English are too skillful, and too strongly armed with pike, and gun, and metal corselet, for those bare-limbed warriors, and they are scattered like chaff by the whirlwind of destruction. The English make their way to Groton; and yonder, just in time to receive them, before the remnant of the Pequots can rally and fall upon them, come their vessels around the remote headland. With a fair breeze, many of the English sail for Saybrook, making the air vocal with hymns of praise and thanksgiving. Others, with the Narragansets, march through the wilderness to the Connecticut River, and then, in happy reunion, warriors, soldiers, ministers, and magistrates join in a festival of triumph!"

Stately and sullen sits Sassacus in his wigwam on yonder hill, as the remnant of his warriors gather around him and relate the sad fortunes of the day. They charge the whole terrible event to his haughtiness and misconduct, and tearing their hair, and stamping on the ground, menace him and his with destruction. But hark! the blast of a trumpet startles them; from the head waters of the Mystic come two hundred armed settlers from Massachusetts and Plymouth to seal the doom of the Pequots. Despair takes possession of Sassacus and his followers, and burning their wigwams and destroying their fort, they flee across the Pequot River westward, pursued by the English. What terrible destruction is wrought by the new invaders! Throughout the beautiful country bordering on the Sound wigwams and corn-fields are destroyed, and helpless men, women, and children are put to the sword. With Sassacus at their head, the doomed Pequots fly like deer pursued by hounds, and take shelter in Sasco Swamp, near Fairfield, where they all surrender to the English, except the chief and a few men who escape to the Mohawks. The final blow is struck which annihilated the once powerful Pequots, and the great Sassacus, the last of his royal race in power except Uncas, falls by the hand of an assassin, among the people who opened their protecting arms to receive him.²

The dark vision of cruelty melts away; smiling fields, and laden orchards, and busy towns, the products of a more enlightened and peaceful Christianity than that of two centuries back, are around me. Russet corn-fields cover the hill—the royal seat of Sassacus—and in the bright harbor where the little English pinnaces, filled with bloody men, were just an-

¹ See Captain Mason's *Brief History of the Pequot War*, published in Boston in 1736, from which the principal facts in this narrative are drawn. It makes one shudder to read the blasphemous allusions to the interposition of God in favor of the English which this narrative contains, as if

"The poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind,"

was not an object of the care and love of the Deity. Happily, the time is rapidly passing by when men believe that they are doing God service by slaughtering, maiming, or in the least injuring with vengeful feelings any of his creatures.

² The English lost only two men killed and sixteen wounded, while the Indians lost nearly six hundred men and seventy wigwams.

³ The ostensible cause of this destructive war upon the Pequots was the fact that in March of that year, Sassacus, jealous of the English, had sent an expedition against the fort at Saybrook. The fort was attacked, and three soldiers were killed. In April they murdered several men and women at Wethersfield, carried away two girls, and destroyed twenty cows. The English, urged by fear and interest, resolved to chastise them, and terrible indeed was the infliction. "There did not remain a sannup or a squaw, a warrior or a child of the Pequot name. A nation had disappeared in a day!" The Mohegans, under Uncas, then became the most powerful tribe in that region, and soon afterward, as we have seen, they and the Narragansets, who assisted in the destruction of the Pequots, began a series of long and cruel wars against each other.

Mrs. Anna Bailey.

Her Husband at Fort Griswold.

Her Mementoes and her Politics.

chored, spreads many a sail of peaceful commerce. The sun is near the meridian; let us descend to the earth.

From the monument, after sketching the picture on page 46, I returned to the village of Groton, on the river bank, and visited the patriarch-ess of the place, Mrs. Anna Bailey, familiarly known as "Mother Bailey." Her husband, Captain Elijah Bailey, who died a few weeks previous to my visit, was appointed postmaster of the place by President Jefferson, and held the office until his death, a lapse of forty years. He was a lad about seventeen years old when New London was burned, and was in Fort Griswold just previous to the attack of Colonel Eyre. Young Bailey and a man named Williams were ordered by Ledyard to man a gun at the advanced redoubt, a little southeast of the fort. They were directed, in the event of not being able to maintain their ground, to retreat to the

MRS. BAILEY.¹

fort. They soon found it necessary to abandon their piece. Williams fled to the fort and got within; but young Bailey, stopping to spike the gun, lost so much time, that when he knocked at the gate it was close barred, for the enemy were near. He leaped over the fence into a corn-field, and there lay concealed until the battle and massacre in the fort ended. "He was courting me at that very time, boy as he was," said Mrs. Bailey, who

related this circumstance to me. She was then a girl six weeks older than her lover, and remembers every event of the "terrible day." I was agreeably surprised on being introduced to Mrs. Bailey, expecting to find a common, decrepit old woman. She sat reading her Bible, and received me with a quiet ease of manner, and a pleasant countenance, where, amid the wrinkles of old age, were lingering traces of youthful beauty. I had been forewarned that, if I wished to find any favor in her sight, I must not exhibit the least hue of Whiggery in politics—a subject which engrosses much of her thoughts and conversation. Her husband had been a Democrat of the old Jefferson school; and she possessed locks of hair, white, sandy, and grizzled, from the heads of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, and of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, all of whom had honored her house by personal visits. With such precious mementoes, how could she be other than a Democrat? Almost the first words she uttered on my entrance were, "What are Cass's prospects in New York?" Forewarned, forearmed, I summoned to the support of my conscience all the possibilities in his favor, and told her that Mr. Cass would doubtless be elected President—at any rate, *he ought to be*. These words unlocked her kind feelings, and I passed an hour very agreeably with her. Her mind was active, and she related, in an interesting manner, many reminiscences of her youth and womanhood, among which was the following, in which she was the chief heroine. When the British squadron which drove Decatur into the harbor of New London, in 1813, menaced the town with bombardment, the military force that manned the forts were deficient in flannel for cannon cartridges. All that could be found in New London was sent to the forts, and a Mr. Latham, a neighbor of Mrs. Bailey, came to her at Groton seeking for more. She started out and collected all the little petticoats of children that she could find in town. "This is not half enough," said Latham, on her return. "You

¹ While making this sketch, I remarked to Mrs. Bailey (and with sincerity, too) that I saw in her features evidence that Captain Bailey was a man of good taste. She immediately comprehended my meaning and the compliment, and replied, with a coquettish smile, "I was never ashamed of my face, and never mean to be." She lived happily with her husband for seventy years. Since the above was put in type, she has died. Her clothes took fire, and she was burned to death on the 10th of January, 1851, aged about 89.

Mrs. Bailey's Patriotism.

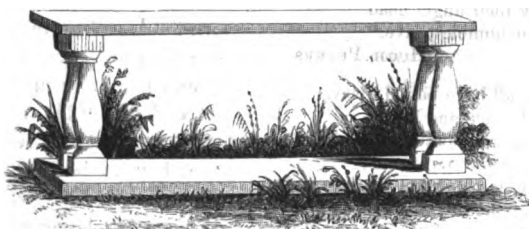
Landing-place of Arnold.

Bishop Seabury's Monument.

First Printing in Connecticut.

shall have mine too," said Mrs. B., as she cut with her scissors the string that fastened it, and taking it off, gave it to Latham. He was satisfied, and hastening to Fort Trumbull, that patriotic contribution was soon made into cartridges. "It was a heavy new one, but I didn't care for that," said the old lady, while her blue eyes sparkled at the recollection. "All I wanted was to see it go through the Englishmen's insides!" Some of Decatur's men declared that it was a shame to cut that petticoat into cartridge patterns; they would rather see it fluttering at the mast-head of the *United States* or *Macedonian*, as an ensign under which to fight upon the broad ocean! This and other circumstances make Mrs. Bailey a woman of history; and, pleading that excuse, I am sure, if she shall be living when this page shall appear, that she will pardon the liberty I have taken. I told her that the sketch of her which she allowed me to take was intended for publication.

I recrossed the Thames to New London, and after an early dinner rode down to the lighthouse, near which Arnold landed, and made the drawing printed on page 43. Returning along the beach, I sketched the outlines of Fort Trumbull and vicinity, seen on page 42, and toward evening strolled through the two principal burial-grounds of the city. In the ancient one, situated in the north part of the town, lie the remains of many of the first settlers. In the other, lying upon a high slope, westward of the center of the city, is a plain monu-

BISHOP SEABURY'S MONUMENT.¹

ment of Bishop Seabury, whose name is conspicuous in our Revolutionary annals as that of an unwavering Loyalist. I shall have occasion to notice his abduction from West Chester county, and imprisonment in Connecticut, as well as his general biography, when I write of the events at White Plains.

We will now bid adieu to New London, not forgetting, however, in

our parting words, to note the fact so honorable to its name and character, that the first printing-press in Connecticut was established there, according to Barber, forty-five years before printing was executed in any other place in the colony. Thomas Short, who settled in New London in 1709, was the printer, and from his press was issued *The Saybrook Platform*,² in 1710, said to be the first book printed in the province. Short died in 1711, and there being no printer in the colony, the Assembly procured Timothy Green, a descendant of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, the first printer in America, to settle at New London. Samuel Green, the publisher of the "Connecticut Gazetteer," the oldest newspaper in the state, is a descendant of this colonial printer.

Business demanding my presence at home, I left New London at ten in the evening, in the "Knickerbocker," and arrived in New York at nine the following morning.

¹ The following is the inscription upon the slab: "Here lieth the body of SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D., bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, who departed from this transitory scene February 25th, Anno Domini 1796, in the 68th year of his age, and the 12th of his Episcopal consecration.

"Ingenuous without pride, learned without pedantry, good without severity, he was duly qualified to discharge the duties of the Christian and the bishop. In the pulpit he enforced religion; in his conduct he exemplified it. The poor he assisted with his charity; the ignorant he blessed with his instruction. The friend of men, he ever designed their good; the enemy of vice, he ever opposed it. Christian! dost thou aspire to happiness? Seabury has shown the way that leads to it."

² This was a Confession of Faith or Articles of Religion arranged in 1708. Yale College was first established at Saybrook, and fifteen commencements were held there. To educate young men of talents and piety for the ministry was the leading design of the institution. The founders, desirous that the Churches should have a public standard or Confession of Faith, according to which the instruction of the college should be conducted, such articles were arranged and adopted after the commencement at Saybrook in 1708, and from that circumstance were called the *Saybrook Platform*. The standards of faith of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches are substantially the same as the *Saybrook Platform*.

Voyage to Rhode Island.

Stonington.

Arrival at Providence.

CHAPTER III.

"I've gazed upon thy golden cloud
Which shades thine emerald sod;
Thy hills, which Freedom's share hath plow'd,
Which nurse a race that have not bow'd
Their knee to aught but God.
And thou hast gems, ay, living pearls,
And flowers of Eden hue;
Thy loveliest are thy bright-eyed girls,
Of fairy forms and elfin curls,
And smiles like Hermon's dew.
They've hearts, like those they're born to wed,
Too proud to nurse a slave.
They'd scorn to share a monarch's bed,
And sooner lay their angel head
Deep in their humble grave."

HUGH PETERS.

"Ye say they all have pass'd away,
That noble race and brave;
That their light canoes have vanish'd
From off the crested wave;
That mid the forests where they warr'd
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters,
Ye may not wash it out."

MRS. SIGOURNEY.



O the land of the Narragansets and Wampanoags—the land of Massachusettso and Philip, of Canonicus and Miantonômoh—the land of Roger Williams and toleration—the Rhode Island and Providence plantations of colonial times, I next turned my attention. On a clear frosty evening, the moon in its wane and the winds hushed, I went up the Sound in the steam-boat Vanderbilt. We passed through the turbulent eddies of Hell Gate at twilight, and as we entered the broader expanse of water beyond Fort Schuyler, heavy swells, that were upheaved by a gale the day before, came rolling in from the ocean, and disturbed the anticipated quiet of the evening voyage. It was to end at Stonington¹ at midnight, so I paced the prom-

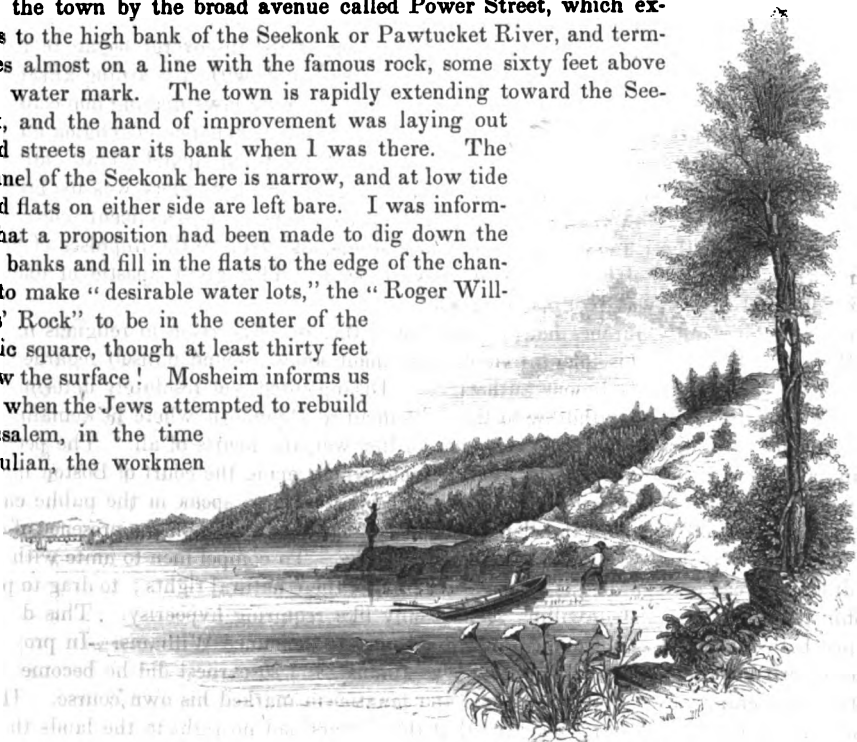
October 19,
1848.

enade deck in the biting night air to keep off sea-sickness, and was successful. We landed at Stonington between twelve and one o'clock, where we took cars for Providence, arriving there at three. Refreshed by a few hours' sleep, and an early breakfast at the "Franklin," I started upon a day's ramble with Mr. Peeks, of Providence, who kindly offered to accompany me to memorable places around that prosperous city. We first visited the most interesting, as well as one of the most ancient, localities connected with the colonial history of Rhode Island, the rock on which Roger Williams first landed upon its shores. It is reached

¹ Stonington is a thriving town, situated upon an estuary of Long Island Sound, and about midway between the mouths of the Mystic and Pawcatuc Rivers. It was settled by a few families about 1658. The first squatter was William Cheeseborough, from Massachusetts, who pitched his tent there in 1649. It has but little Revolutionary history except what was common to other coast towns, where frequent alarms kept the people in agitation. It suffered some from bombardment in 1813, by the squadron under Sir Thomas Hardy, which drove Decatur into the harbor of New London. The enemy was so warmly received, that Hardy weighed anchor, and made no further attempts upon the coast of Connecticut.

Roger Williams's Rock.	"Water Lots."	Proposed Desecration.	Arrival of Roger Williams.	His Character.
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from the town by the broad avenue called Power Street, which extends to the high bank of the Seekonk or Pawtucket River, and terminates almost on a line with the famous rock, some sixty feet above high water mark. The town is rapidly extending toward the Seekonk, and the hand of improvement was laying out broad streets near its bank when I was there. The channel of the Seekonk here is narrow, and at low tide broad flats on either side are left bare. I was informed that a proposition had been made to dig down the high banks and fill in the flats to the edge of the channel, to make "desirable water lots," the "Roger Williams' Rock" to be in the center of the public square, though at least thirty feet below the surface! Mosheim informs us that when the Jews attempted to rebuild Jerusalem, in the time of Julian, the workmen



LANDING-PLACE OF ROGER WILLIAMS.¹

were prevented from labor by the issuing of fire-balls from the earth with a horrible noise, and that enterprise, undertaken in opposition to the prophecy of Jesus, was abandoned.² Should mammon attempt the desecrating labor of covering the time-honored rock on the shore of old Seekonk, who can tell what indignant protests may not occur?

Here is a mossy spot upon the patriarch's back; let us sit down in the warm sunlight and wind-sheltered nook, and glance at the record.

A few months after the arrival of Winthrop and his company at Boston, and before Hooker and Cotton, afterward eminent ministers in the colony, had sailed from England, there landed February 5, 1631. at Nantasket an enlightened and ardent Puritan divine, young in years (for he was only thirty-one), but mature in judgment and those enlightened views of true liberty of conscience, which distinguish the character of modern theological jurisprudence from the intolerance of the seventeenth century. He was a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding. In the capacious recesses of his mind he had resolved the nature of intolerance, and he alone had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.³ This was a wonderful discovery in modern science; too wonderful for the hierarchy of England, or the magistrates and ministers of the Puritan colony of America. They could not comprehend

¹ This view is on the left bank of the Seekonk, looking south. The point on which the figure stands is the famous rock, composed of a mass of dark slate, and rising but little above the water at high tide. The high banks are seen beyond, and on the extreme left is India Point, with the rail-road bridge near the entrance of the river into Narraganset Bay.

² Mosheim's *Church History* (external), part i., chap. i., sec. xiv.

³ Banoroff, i., 367.

Narrow Views of the old Puritans.

Zeal of Roger Williams.

Disturbance at Salem.

Williams arraigned for Treason.

its beauty or utility ; and as it had no affinity with their own narrow views of the dignity of the human soul, they pronounced it heresy, as soon as the discoverer began to make a practical development of his principles. Yet they perceived, with a yearning affection for its truth, that it would quench the fires of persecution, abrogate laws making non-conformity a felony, abolish tithes, and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion, and protect all in that freedom of conscience to worship God as the mind should dictate, for which they had periled their lives and fortunes in the wilderness. Still, its glory was too brilliant ; it dazzled their vision ; the understanding could not comprehend its beneficent scope ; they looked upon it with the jealous eye of over-cautiousness, and, true to the impulses of human nature, what they could not *comprehend*, they *rejected*. This great apostle of toleration and intellectual liberty was ROGER WILLIAMS.

The New England Churches had not renounced the use of coercion in religious matters, and Williams, so soon as his tolerant views were made known, found himself regarded with suspicion by the civil and religious authorities. Disappointed, yet resolutely determined to maintain his principles, he withdrew to the settlement at Plymouth, where he remained two years, and by his charity, virtues, and purity of life, won the hearts of all. The people of Salem called him to be their minister, a movement which made the court of Boston marvel. Being an object of jealousy, and now having an opportunity to speak in the public ear, he was in perpetual collision with the clergy. The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship. Williams reprobated the law. To compel men to unite with those of a different creed he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights ; to drag to public worship the irreligious and unwilling seemed only like requiring hypocrisy. This doctrine alarmed both magistrates and clergy, and they began to denounce Williams. In proportion to the severity of their opposition his zeal was kindled, and so earnest did he become in enforcing his tolerant views, that intolerance and fanaticism marked his own course. He denounced King James as a liar ; declared that the settlers had no right to the lands they occupied, these belonging to the aborigines ; raised a tumult about the red cross of St. George in the banner ;¹ at last boldly denounced the Churches of New England as anti-Christian, and actually excommunicated such of his parishioners as held intercourse^{*1634} with them. The vision of that great mind which saw general principles of righteousness in a clear light, became clouded in his practical endeavors to bring the power of those principles to bear upon society. When weak and persecuted, the scope of his vision of intellectual liberty and Christian charity embraced the earth ; when in power and strong, it contracted to the small orbit of his parish at Salem—himself the central sun of light and goodness. Such is the tendency of all human minds under like circumstances ; and Roger Williams, great and good as he was, was not an exception.

The magistrates were greatly irritated ; some of Williams's language was construed as treasonable and schismatic, and he was arraigned before the General Court at Boston on this charge. There he stood alone in defense of his noble principles ; for his congregation, and even the wife of his bosom, could not justify all his words and acts. Yet he was undaunted, and declared himself "ready to be bound, and banished, and even to die in New England," rather than renounce the truth whose light illuminated his mind and conscience. He was allowed to speak for himself before the court, and also to dispute upon religious points with the Reverend Mr. Hooker. Every effort to "reduce him from his errors" was unavailing, and the court, composed of all the ministers, proceeded to pass sentence of banishment upon him. He was ordered to leave the jurisdiction of the colony

October,
1635.

¹ The preaching of Williams warmed the zeal of Endicott, then one of the board of military commissioners for the colony, and afterward governor. The banner of the train-bands at Salem had the cross of St. George worked upon it. Endicott, determining to sweep away every vestige of what he deemed popish or heathenish superstition, caused the cross to be cut out of the banner. The people raised a tumult, and the court at Boston, mercifully considering that Endicott's intentions were good, though his act was rash, only "adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office."—Savage's *Winthrop*, i., 158 ; Moore's *Colonial Governors*, i., 353.

Banishment of Roger Williams.

Flight to the Seekonk.

Landing at Providence.

Commencement of a Settlement.

within six weeks. He obtained leave to remain until the rigors of winter had passed, but, continuing active in promoting his peculiar views, the court determined to ship him immediately for England. He was ordered to Boston for the purpose of embarking. He refused obedience, and, hearing that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, set out, with a few followers, for the vast unexplored wilds of America, with an ambitious determination to found a new colony, having for its foundation the sublime doctrine of liberty of conscience in all its plenitude, and the equality of opinions before the law. In the midst of deep snows and bit-

January,
1636.

ing winds they journeyed toward Narraganset Bay. "For fourteen weeks he was sorely tossed in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean."¹ He describes himself, in a letter to Mason, "as plucked up by the roots, beset with losses, distractions, miseries, hardships of sea and land, debts and wants." He at last found refuge and hospitality from the Indian sachem Massasoit, whom he had known at Plymouth; and in the spring, under a grant from that sachem, commenced a settlement at Seekonk,² on the east side of the Seekonk or Pawtucket River, just within the limits of the Plymouth colony. Many of the ministers in that colony wrote him friendly letters, for he was personally beloved by all. Winslow, who was then governor, wrote a letter to Williams, in which he claimed Seekonk as a part of the Plymouth domain, and suggested his removal beyond the jurisdiction of that colony to prevent difficulty. Williams heeded the advice of Winslow,

June, 1636.

and, entering a canoe with five others, paddled down the Seekonk almost to its mouth, and landed upon the west side of the river, upon the bare rock, delineated on page 52. He crossed over to the west side of the peninsula, and upon that shore, at the head of the bay, commenced a new settlement. He obtained from Canonius and Miantonomoh, principal chiefs of the Narragansets, a grant of land for the purpose. He named his new settlement PROVIDENCE, "in commemoration of God's providence to him in his distress." "I desired," he said, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." And so it became, for men of every creed there found perfect freedom of thought. Although every rood of land belonged to Williams, by right of deed from the Narraganset sachems, not a foot of it did he reserve for himself. He practiced his holy precepts, and "gave away his lands and other estates to them that he thought most in want, until he gave away all."³ Nor was there any distinction made among the settlers, "whether servants or strangers;" each had an equal voice in the affairs of government, and the political foundation of the settlement was a pure democracy. The Massachusetts people believed that the fugitives "would have no magistrates," and must necessarily perish politically, yet they thrived wonderfully. The impress of that first system is yet seen upon the political character of Rhode Island, for "in no state in the world, not even in the agricultural state of Vermont, have the magistrates so little power, or the representatives of the freemen so much."⁴ Such was the planting of the first and only purely democratic colony in America; and its founder, though persecuted and contemned, maintained, in the opinion of all good men, that high character which Cotton Mather and others were constrained to award him, as "one of the most distinguished men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul."⁵

The Christian charity of Roger Williams was remarkably displayed soon after his banishment from Massachusetts. In 1637, when the Pequots were attempting to induce the Narragansets to join them in a general war upon the whites, and particularly against the

¹ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, i., 276.

² Seekonk is the Indian name for the wild or black goose with which the waters in that region originally abounded. The town is the ancient Rehoboth, first settled by William Blackstone, an English non-conformist minister, a few months previous to the arrival here of Roger Williams. Blackstone was the first white man who lived upon the peninsula of Shawmut, where Boston now stands. Williams's plantation was on the little Seekonk River, the navigable portion of which is really an arm of Narraganset Bay.

Although Williams was the real founder of Rhode Island, Blackstone was the first white settler within its borders. He had no sympathy with Williams, and continued his allegiance to Massachusetts, though without its jurisdiction.

³ Baucus's *History of New England*, i., 290.

⁴ Bancroft, i., 380.

⁵ Callender's *Historical Discourse*.

Williams's Negotiations with the Indians. Ingratitude of the Massachusetts Colony. March of the French Army to Providence.

Massachusetts people. Williams informed the latter of the fact. They solicited his mediation, and, forgetting the many injuries he had received from those who now needed his favor, he set out on a stormy day, in a poor canoe, upon the rough bay, and through many dangers repaired to the cabin of Canonicus. The Pequots and Narragansets were already assembled in council. The former threatened him with death, yet he remained there three days and nights. "God wonderfully preserved me," he said, "and helped me to break in pieces the designs of the enemy, and to finish the English league, by many travels and changes, with the Narragansets and Mohegans against the Pequots." This alliance we noticed in the last chapter. Notwithstanding this great service, the Massachusetts court would not revoke Williams's sentence of banishment.

*20 most unworthy Svant
Roger Williams*

ROGER WILLIAMS'S SIGNATURE.¹

Let us now close the volume for a time, and visit other places of historic interest.

Leaving the Seekonk, we walked to the site of the encampment of the French army in the autumn of 1782, while on its march to Boston for embarkation. It had remained in Virginia after the battle of Yorktown, in the autumn of 1781, until the summer of 1782, when it joined Washington and his army on the Hudson. The place of its encampment there was near Peekskill. The order and discipline of this army, and its uniform respect for property—the soldiers not even taking fruit from the trees without leave—were remarkable, and on their march northward Rochambeau and his officers received many congratulatory addresses.² The army remained at Peekskill until October, when it commenced its march for Boston, going by the way of Hartford and Providence. Count de Ro-
October 22,
1782,
chambeau accompanied it to the latter place, where he took his leave of the troops and returned to Washington's head-quarters. The army had received orders to sail to the West Indies in the French fleet of fifteen sail of the line and four frigates, then lying in the harbor of Boston, in the event of the evacuation of New-York or Charleston by the British. The Baron de Viomenil was ordered to accompany the troops as commander instead of Rochambeau. The latter, with several other officers, returned from Rhode Island to Virginia, and at Norfolk embarked for France.

¹ ROGER WILLIAMS was born in Wales, in 1599, and was educated at Oxford. He became a minister in the Church of England, but his views of religious liberty made him a non-conformist, and he came to America. Bold in the annunciation of his tenets respecting the perfect liberty of mind and conscience, he was banished from Massachusetts, and planted a colony at the head of Narraganset Bay, now the city of Providence. In 1639 he embraced the doctrines of the Baptists, and being baptized by one of his brethren, he baptized ten others. Doubts as to the correctness of his principles arose in his mind, and he finally concluded that it would be wrong to perform the rite of baptism without a revelation from Heaven. The Church which he had formed was accordingly dissolved. He went to England in 1643, as agent for the colony, and obtained a charter, with which he returned in September, 1644. This charter was granted on the 14th of March, and included the shores and islands of Narraganset Bay, west of Plymouth and south of Massachusetts, and as far as the Pequot River and country, to be known as the PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. He landed at Boston, but was not molested on account of being under sentence of banishment, for he brought with him recommendatory letters from influential members of Parliament. He went to England again for the colony in 1651, where he remained until 1654. He was chosen president of the government on his return, which office he held until 1657, when Benedict Arnold was appointed. In 1672 he held a dispute with the Quakers for three days at Newport, of which he wrote an account.* He died in April, 1683, aged eighty-four years.

² At Philadelphia, a deputation of Quakers waited upon Rochambeau, and one of them, in behalf of the others, said, "General, it is not on account of thy military qualities that we make thee this visit; those we hold in little esteem; but thou art the friend of mankind, and thy army conducts itself with the utmost order and discipline. It is this which induces us to render thee our respects."

* The title of the pamphlet containing the account (which was published in 1676) was, "George Fox digged out of his Burrows," it being written against Fox and Burrows, two eminent Quakers. An answer to it was published in 1679, entitled "A New England Fire-brand Quenched."

The French Troops at Providence.

Site of the Encampment.

Remains.

Departure of the French from Boston.

The French troops arrived at Providence in November, and to give color to the pretext that they marched eastward to go into winter quarters, made excavations, in which to find protection from the cold, instead of pitching their tents, as a moving army would do. The object was to allow the expedition to the West Indies—where a brisk naval warfare was in progress between the French and British—to remain a secret even to the suspicions of the English. After remaining about a fortnight at Providence the troops marched toward Boston, where they arrived early in December.¹ On the 24th of that month the French fleet sailed from Boston for St. Domingo, with all the troops except Lauzun's legion, the army having been in the United States two and a half years.²

The place of the encampment at Providence is in a field of cold, wet land, rough and rocky, a mile and a half east-northeast from Market Square in the city. It lies on the northeast side of Harrington's Lane, at the head of Greene Lane, which latter runs parallel with Prospect Street. We passed on our way along the brow of Prospect Hill, whence we had a fine view of the city and surrounding country, including northward the spires of Pawtucket, and southward the blue waters of Narraganset Bay. The encampment was on the western slope of the northern termination of Prospect Hill. Several shallow pits and heaps of stones, with some charcoal intermingled (the remains of the temporary dwellings of the

French soldiers), are yet to be seen. It was a sheltered position, and favorable for a winter encampment. The ground is full of small surface springs, which, with the wash from the cultivated hills above, will soon obliterate every trace of the encampment.



HOPKINS'S MONUMENT.

About a quarter of a mile westward of the camp ground is the "North Burying-ground," belonging to the city. It has been beautified within a few years by graveled foot-paths and carriage-ways, fine vaults, handsome monuments and inclosures. Its location is such that it may be made a beautiful cemetery, though small. Not far from the south entrance is a marble monument about nine feet high, erected to the memory of Stephen Hopkins, for a long time colonial governor of Rhode Island, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On the southern side of the obelisk is the name of HOPKINS in large letters. The inscriptions are upon three sides of the pedestal.³

In the northeast part of the burial-ground is a granite ob-

¹ Soon after their arrival, Governor John Hancock and the Council gave a public dinner to the commanding general, Viomenil, and his officers, and to the commander of the fleet, Vaudreuil, and his officers.

² The *Magnifique*, a French seventy-four gun ship, one of the fleet, having been lost in Boston Harbor by accident, Congress, in testimony of their sense of the generosity of the French king, had resolved, more than three months before (September 3), to present the *America*, a seventy-four gun ship, to the French minister, the Chevalier de Luzerne, for the service of his king.—See *Journals of Congress*, viii., 343.

³ The following are the inscriptions:

NORTH SIDE.—"Sacred to the memory of the illustrious STEPHEN HOPKINS, of Revolutionary fame, attested by his signature to the Declaration of our National Independence. Great in council, from sagacity of mind; magnanimous in sentiment, firm in purpose, and good as great, from benevolence of heart, he stood in the first rank of statesmen and patriots. Self-educated, yet among the most learned of men, his vast treasury of useful knowledge, his great retentive and reflective powers, combined with his social nature, made him the most interesting of companions in private life."

WEST SIDE.—"His name is engraved on the immortal records of the Revolution, and can never die. His titles to that distinction are engraved on this monument, reared by the grateful admiration of his native state in honor of her favorite son."

SOUTH SIDE.—Born March 7, 1707. Died July 13, 1785."

A biography and portrait of this venerated patriot will be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in another part of this work. The fac-simile of his signature here given is a copy of his autograph in my possession, attached to the commission of Captain Ephraim Wheaton, issued in June, 1761. Mr. Hopkins was then Governor of Rhode Island, and in that capacity signed the instrument. It is attested by HENRY WARD, secretary. Mr. Ward was one of the delegates from Rhode Island to the

Governor Cooke's Monument.

La Fayette's Head-quarters.

Roger Williams's Spring.

elisk erected to the memory of Nicholas Cooke, who was Governor of Rhode Island from 1775 until 1778, and an active and efficient patriot until his death, which occurred before the independence of his country was secured by treaty.¹ His biography is briefly inscribed upon his monument in the following words :



GOVERNOR COOKE'S MONUMENT.

"NICHOLAS COOKE, born in Providence, February 3d, 1717 ; Died September 14th, 1782. Unanimously elected Governor of Rhode Island in 1775, he remained in office during the darkest period of the American Revolution. He merited and won the approbation of his fellow-citizens, and was honored with the friendship and confidence of Washington." This is the inscription upon the east side, immediately above which, in raised letters, is the name COOKE. On the west is the following :

"Hanuah Sabine, relict of Nicholas Cooke, born in Killingly, Connecticut, March 13th, 1722 ; died in Providence, March 22d, 1792."

This monument is about twenty feet high,

composed of a single block. The sketch of it here given is from the cemetery, looking eastward, and includes in the distance the French camp-ground just mentioned. The most remote of the two fields seen between the trees on the right, is the one wherein the remains of the encampment are to be seen.

On the road leading from the cemetery to the town is a brick building, with a hip-roof, which La Fayette occupied as head-quarters, while in Providence a short time in 1778. He had been sent by Washington with two thousand men to assist Sullivan in the siege of Newport. The house is well preserved, but changed somewhat in its external appearance.

On our way into the town we passed along Benefit Street, on the east side of which, in a vacant lot, upon the slope of a steep hill, near the mansion of the father of Governor Dorr, is a living water-fountain, called *Roger Williams's Spring*. Tradition asserts that here, in the cool shade of sycamores (of which the huge trees that now overshadow it are the sprouts), Williams first reposed after his journey, and that here his first tent was pitched, at twilight, on a beautiful evening in June. It is a pleasant spot now, even with the pent-up city around it ; it must then have been a delicious resting-place for the weary exile, for below him were the bright waters of the Narraganset, beyond which arose the gentle slopes and more lofty hills of the fair land of Canonicus, his friend and protector.

"Stamp Act Congress" in 1765. This signature of Hopkins exhibits the same tremulousness of hand which is seen in that attached to the Declaration of Independence, written fifteen years afterward, and is a proof, if evidence were wanting, that it was not the effect of fear, but "shaking palsy," that makes the patriot's sign-manual to our National Document appear so suspiciously crooked.

SIGNATURE OF STEPHEN HOPKINS.

¹ Mr. Cooke was deputy governor in 1775. When the Assembly, or House of Magistrates of the colony, voted to raise an army of fifteen hundred men, Joseph Wanton, then the Governor of Rhode Island, his deputy, and others in the government, were opposed to the measure. The people were displeased, yet Wanton, who had been chief magistrate since 1769, was rechosen governor in May ; but, failing to appear and take the prescribed oath, the Assembly directed that the deputy governor should perform the duties of chief magistrate. Mr. Cooke became convinced that the warlike measures of the Assembly were correct, and entered heartily into all their views. Wanton appeared in June, and demanded that the oath of office should be administered to him, but, as he had not given satisfaction to the Assembly, his request or demand was not complied with.

Old Tavern in Providence.

Its Associations.

Destruction of Tea in Market Square.

Rhode Island Historical Society.

Within the city, on the east side of Market Square, stands the old tavern, with moss-grown roof, where many a grave and many a boisterous meeting were held by the freemen of the Providence Plantations during the Stamp Act excitement, and the earlier years of the war of the Revolution. There the Sons of Liberty met and planned their measures in opposition to the British ministry. From the same balcony were read the proclamation announcing the accession of George III. to the throne in 1760; the odious Stamp Act in 1765; the bill for its repeal in 1766; and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. That balcony seemed to be the forum

OLD TAVERN IN PROVIDENCE.¹

when it was ascertained that the ships of the East India Company, heavily laden with tea, were about to sail for America, the people of Providence were among the first to express their disapprobation; and on one occasion the town crier, with a drum, patrolled the streets in the evening, announcing that a bonfire of tea would be made in Market Square at ten o'clock at night, and requesting those who possessed and repudiated the article to cast it upon the heap. At the appointed hour the square was crowded, and the old tavern front and its neighbors were brilliantly illuminated by the glow of the burning tea, aided by other combustibles, while shouts long and loud went up as one voice from the multitude. This was but a prelude to the united and vigorous action of the people when the war notes from Lexington aroused the country; and until the close of the contest Providence was a "nest of rebels against the king."

I concluded the labors and pleasures of the day by making the above sketch, and in the evening attended, by invitation, a meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, over which Albert G. Greene, Esq., presided, the venerable president, John Howland, then ninety-one years of age, being absent. Their rooms are in a small but convenient building near Brown University, and contain about five thousand volumes of books and pamphlets, many of them very rare. The meeting was one of much interest, especially to Rhode Islanders, for Professor Gammel, of the University, made a verbal communication on the subject of important manuscripts concerning the early history of New England, which are in the British colonial office. He imparted the gratifying intelligence that J. Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence,

of the people; and many excited audiences have crowded Market Square, in front of it, to listen to patriotic speeches.

The people of Providence, and particularly the matrons and maidens, cheerfully acquiesced in the demands made upon their self-denial by the non-importation agreements, and foreign tea was discarded as if it had been a poisonous drug.² In 1773,

¹ This view is from the market, looking north. The building stands on the east side of the square, and parallel with its front commences North Main Street. In the yard on the right is a venerable horse-chestnut tree, standing between the house and the Roger Williams' Bank. In former times, a balcony extended across the front. The door that opened upon it is still there, but the balcony is gone. The roof is completely overgrown with moss, and every appearance of age marks it.

² On the 12th of June, 1769, twenty-nine young ladies, daughters of the first citizens of Providence, met under the shade of the sycamores at the Roger Williams' Spring, and there resolved not to drink any more tea until the duty upon it should be taken off. They then adjourned to the house of one of the company (Miss Coddington), where they partook of a frugal repast, composed in part of the "delicious Hyperion," a tea of domestic manufacture.—See note on page 481, vol. i.

Valuable Manuscripts. A telescopic Peep at the Moon and Stars. Bryant's "Song of the Stars." Voyage to Gaspee Point.

with an enlightened liberality worthy of all praise, had made arrangements to have all the manuscripts in question copied at his own expense, under the direction of Mr. Stephens, the eminent agriculturist, then in Europe.¹ The manuscripts relate to New England history, from 1634 to 1720, and consist of more than four hundred pieces, about two hundred and fifty of which have special reference to the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Among them is a minute account of all the transactions relating to Captain Kidd, the noted pirate. Already two thousand four hundred pages of copies, beautifully written by one hand, on vellum foolscap, had been forwarded to Mr. Brown, a few of which were exhibited by Professor Gammel.

Moon and stars were shining brightly when we left the Society's rooms, and afforded a fine field of view through a large telescope that was standing under the porch of the college. The professor having it in charge kindly allowed me a glance at our celestial neighbors. The moon was gibbous, and brilliant as molten silver appeared its ragged edges. Saturn was visible, but the earth being upon the plane of its rings, they could not be seen. Some double stars, even of the seventeenth magnitude, were pointed out; and over the whole field of view, those distant worlds, that appear like brilliant points to the unaided vision, were seen glowing in all the beautiful colors of the emerald, the ruby, the sapphire, and the topaz. While gazing upon them, it seemed to me as if

"Their silver voices in chorus rang,
And this was the song the bright ones sang:

"Away! away! through the wide, wide sky—
The fair blue fields that before us lie.
Each sun with the worlds that round it roll;
Each planet poised on her turning pole;
With her isles of green and her clouds of white,
And her waters that lie like fluid light.

"For the Source of Glory uncovers his face,
And the brightness o'erflows unbounded space;
And we drink, as we go, the luminous tides,
In our ruddy air and our blooming sides.
Lo! yonder the living splendors play;
Away! on our joyous path, away!

"Glide on in your beauty, ye youthful spheres,
To weave the dance that measures the years.
Glide on in the glory and gladness sent
To the farthest wall of the firmament—
The boundless, visible smile of Him,
To the veil of whose brow our lamps are dim."

BRYANT'S "SONG OF THE STARS."

On the morning of the 21st, I procured a sort of pinnace, and a boatman to manage it, and with a stiff, cold breeze from the northwest, sailed down the Narraganset Bay² to Gaspee Point, a place famous in our Revolutionary annals as the scene of a daring act on the part of the people of Rhode Island. The Point is on the west side of the bay, about six miles below Providence, and consists, first, of a high jutting bank, and then a sandy beach stretching into the bay, almost uncovered at low tide, but completely submerged at high water. The bay is here about two miles wide, and the low bare point extends at least half a mile from the bank, its termination marked by a buoy. The navigation of this section of the bay is dangerous on account of the sand-bars, and also of submerged rocks, lying just below the surface at low water. Two of them, in the vicinity of Field's Point, are marked by strong stone towers about thirty feet high, both of which are

October,
1848.

¹ Mr. Brown is a son of Nicholas Brown, whose liberal endowment of the college at Providence, and active influence in its favor, caused the faculty to give his name to the institution. It is called Brown University.

² The northern portion of the bay is quite narrow, and from the Pawtuxet to its head is generally called Providence River.

The Gaspee.

Conduct of her Commander.

Sketch of Gaspee Point

Governor Wanton

above Gaspee Point. The tide was ebbing when we arrived at the Point, and anchoring our vessel, we sought to reach the shore in its little skiff—a feat of no small difficulty on account of the shallowness of the water. I waited nearly an hour for the ebbing tide to leave the Point bare, before making my sketch.

The historical incident alluded to was the burning of the Gaspee, a British armed schooner, in 1772. She first appeared in the waters of Narraganset Bay in March, having been dispatched thither by the commissioners of customs at Boston to prevent infractions of the revenue laws, and to put a stop to the illicit trade which had been carried on for a long time at Newport and Providence. Her appearance disquieted the people, and her interference with the free navigation of the bay irritated them. Deputy-governor Sessions, residing at Providence, wrote in behalf of the people there to Governor Wanton¹ at Newport, expressing his opinion that the commander of the Gaspee, Lieutenant Duddington, had no legal warrant for his proceedings. Governor Wanton immediately dispatched



STONE TOWER.

GASPEE POINT.²

a written message, by the high sheriff, to Duddington, in which he required that officer to produce his commission without delay. This the lieutenant refused to do, and Wanton made a second demand for his orders. Duddington, apparently shocked at the idea that a colonial governor should claim the right to control, in any degree, the movement of his majesty's officers, did not reply, but sent Wanton's letters to Admiral Montague at Boston.

¹ Joseph Wanton was a native of Newport, Rhode Island. He graduated at Harvard in 1751. In 1769 he was elected Governor of Rhode Island, which office he held by re-election until 1775, when his opposition to the views of the people, and his neglect to take the oath of office at the proper time, made the Assembly declare his place vacant. His deputy, Nicholas Cooke, performed the duties of governor. The confidence of the people in his attachment to American liberty was doubtless shaken by his appointment, under the great seal of England, to inquire into the affair of the Gaspee. But in that he acted as a conscientious man, and there was evidently a desire on his part that the incendiaries of that vessel should not be known, although he labored with apparent zeal to discover them. He was regarded as a Loyalist during the remainder of his life. He died at Newport in 1782.

² This view is from the bank of the cove just below the Point, looking northeast, showing its appearance at low water when the clam-fishers are upon it. The buoy is seen beyond the extreme end of the Point on the right. The bank is about fifteen feet high. In front of Pawtuxet, about a mile above, are the remains of breast-works, thrown up during the war of 1812. There are also breast-works at Field's Point, two miles below Providence, where is a flag-staff. There is the quarantine ground.

Montague's insolent Letter. Wanton's Rejoinder. Captain Lindsey's Packet chased by the Gaspee. Grounding of the Gaspee.

That functionary, forgetting that the Governor of Rhode Island was elected to office by the voice of a free people—that he was the chief magistrate of a colony of free Englishmen, and not a creature of the crown—wrote an insulting and blustering letter to Governor Wanton in defense of Duddington, and in reprehension of his opponents. In it he used these insulting words: "I shall report your two insolent letters to my officer [Duddington] to his majesty's secretaries of state, and leave them to determine what right you have to demand a sight of all orders I shall give to all officers of my squadron; and I would advise you not to send your sheriff on board the king's ship again on such ridiculous errands." To this letter Governor Wanton wrote a spirited reply. "I am greatly obliged," he said, "for the promise of transmitting my letters to the secretaries of state. I am, however, a little shocked at your impolite expression made use of upon that occasion. In return for this good office, I shall also transmit your letter to the Secretary of State, and leave to the king and his ministers to determine on which side the charge of insolence lies. As to your advice not to send a sheriff on board any of your squadron, please to know, that I will send the sheriff of this colony at any time, and to any place within the body of it, as I shall think fit." On the 20th of May, Governor Wanton, pursuant to a vote of the Assembly, transmitted an account of the matter to the Earl of Hillsborough; but, before any reply could be received, the Gaspee became a wreck, under the following circumstances:

On the 9th of June, 1772, Captain Lindsey left Newport for Providence, in his packet,¹ at about noon, the wind blowing from the South.² The Gaspee, whose commander did not discriminate between the well-known packets and the strange vessels that came into the harbor, had often fired upon the former, to compel their masters to take down their colors in its presence—a haughty marine Gesler, requiring obeisance to its imperial cap. As Captain Lindsey, on this occasion, kept his colors flying, the Gaspee gave chase, and continued it as far as Namquit (now Gaspee) Point. The tide was ebbing, but the bar was covered. As soon as Lindsey doubled the Point, he stood to the westward. Duddington, commander of the Gaspee, eager to overtake the pursued, and ignorant of the extent of the submerged Point from the shore, kept on a straight course, and in a few minutes struck the sand. The fast ebbing tide soon left his vessel hopelessly grounded. Captain Lindsey arrived at Providence at sunset, and at once communicated the fact of the grounding of the Gaspee to Mr. John Brown, one of the leading merchants of that city. Knowing that the schooner could not be got off until flood-tide, after midnight, Brown thought this a good opportunity to put an end to the vexations caused by her presence. He ordered the preparation of eight of the largest long-boats in the harbor, to be placed under the general command of Captain Whipple, one of his most trusty ship-masters; each boat to have five oars, the row-locks to be muffled, and the whole put in readiness by half past eight in the evening, at Fenner's Wharf, near the residence of the late Welcome Arnold. At dusk, a man named Daniel Pearce passed along the Main Street, beating a drum, and informing the inhabitants that the Gaspee lay aground on Namquit Point; that she could not get off until three o'clock in the morning; and inviting those who were willing to engage in her destruction to meet at the house of James Sabine, afterward the residence of Welcome Arnold. The boats left Providence between ten and eleven o'clock, filled with sixty-four well-armed men, a sea captain in each boat acting as steersman. They took with them a quantity of round paving-stones. Between one and two in the morning they reached the Gaspee, when a sentinel on board hailed them. No answer being returned, Duddington appeared in his shirt on the starboard gunwale, and waving the boats off, fired a pistol at them. This

¹ This packet was called the Hannah, and sailed between New York and Providence, touching at Newport.

² Cooper, in his *Naval History*, i., 81, says that the Hannah was "favored by a fresh southerly breeze." The details here given are taken chiefly from a statement by the late Colonel Ephraim Bowen, of Providence, who was one of the party that attacked the Gaspee. Colonel Bowen says the wind was from the North. The circumstances of the chase, however, show that it must have been from the South.

Expedition against the Gaspee.

Her Destruction.

Efforts to discover the Incendiaries.

The Commissioners.

discharge was returned by a musket from one of the boats.¹ Duddington was wounded in the groin, and carried below. The boats now came alongside the schooner, and the men boarded her without much opposition, the crew retreating below when their wounded commander was carried down. A medical student among the Americans dressed Duddington's wound,² and he was carried on shore at Pawtuxet. The schooner's company were ordered to collect their clothing and leave the vessel, which they did; and all the effects of Lieutenant Duddington being carefully placed in one of the American boats to be delivered to the owner, the Gaspee was set on fire and at dawn blew up.³

June 12.

On being informed of this event, Governor Wanton issued a proclamation, ordering diligent search for persons having a knowledge of the crime, and offering a reward of five hundred dollars "for the discovery of the perpetrators of said villainy, to be paid immediately upon the conviction of any one or more of them." Admiral Montague also made endeavors to discover the incendiaries. Afterward the home government offered a reward of five thousand dollars for the leader, and two thousand five hundred dollars to any person who would discover the other parties, with the promise of a pardon should the informer be an accomplice. A commission of inquiry, under the great seal of England, was established, which sat from the 4th until the 22d of January, 1773.⁴ It then adjourned until the 26th of May, when it assembled and sat until the 23d of June. But not a solitary clew to the identity of the perpetrators could be obtained, notwithstanding so many of them were known to the people.⁵ The price of treachery on the part of any accomplice would have been exile from home and country; and the proffered reward was not adequate to such a sacrifice, even though weak moral principles or strong acquisitiveness had been tempted into compliance. The commissioners closed their labors on the 23d of June, and further inquiry was not attempted.⁶

Wanted
Daniel Horsmanden
Frederic Smyth
Peter Oliver
Robert Auchmuty

SIGNATURES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

¹ Thomas Bucklin, a young man about nineteen years of age, fired the musket. He afterward assisted in dressing the wound which his bullet inflicted.

² This was Dr. John Mawney. His kindness and attention to Duddington excited the gratitude of that officer, who offered young Mawney a gold stock-buckle; that being refused, a silver one was offered and accepted.

³ The principal actors in this affair were John Brown, Captain Abraham Whipple, John B. Hopkins, Benjamin Dunn, Dr. John Mawney, Benjamin Page, Joseph Bucklin, Turpin Smith, Ephraim Bowen, and Captain Joseph Tillinghast. The names were, of course, all kept secret at the time.

⁴ The commission consisted of Governor Joseph Wanton, of Rhode Island; Daniel Horsmanden, chief justice of New York; Frederic Smyth, chief justice of New Jersey; Peter Oliver, chief justice of Massachusetts; and Robert Auchmuty, judge of the Vice-admiralty Court.

⁵ The drum was publicly beaten; the sixty-four boldly embarked on the expedition without disguise; and it is asserted by Mr. John Howland (still living), that on the morning after the affair, a young man, named Justin Jacobs, paraded on the "Great Bridge," a place of much resort, with Lieutenant Duddington's gold-laced beaver on his head, detailing the particulars of the transaction to a circle around him.

⁶ See *Documentary History of the Destruction of the Gaspee*, by the Honorable William R. Staples; Providence, 1845. In a song written at the time, and composed of fifty-eight lines of doggerel verse, is ingeniously given the history of the affair. It closes with the following allusion to the rewards offered:

Return to Providence.

Visit to Mr. John Howland.

His military Career in the Revolution.

After finishing my sketch of Namquit, or Gaspee Point (page 60), we embarked for Providence, the wind blowing a gale from the northwest. It was with much difficulty that we managed our vessel; and before we reached the harbor we were drenched with the spray that dashed over the gunwale from the windward. In company with Mr. Weeden I visited the fine library of the Athenium Association,¹ and afterward had the pleasure of a brief interview, at his residence, with the venerable Mr. Howland, president of the Historical Society. So clear and vigorous was his well-cultivated mind, that I regretted the brevity of my visit, made necessary by the near approach of the hour of departure of the steam-packet, in which I was to proceed to Newport. Mr. Howland passed his ninety-first birth-day a few days before I saw him. He was a soldier early in the war for independence, having been drafted as a minute man in the winter of 1775, to go to Newport. He was afterward attached to the Rhode Island regiment under Colonel Lippincott, and joined the Continental army under Washington at Kingsbridge, at the upper end of York or Manhattan Island. He was in the retreat to White Plains in the autumn of 1776, and was engaged in the skirmish at Chatterton's Hill. He related an amusing circumstance which occurred during that retreat. While the Americans halted upon Chatterton's Hill, the British, in close pursuit, rested, for a short time, upon another eminence close by. An Irishman, one of Colonel Lippincott's servants, who was called "Daddy Hall," seemed quite uneasy on account of the presence of the enemy. He had charge of the colonel's horse, and frequently exclaimed, "What are we doing here? Why do we stop here? Why don't we go on? I don't believe the colonel knows that the red-coated rascals are so near." Paymaster Dexter,² seeing the perturbation of the poor fellow, said, "Daddy Hall, you're afraid! you're a trembling coward!" The Milesian's ire was aroused at these words, and looking the paymaster in the face with a scornful curl of his lips, he said, "Be jabers! no, Maister Dexter, I'm not afeerd more nor yez be; but faith! ye'll find yourself that one good pair of heels is worth two of hands afore night; if ye don't, call Daddy Hall a spalpeen." And so he did; for, before sunset the Americans were flying before their pursuers, more grateful to heels than hands for safety.

Mr. Howland accompanied Washington in his retreat across New Jersey, and was in the division of Cadwallader, at Bristol, which was to go over the Delaware on the night when Washington crossed that river, and surprised the Hessians at Trenton. The December 23, 1776, ice prevented; but they crossed the next day, and were stationed at Crosswicks for a day or two. Mr. Howland was among those at Trenton who were driven across the Assanpink by the British on the evening of the 2d of January, the night before the battle of Princeton. The bridge across the Assanpink was much crowded, and Mr. Howland remembers having his arm scratched by one of Washington's spurs as he passed

"Now, for to find these people out,
King George has offered very stout,
One thousand pounds to find out one
That wounded William Duddington.
One thousand more he says he'll spare,
For those who say the sheriff's were.
One thousand more there doth remain
For to find out the leader's name;
Likewise five hundred pounds per man
For any one of all the clan.
But let him try his utmost skill,
I'm apt to think he never will
Find out any of those hearts of gold,
Though he should offer fifty-fold."

¹ Mr. Weeden was formerly librarian of the institution. It is situated in a handsome building on the east side of Benefit Street, and contains about five thousand volumes, among which is a copy of the great work on Egypt, arranged under the superintendence of Denon, and published by Napoleon at the expense of the government of France. This copy belonged to Prince Polignac, the minister of Charles X. Many of the plates were colored by his direction. It is a beautiful copy, bound in morocco.

² I was informed, after leaving Providence, that Mr. Dexter was yet living in the northern part of the town, at the age of ninety-two years.

Departure for Newport.	Appearance of Rhode Island.	Old Tower at Newport.	Mansion of Governor Gibbs.
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by the commander in the crowd, who sat upon his white horse at the south end of the bridge. He performed the dreary night march through the snow toward Princeton, and was in the battle there on the following morning. His term of service expired while the American army was at Morristown, whither it went from Princeton. From Morristown, himself and companions made their way on foot, through deep snows, back to Providence, crossing the Hudson River at King's Ferry (Stony Point), and the Connecticut at Hartford. Gladly would I have listened until sunset to the narrative of his great experience, but the first bell of the packet summoned me away.

I left Providence at three o'clock in the Perry, and arrived at Newport, thirty miles distant, at about five, edified on the way by the conversation of the venerable William Cranston, of Attlebury, Massachusetts, then eighty-one years of age, who was a resident of Newport during the Revolution. The bald appearance of Rhode Island, relieved only by orchards, which showed like dark tufts of verdure in the distance, with a few wind-mills and scattered farm-houses, formed a singular and unfavorable feature in the view as we approached Newport; while upon small islands and the main land appeared the ruins of forts and batteries, indicating the military importance of the waters we were navigating. This was

"Rhode Island, the land where the exile sought rest;
The Eden where wandered the Pilgrim oppress'd.
Thy name be immortal! here man was made free,
The oppress'd of all nations found refuge in thee.

"There Freedom's broad pinions our fathers unfurl'd,
An ensign to nations and hope to the world;
Here both Jew and Gentile have ever enjoy'd
The freedom of conscience in worshipping God."

ARTHUR A. ROSS.

The fair promises of a pleasant morrow, sweetly expressed by a bright moonlight evening, were not realized, for at dawn heavy rain-drops were pattering upon my window, and the wind was piping with all the zeal of a sudden "sou'easter." I had intended to start early for the neighborhood of Quaker Hill, toward the north end of the island, the scene of conflict in 1778; but the storm frustrated my plans, and I passed the day in visiting places of interest in the city and its immediate vicinity. The object of greatest attraction to the visitor at Newport is the Old Tower, or wind-mill, as it is sometimes called. It stands within a vacant lot owned by Governor Gibbs, directly in front of his fine old mansion, which was erected in 1720, and was then one of the finest dwellings in the colony. It is a brick building, covered with red cedar. The main object in the picture is a representation of the tower as it appeared at the time of my visit. On the right of it is seen the residence of Governor Gibbs,¹ surrounded by shade-trees and flowering shrubs in abundance. I passed the stormy morning under its roof; and to the proprietor I am indebted for much kindness during my visit at Newport, and for valuable suggestions respecting the singular relic of the past that stands upon his grounds, mute and mysterious as a mummy. On the subject of its erection history and tradition are silent, and the object of its construction is alike unknown and conjectural. It is a huge cylinder, composed of unhewn stones—common granite, slate, sandstone, and pudding-stone—cemented with coarse mortar, made of the soil on which the structure stands, and shell lime. It rests upon eight round columns, a little more than three feet in diameter, and ten feet high from the ground to the spring of the arches. The wall is three feet thick, and the whole edifice, at the present time, is twenty-four feet high. The external diameter is twenty-three feet. Governor Gibbs informed me that, on excavating at the base of one of the pillars, he found the soil about four feet deep, lying upon a stratum of hard rock, and that the foundation of the column, which rested upon this rock, was composed of rough-hewn spheres of stone, the lower ones about four feet in circumference. On the interior, a little above the arches, are small square

¹ Mr. Gibbs was Governor of Rhode Island in 1819

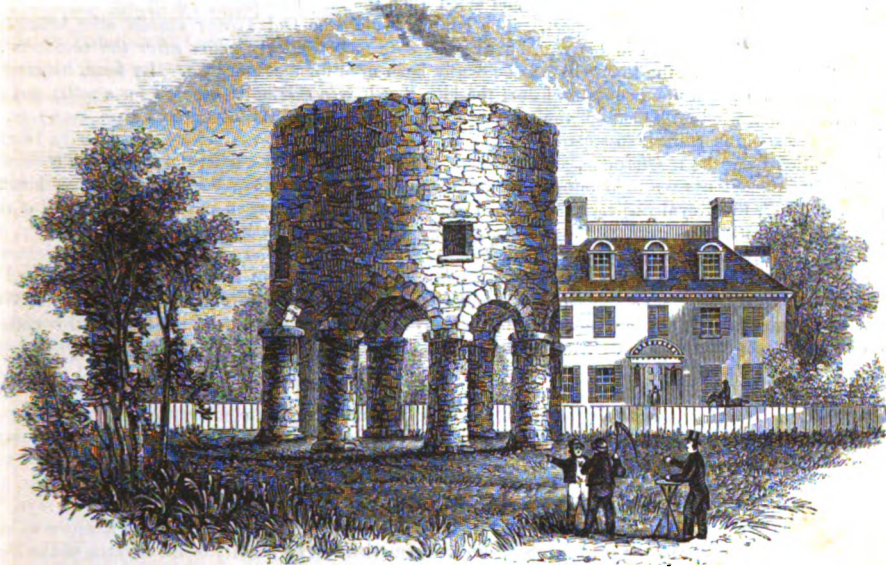
Old Tower at Newport.

Its former Appearance.

Attempt to destroy it.

Obscurity of its Origin.

niches, in depth about half the thickness of the wall, designed, apparently, to receive floor-timbers. In several places within, as well as upon the inner surface of some of the columns,



OLD TOWER AT NEWPORT.

are patches of stucco, which, like the mortar, is made of coarse sand and shell lime, and as hard as the stones it covers. Governor Gibbs remembers the appearance of the tower more than forty years ago, when it was partially covered with the same hard stucco upon its exterior surface. Doubtless it was originally covered within and without with plaster, and the now rough columns, with mere indications of capitals and bases of the Doric form, were handsomely wrought, the whole structure exhibiting taste and beauty. During the possession of Rhode Island by the British, in the Revolution, the tower was more perfect than now, having a roof, and the walls were three or four feet higher than at present.¹ The British used it for an ammunition magazine, and when they evacuated the island, they attempted to demolish the old "mill" by igniting a keg of powder within it! But the strong walls resisted the Vandals, and the only damage the edifice sustained was the loss of its roof and two or three feet of its upper masonry. Such is the Old Tower at Newport at the present time. Its early history is yet unwritten, and may forever remain so.²

¹ Governor Gibbs showed me a Continental bill of the denomination of five dollars (not signed), which his son found in a crevice in the tower.

² There has been much patient investigation, with a great deal of speculation, concerning this ancient edifice, but no satisfactory conclusion has yet been obtained. Of its existence prior to the English emigration to America there is now but little doubt; and it is asserted that the Indians, of whom Mr. Coddington and other early settlers upon Aquitneck (now Rhode Island) solicited information concerning the structure, had no tradition respecting its origin. Because it was called a "mill" in some old documents, some have argued, or, rather, have flippantly asserted, that it was built by the early English settlers for a wind-mill. Thus Mr. Cooper disposes of the matter in his preface to *Red Rover*. A little patient inquiry would have given him a different conclusion; and if the structure is really ante-colonial, and perhaps ante-Columbian, its history surely is worthy of investigation. That it was converted into and used for a wind-mill by some of the early settlers of Newport, there is no doubt, for it was easily convertible to such use, although not by a favorable arrangement. The English settlement upon the island was commenced in 1636, at the north end, and in 1639 the first house was erected on the site of Newport, by Nicholas Easton. Mention is made in the colonial records of the erection of a wind-mill by Peter Easton, in 1663, twenty-five years after the founding of Newport; and this was evidently the *first* mill erected there, from the fact that it was considered of sufficient importance to the colony to induce the General Court to reward Mr. Easton for his enterprise, by a grant of a tract of fine land, a mile in length, lying along what is still known as *Easton's*

First Wind-mill at Newport. Inquiries respecting the Tower. "Antiquitates Americana." Inscription on Dighton Rock.

The rain ceased at ten o'clock, and a westerly wind dispersed the clouds, but made the day unpleasant by its blustering breath. I sketched the house on the corner of Spring and Peck-

Beach. That mill was a wooden structure, and stood upon the land now occupied by the North Burying-ground, in the upper suburbs of Newport. The land on which the Old Tower stands once belonged to Governor Benedict Arnold, and in his will, bearing the date of 1678, forty years after the settlement, he mentions the "stone mill," the tower having evidently been used for that purpose. Its form, its great solidity, and its construction upon columns, forbid the idea that it was originally erected for a mill; and certainly, if a common wind-mill, made of timber, was so highly esteemed by the people, as we have seen, the construction of such an edifice, so superior to any dwelling or church in the colony, would have received special attention from the magistrates, and the historians of the day. And wherefore, for such a purpose, were the foundation-stones wrought into spheres, and the whole structure stuccoed within and without?

When, in 1837, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen published the result of their ten years' investigations concerning the discovery of America by the Northmen in the tenth century, in a volume entitled "Antiquitates Americana," the old "mill" at Newport, the rock inscription at Dighton, in Massachusetts, and the discovery of skeletons, evidently of a race different from the Indians,* elicited the earnest attention of inquirers, as subjects in some way connected with those early discoveries. Dr. Webb (whom I have mentioned as extending to me his friendly services at the rooms of the Historical Society of Massachusetts), who was then a resident of Providence, and secretary to the Rhode Island Historical Society, opened a correspondence with Charles C. Rafn, the secretary to the Royal Society of Copenhagen. Dr. Webb employed Mr. Catherwood to make drawings of the "mill," and these, with a particular account of the structure, he transmitted to Professor Rafn. Here was opened for the society a new field of inquiry, the products of which were published, with engravings from Mr. Catherwood's drawings. According to Professor Rafn, the architecture of this building is in the ante-Gothic style, which was common in the north and west of Europe from the eighth to the twelfth century. "The circular form, the low columns, their thickness in proportion to their distance from each other, and the entire want of ornament," he says, "all point out this epoch." He imagines that it was used for a *baptistery*, and accounts for the absence of buildings of a similar character by the abundance of wood in America. The brevity of the sojourn of the Northmen here was doubtless another, and perhaps principal reason, why similar structures were not erected. The fact that the navigators of Sweden, Norway, and Iceland visited and explored the American coast as far as the shores of Connecticut, and probably more southerly, during the tenth and eleventh centuries (five hundred years before the voyages of Columbus), appears to be too well attested to need further notice here. For the proofs, the reader is referred to the interesting work alluded to, "Antiquitates Americana."

The inscription upon the rock at Dighton has given rise to much speculation and to many theories. The



INSCRIPTION ON DIGHTON ROCK.

pictured. Further to the right is a vessel, and on the extreme right are two figures, differing from the one on the left, without bows and arrows, and evidently connected with the vessel. These and the vessel doubtless indicate them as voyagers from a distant land.† Between the figures and the boat are Runic or Phœnician characters. The question arises, By whom was the inscription made? The Phœnician characters seem to be proof that those ancient navigators visited the American coast and made this record of combat

* Dr. J. C. V. Smith, of Boston, has written an account of a remarkable stone cemetery, discovered about fifty years ago on Rainsford Island, in Boston Bay, which contained a skeleton and sword-hilt of iron. Dr. Webb has also published an interesting account of a skeleton discovered at Fall River, in Massachusetts, on or near which were found a bronze breast-plate, bronze tubes belonging to a belt, &c., none of which appear to be of Indian, or of comparatively modern European manufacture. Drs. Smith and Webb both concluded that these skeletons were those of Scandinavian voyagers.

† Kendall, in his *Travels*, published in 1809, describes this rock and the inscription, and gives the following Indian tradition: "Some ages past, a number of white men arrived in the river in a *bird* [sailing vessel], when the white men took Indians into the *bird* as hostages. They took fresh water for their consumption at a neighboring spring, and while procuring it, the Indians fell upon and murdered some of them. During the affray, *thunder and lightning issued from the bird*, and frightened the Indians away. Their hostages, however, escaped." The *thunder and lightning* spoken of evidently refers to fire-arms, and, if the tradition is true, the occurrence must have taken place as late as the latter part of the fourteenth century, for gunpowder, for warlike purposes, was not used in Europe previous to 1350. In a representation of the battle of Cressy (which was fought in 1343) upon a manuscript Froissart, there are no pictures of fire-arms, and probably they were not in common use at that time; yet there is a piece of ordnance at Amberg, in Germany, on which is inscribed the year 1303. Roger Bacon, who died in 1292, was acquainted with gunpowder, and the Chinese and other Eastern nations were familiar with it long before that time.

Prescott's Head-quarters in Newport.

Old Cemetery.

Perry's Monument.

Runic Inscriptions elsewhere.

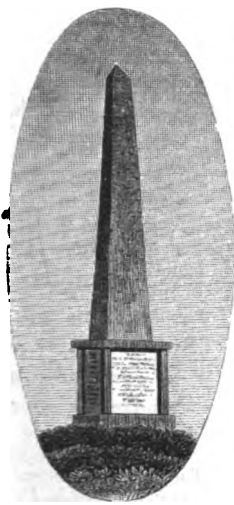
ham Streets, now owned by Mr. Joshua Sayre, which was occupied as his city head-quarters by the petty tyrant, General Prescott, while he was in command of the British troops on Rhode Island. His acts will be noted presently. About noon I strolled up to the cemetery in the northern part of the city, where lie the remains of a great multitude of the early inhabitants of Newport. Workmen were employed in regulating it, by

placing the old grave-stones upright, and painting them so as to bring out their half-effaced inscriptions, and in beautifying the grounds in various ways.

There, beneath a broad slab of slate, repose the bodies of John and William Cranston, father and son, who were governors of Rhode Island—the former in 1679, the latter from 1698 to 1726. Near by is the tomb of William Jefferay, who, tradition says, was one of the judges of Charles I. It is covered by a large slab of graywacke, ornamented, or, rather, disfigured, at the head, by a representation of a skull and cross-bones, below which is a poetic epitaph. He died January 2d, 1675. On the top of the slope on which a portion of the cemetery lies, is a granite obelisk, erected to the memory of Commodore Perry, by the State of Rhode Island, at a cost of three thousand dollars. It is formed of a single stone, twenty-three feet in height, standing upon a square pedestal ten feet high,



PRESCOTT'S HEAD-QUARTERS.



PERRY'S MONUMENT.

with the Indians; and hence some reject the opinion of others that the rock was inscribed by the hand of a Scandinavian. When we remember that the Phœnicians were for many ages in the undisputed possession of the traffic of the Baltic, around which clustered the Scandinavian nations, and that Runic, or ancient German inscriptions, in Phœnician characters, have been discovered in abundance in all the countries formerly occupied by these nations, the inference is plainly correct, that the Scandinavians received their alphabet from the Phœnicians.* In the *Journal des Debats* of Paris, a letter was published, dated Copenhagen, February 5, 1850, in which it is mentioned that Dr. Pierre André Munch, professor at the University of Christina, then in Copenhagen, had just presented to the Society of Northern Antiquaries an extremely curious manuscript, in a state of excellent preservation, which he discovered and obtained during his voyage, in 1849, to the Orkney Isles. This manuscript, which the professor refers to the ninth and tenth centuries, contains several episodes, in the Latin language, on the history of Norway, presenting some important facts, heretofore entirely unknown, which illustrate the obscure ages that in Norway preceded the introduction of Christianity. Dr. Munch also presented to the society several fac-similes of Runic inscriptions, which he discovered in the Orkney Isles and in the north of Scotland. It is probable these discoveries may cast some light upon the obscure subject under consideration. In the record of the voyages to America of the Northmen, a severe combat with the natives (*skrellings*) is mentioned, and various circumstances show that in the vicinity of this inscription the battle occurred. Is it not reasonable to infer that those Scandinavians, acquainted with the Phœnician alphabet, made a record of the battle upon the rock, by a mingling of alphabetical characters and pictorial hieroglyphics? And may not the same people have reared the Old Tower at Newport, in the vicinity, for a baptistry, with a view of erecting a church, and making a permanent settlement there? for it must be remembered that at that time those Northern nations were nominal Christians. The records of their voyages were compiled by Bishop Thorlaek, of Iceland, a grandson of Snorre,† son of Gadrída, who was born in Wineland, or Massachusetts, in 1008. The subject is one of great interest, and worthy of further and more minute inquiries than have yet been made.

* On this point consult Schlegel's fourth lecture on *The History of Literature*.

† The late Bertel Thorwaldsen, the greatest sculptor of our time, was a lineal descendant of Snorre.

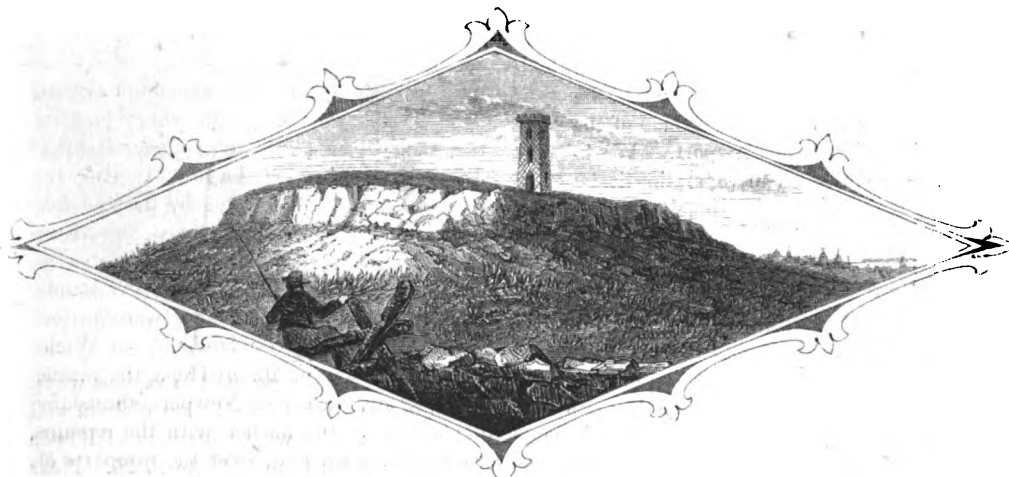
'Tonomy Hill.

Hubbard's House and Mill.

Inscription on Perry's Monument.

having white marble tablets. It is inclosed by an iron railing, and has an imposing appearance.¹

About a mile and a half northward of Newport rises a bold, rocky eminence, called "'Tonomy Hill" (the first word being an abbreviation of Miantonômoh), celebrated as the seat

TOP OF 'TONOMY HILL.²

of the Narraganset sachem of that name, and the commanding site of a small fort or redoubt during the war of the Revolution. Thitherward I made my way from the old cemetery, passing several wind-mills that were working merrily in the stiff breeze which swept over the island from the west. The absence of streams of sufficient strength to turn water-wheels is the cause of the retention of these ancient mills, which give Rhode Island an Old England appearance. One of them, standing near the junction of the main road and the lane leading up to "'Tonomy Hill," is a patriarch among the others, for its sails revolved when the Gaspee lorded over the waters of the Narraganset. It is invested with associations of considerable interest. The mill and the old house near by were owned by a man named Hubbard. When the British took possession

HUBBARD'S HOUSE AND MILL.³

¹ The inscriptions upon the monument are as follows:

EAST SIDE.—"Oliver Hazard Perry. At the age of 27 years he achieved the victory of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813."

NORTH SIDE.—"Born in South Kingston, R. I., August 23d, 1785. Died at Port Spain, Trinidad, August 23d, 1819, aged 34 years."

WEST SIDE.—"His remains were conveyed to his native land in a ship of war, according to a resolution of Congress, and were here interred, December 4, 1826."

SOUTH SIDE.—"Erected by the State of Rhode Island."

² This view is from the north side of the hill, looking south. The wall appearance is a steep precipice of huge masses of pudding-stone, composed of pebbles and larger smooth stones, ranging in size from a pea to a man's head. It is a very singular geological formation. In some places the face is smooth, the stones and pebbles appearing as if they had been cut with a knife while in a pasty or semi-fluid state. On the top of this mound are traces of the breast-works that were thrown up, not high, for the rocks formed a natural rampart, on all sides but one, against an enemy. Here Miantonômoh had his fort, and here his councils were held when he planned his expeditions against the Mohegans. The observatory is a strong frame, covered with lattice-work. On the right is seen the city of Newport in the distance.

³ The house and the mill are covered with shingles instead of clap-boards. This view is from the lane, looking east. The ocean is seen in the distance, on the left.

Oppression of the Whigs by Prescott.

View from Tonomoy Hill.

Mrs. Hutchinson and Sir Henry Vane.

of Rhode Island, Prescott turned many of the families of the Whigs (and there were but few others) out of their houses, to take shelter in barns and other coverts, while his soldiers occupied their comfortable dwellings. Mr. Hubbard and his family were thus driven from their house, and compelled to live for nearly two years in their mill, while insolent soldiery, ignorant and vile, occupied their rooms. The family of Mr. Hubbard took possession of the house on the evening after the evacuation, but all was desolation, the enemy having broken or carried away every article the family had left there.

Tonomoy Hill is said to be the highest land upon the island, except Quaker Hill, toward the northern end. On its southern slope is the mansion of Mr. Hazzard, where families from a distance have a pleasant home during the warm season, while the younger fashionables are sporting at the Ocean House on the shore. On the top of the hill Mr. Hazzard has erected an observatory, seventy feet high, over a cellar which was dug by the Indians, and in which is a living spring of water. The hill is two hundred and seventy feet above the bay, and the top of the observatory commands one of the most beautiful panoramic views in the world. Stretching away northward was seen Narraganset Bay, broken by islands and pierced by headlands, and at its remote extremity the spires of Providence were glittering in the sun. On its western shore were glimpses of Warwick, Greenwich, and Wickford, and on the east were seen Warren and Bristol, and the top of Mount Hope, the throne of King Philip. On the south and west were the city and harbor of Newport, the island of Canonicut with its ruined fort, and the smaller islands in the harbor, with the remains of fortifications. Beyond the city, looking oceanward with a spy-glass over the ramparts of Fort Adams, was seen the dim outline of Block Island, like a mist lying upon the waters. There rolled the dark and boundless Atlantic, with no limit but the blue horizon, no object but a few sails. Turning the glass a little more eastward, there was a faint apparition of Gayhead, on Martha's Vineyard, and of some of the islands in Buzzard's Bay. The cultivated fields of more than one half of Rhode Island, upon which I stood, were spread out like a map around me, rich in Nature's bounties and historical associations. From our lofty observatory, let us take a field survey with the open chronicle before us.

We have seen Roger Williams expelled from Massachusetts because of alleged heresy. The rulers of that colony had scarcely recovered their equanimity, before similar difficulties arose from an unexpected quarter. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of good birth, education, and great energy of character, had been leavened by the tolerant principles of Williams before he left, and assumed the right to discuss religious dogmas and to detect the errors of the clergy. A privilege had been granted to hearers, at the end of sermons, to ask questions "wisely and sparingly." Mrs. Hutchinson put so many searching questions upon abstruse points in theology, in a manner which convinced the ministers that she well understood the subject, that they were greatly annoyed. She held conferences at her own house every Sabbath evening, which were fully attended, and her brother-in-law, a minister named Wheelwright, who was of the same mind with her, drew crowds to his chapel every Sunday. Henry Vane, a young man of splendid talents, heir to a princely fortune, and son to Charles the First's chief secretary, had just arrived in the colony, and took up his residence with the Reverend Mr. Cotton, who treated Mrs. Hutchinson's views with gentleness, if not with favor. Vane (afterward Sir Henry Vane) was elected governor the following year, and being imbued with the spirit of toleration, was on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Hutchinson. The ministers were alarmed; their churches were thinned, while the chapel of Mr. Wheelwright could not contain the hundreds that flocked to hear him. A clamor was raised by the old party of ministers and their friends, and the next year Mr. Winthrop was elected governor, and Vane soon afterward returned to England.

A general synod of ministers now assembled at Salem, consisting of the preachers, deputies from the congregations, and magistrates, and after a session of three weeks, marked by stormy debates, unanimously passed sentence of censure against Mr. Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and their adherents. Continuing to hold her conferences, Mrs. Hutchinson was ordered to leave the colony within six months; and a similar command was

August 30.
1637.

given to Mr. Wheelwright, Mr. Aspinwall, and others. They, like the Tories in the Revolution, were required to deliver up their arms. With their departure ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. Wheelwright and his friends went to the banks of the Piscataqua, and founded the town of Exeter at its head waters; but the larger number of Mrs. Hutchinson's friends, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded southward, designing to make a settlement on Long Island, or with the Swedes on the Delaware. On their way through the wilderness Roger Williams gave them a hearty welcome, and by his influence and the name of Henry Vane as their friend, obtained for them from Miantonômoh, chief of the Narragansets, a gift of the beautiful island of Aquitneck.¹ A deed signed by Canonicus and Miantonômoh was given them in March, 1638. Naming the beautiful land the *Isle of Rhodes*, because they fancied that it resembled the island of that name in the eastern Mediterranean, they bound themselves as a community of freemen, by these solemn words, to found a new state, appealing to the great Searcher of Hearts for aid in the faithful performance of their promises:

"We, whose names are underwritten, do swear solemnly, in the presence of the Great Jehovah, to incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and as he shall help us, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those most perfect laws of his, given us in his most holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

This was a simple declaration, but a broad and sure foundation upon which to build a state. Mr. Clarke and eighteen others began their new settlement at Pocasset (Portsmouth), on the north part of the island; borrowed the forms of the administration of laws from the Jews; elected Coddington "judge in the new Israel," and prospered greatly. Soon after the arrival of these pioneers, Mrs. Hutchinson, with her children, made her way through the wilderness to the settlement of Roger Williams, and paddling down the Narraganset in a canoe, joined her friends on Rhode Island. She had been left a widow, but blessed with affectionate children. Her powerful mind continued active; young men from the neighboring colony were converted to her doctrines, and so great became her influence that "to the leaders of Massachusetts it gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft," and they sought to ensnare her. Rhode Island seemed no longer a place of safe refuge for her, and the whole family removed into the territory of the Dutch, in the neighborhood of Albany. The Indians and Keift, the Dutch governor, were then at enmity. The former regarded all white people as enemies, and Mrs. Hutchinson and her whole family, except one child, were murdered by the savages, and their dwelling burned.²

So rapid was the increase of the Rhode Island settlement at Pocasset, that another town was projected. Newport was founded in 1639. Settled by persecuted men holding the same liberal views, the republic of Roger Williams at Providence, and that upon Aquitneck, governed by no other than the Divine laws of the Bible, felt themselves as one political community, and were so regarded by the other colonies. Under the pretense that the Providence and Rhode Island Plantations had no charter, and were claimed by Plymouth and Massachusetts, they were excluded from the confederacy that was formed in 1643. Perceiving the disadvantages of an entire independency of the imperial government, Roger Williams proceeded to England, and in March, 1644, through the influence of his personal character, and of Henry Vane, obtained a free charter of incorporation from Parliament, then waging a fierce war with King Charles the First. The two plantations were united by it under the same government, and the signet for the state was ordered to be a "sheaf of arrows," with the motto "*AMOR VINCET OMNIA*"—*Love is all powerful*.

In 1647, the General Assembly of the several towns met at Portsmouth, and organized the government by the choice of a president and other officers. They adopted a code of

¹ This Indian name of Rhode Island is variously spelled: Aquiday, Aquitnet, and Aquitneck. It is a Narraganset word, signifying *peaceable isle*.

² Bancroft, i., 388, 393. Winthrop, i., 296. Callender, Gorton, in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i., 78.

Toleration in Rhode Island. Separation and Reunion of the Plantations. Newport. Destruction of the Sloop Liberty.

laws by which entire freedom of thought in religious matters, as well as a democracy in civil affairs, was guaranteed. Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Quakers, were all tolerated; and none were excluded from the ballot-box on account of their religious opinions. Consequently, many Quakers settled in Rhode Island, and they have ever formed a large and influential class of the population.

The two plantations were separated for a brief time, when, in 1651, Mr. Coddington was appointed by the supreme authority of England, Governor of Rhode Island alone. The people, alarmed at the apparent danger of having their freedom abridged by depriving them of the choice of their own rulers, sent Roger Williams to England, who obtained a revocation of the appointment. Mr. Coddington retired to private life, the Plantations were reunited, and from that time until the Revolution they were prosperous and happy, disturbed only by the alarms produced by King Philip's War, to be noticed presently, and the distant conflicts with the French and Indians during the first half of the eighteenth century. A charter of incorporation was obtained in 1663 from Charles II., by which the province was constituted a body politic, by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, in America." Under this charter the state has been governed until the present time. Rhode Island quietly submitted to the brief usurpation of Andross, and its charter was undisturbed. On his imprisonment, the people assembled at Newport, resumed their former charter privileges, and re-elected the officers whom that petty tyrant had displaced.

The fine harbor of Newport and its healthy location made that place one of the most important sea-port towns on the American coast; and soon after the Revolution it was said that if New York continued to increase as rapidly as it was then growing it would soon rival Newport in commerce! The navies of all Europe might safely ride at anchor in its deep and capacious harbor, and for a long time Newport was regarded as the future commercial metropolis of the New World. During the wars with the French, English and colonial privateers made Newport their chief rendezvous. In the course of one year, more than twenty prizes, some of them of great value, were sent into that harbor. 1745.

During all the occurrences preliminary and relative to the Revolution, the people of Rhode Island, thoroughly imbued with the principles of freedom, took a firm stand against British oppression, and were ever bold in the annunciation and maintenance of their political views. Indeed, Newport was the scene of the first overt act of popular resistance to royal authority other than the almost harmless measures of opposition to the Stamp Act in 1765. This was the destruction of the British armed sloop Liberty, which the commissioners of customs had sent to Narraganset Bay on an errand similar to that of the Gaspee subsequently. This vessel was boarded, her cable cut, and having drifted to Goat Island, she was there scuttled and set on fire, after her stores and armaments had been thrown overboard. July, 1769

¹ Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, in an article published in the *Boston Intelligencer*, in 1824, says, "The island of Rhode Island, from its salubrity and surpassing beauty, before the Revolutionary war so sadly defaced it, was the chosen resort of the rich and philosophic from nearly all parts of the civilized world. In no spot of the thirteen, or, rather, twelve colonies, was there concentrated more individual opulence; learning, and liberal leisure." "In 1769," says Mr. Ross, "Newport rivaled New York in foreign and domestic navigation. The inhabitants of New Haven, New London, &c., depended entirely upon Newport for a market to supply themselves with foreign goods, and here they found a ready market for the produce of their own state."—See *Historical Discourse* by Reverend Arthur A. Ross of Newport: 1838, page 29.

² A sloop and a brig belonging to Connecticut had been seized and brought into Newport. The wearing apparel and sword of the captain of the brig were put on board the Liberty, and going for them he was violently assaulted. As his boat left the sloop a musket and brace of pistols were discharged at him. This act greatly exasperated the people of Newport. They demanded of Captain Reid, of the Liberty, that the man who fired on Captain Packwood, of the brig, should be sent ashore. The request was denied, or, rather, a wrong man was sent each time, until the populace determined not to be trifled with longer. A number of them went on board, cut her cables, and set her adrift, with the result mentioned in the text. Her boats were dragged up the Long Wharf, thence to the Parade, through Broad Street, at the head of which, on the Common, they were burned. The "Newport Mercury," of July 31, 1769, contained this announcement: "Last Saturday the sloop Liberty was floated by a high tide, and drifted over to Goat Island,

Admiral Wallace in Narraganset Bay.

Disarming of the Tories.

Skirmish in the Harbor.

Engagement at Sea.

The first warlike menace made against Rhode Island was in the autumn of 1775. We have already noticed the alacrity with which the people armed and hastened toward Boston when they received intelligence of the affair at Lexington. Admiral Wallace commanded a small British fleet in the harbor of Newport during that summer, and the people became convinced that it was his intention to carry off the live stock from the lower end of the island, with which to supply the British army at Boston. Accordingly, on a dark night in September, some of the inhabitants went down and brought off about one thousand sheep and fifty head of cattle. Three hundred minute men drove up to Newport a large number more, and Wallace was foiled in his attempts at plunder. Enraged, he threatened the town with destruction. He laid the people under contributions to supply his fleet with provisions, and, to enforce the demand, he cut off their supplies of fuel and provisions from the main. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and about one half of them left the town, among whom were the principal merchants, with their families. By consent of the state government and the Continental Congress, a treaty was entered into. The people agreed to supply

October 1, 1775. the fleet with beer and fresh provisions, and Wallace removed all restrictions upon their movements. He then sailed up the bay to Bristol, and demanded from the inhabitants there three hundred sheep. They refused compliance, and the town was bom-

October 7. barded, the assault commencing at about eight o'clock in the evening. The rain was pouring in torrents. The house of Governor Bradford, with some others, was burned, and in the midst of the darkness women and children fled to the open fields, beyond the reach of the invaders' missiles, where they suffered dreadfully. This Wallace was the same officer who was afterward sent up the Hudson River to plunder and destroy, laying Kingston in ashes, and desolating the farms of innocent men because they loved freedom better than tyranny and misrule.¹ He was a commissioned pirate in the Narraganset Bay, and for a month reveled in the wanton destruction of property. Every American vessel that came into Newport harbor was captured and sent into Boston. He burned and plundered the dwellings upon the beautiful island of Providence, in the bay; and at the close of November passed over to Canonicut, and destroyed all the buildings near the ferry. 1775.

These outrages aroused the vengeance of the people, and the few Tories upon the island who favored the marauders were severely dealt with. Washington, then at Boston, sent General Charles Lee, with some riflemen, to their assistance. Lee arrested all the Tories he could find, deprived them of their arms, and imposed upon them the severest restrictions.

Wallace maintained possession of the harbor until the spring of 1776. On the 6th of April, American troops, with two row-galleys, bearing two eighteen pounders each, arrived from Providence. The British fleet was then anchored about a mile above Newport. Two eighteen pounders, brought by the provincial troops, were planted on shore in view of the enemy, and without any works to protect them. These, commanded by Captain Elliot, with the row-galleys, under Captain Grimes, promised Wallace such great and immediate danger, that he weighed anchor and left the harbor with his whole squadron without firing a shot. Soon afterward, the *Glasgow*, of twenty-nine guns, came into the harbor and anchored near Fort Island, having been severely handled in an engagement with Admiral Hopkins off Block Island.² Colonel Richmond, the same evening, ordered several pieces of heavy artil-

and is grounded near the north end, near the place where the pirates were buried. What this prognosticates we leave to the determination of astrologers." The same paper observed, August 7, "Last Monday evening, just after the storm of rain, hail, and lightning, the sloop *Liberty*, which we mentioned in our last as having drifted on Goat Island near where the pirates were buried, was discovered to be on fire, and continued burning for several days, until almost entirely consumed."—See Ross's Discourse.

¹ See page 388, vol. i.

² This engagement occurred on the same day when Wallace left Newport. Hopkins, with his little fleet, was on a cruise eastward, having left the Capes of the Delaware in February, visiting the Bermudas, and was now making his way toward Massachusetts Bay. On the 4th of April (1776) he fell in with a British schooner on the east end of Long Island, and took her. About one in the morning of the 6th he fell in with the *Glasgow*, of twenty-nine guns and one hundred and fifty men. The American brigantine *Cabot*, Captain Hopkins, Junior, and the *Columbus*, Captain Whipple, raked her as she passed. The American brig *Annadona* and sloop *Providence* were also in the engagement, yet the *Glasgow* escaped and fled into

Continued Hostilities in Newport Harbor.

Privateers.

Arrival of a large British Force.

Conduct of the Enemy.

lery to be brought to bear upon the Glasgow from Brenton's Point, where a slight breast-work was thrown up. On the following morning such a vigorous fire was opened from this battery upon the Glasgow and another vessel, that they cut their cables and went to sea.

A few days after these events, the British ship of war Scarborough, of twenty guns and two hundred and twenty-five men, and the Scymetar, of eighteen guns April 15. and one hundred and forty men, came into the harbor with two prize ships, and anchored a little south of Rose Island. The Americans resolved to attempt the rescue of the prizes. The Washington galley, Captain Hyers, attacked the Scarborough, and at the same time Captain Grimes and his men, of the Spitfire galley, boarded one of the prizes and took it. The guns upon the North Battery and upon Brenton's Point were well manned, to give aid if necessary. The Scarborough attempted to recapture her prize, and the other schooner in her custody tried to get under the protecting wing of that vessel; but the hot cannonade from the Washington and the North Battery arrested the progress of both, and the schooner was captured and sent to Providence. The Scarborough and Scymetar now came to anchor between Canonicut, and Rose Island; but a battery upon the former, unknown to the enemy, poured such a shower of well-directed balls upon them, that, finding no safe place in the harbor, they determined to take refuge in the broad expanse of the ocean. As they passed out of the harbor, they were terribly galled by a cannonade from Brenton's Point and Castle Hill. For eight days War held a festival upon the waters of Newport Harbor, yet in all that time the Americans did not lose a man, and had only one slightly wounded!

The summer of 1776 was a season of comparative quiet for the people of Rhode Island. They were active, however, in fitting out privateers, and in preparations for future invasions.¹ Early in the fall intelligence reached them that the British fleet and army, which had been so roughly received and effectually repulsed at Charleston, in South Carolina, were on the way to take possession of Rhode Island. These forces arrived on the 26th of December, the day on which Washington crossed the Delaware and accomplished his brilliant achievement at Trenton. The squadron was commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and the land forces, consisting of about an equal number of British and Hessians, in all between eight and ten thousand men, were commanded by General Clinton and Earl Percy. The squadron sailed up on the west side of Canonicut, crossed the bay at the north point of the island, and landed the troops in Middletown, about four and a half miles above Newport. They were encamped upon the southern slope of two hills (Gould's and Winter's), except a few who landed at Coddington's Cove and marched into Newport. When the enemy entered the harbor, there were two Rhode Island frigates (the Warren and Providence) and several privateers at anchor. These, with the weak land force, were insufficient to make a successful resistance, and the island was left at the mercy of the invaders.² The American frigates and privateers fled up the bay to Providence, whence, taking advantage of a northeast gale, and eluding the vigilance of the blockading squadron, they escaped, and went to sea. A system of general plunder of the inhabitants was immediately commenced by the troops, and, after one week's encampment, the British soldiers were unceremoniously quartered in the houses of the inhabitants, from ten to forty in each, according to the size and convenience of the edifice. The beautiful Aquitneck, or *Isle of Peace*, soon became the theater of discord, misery, and desolation.

Newport Harbor, whither Hopkins thought it not prudent to follow. Of the American navy of the Revolution and its operations in general I shall write hereafter.

¹ These localities will be better understood by reference to the map of Narraganset Bay on page 80.

² These privateers captured about seventy-five prizes (some of them very valuable) during the season, and sent them to Providence, New London, and one or two other ports.

³ On hearing of the approach of the enemy, the people of the island drove large quantities of sheep and cattle from it, crossing to the main at Howland's Ferry.

Condition of Rhode Island in 1777.

Re-encampment of the British.

General Prescott.

His Character.

CHAPTER IV.

"The winds of March o'er Narraganset's Bay
 Move in their strength ; the waves with foam are white ;
 O'er Seekonk's tide the waving branches play ;
 The winds roar o'er resounding plain and height.
 'Twixt sailing clouds, the sun's inconstant ray
 But glances on the scene, then fades from sight.
 The frequent showers dash from the passing clouds ;
 The hills are peeping through their wintry shrouds."

DURFEE'S "WHAT CHEER?"



EAR after year the free dwellers upon Rhode Island had beheld a scene like that described by the poet, and more cruel wintry storms, piling their huge snow-drifts, had howled around their dwellings, but never in their history had the March winds and April floods appeared to them so cheerless and mournful as in the spring of 1777. They had cheerfully brooked all the sufferings attendant upon a new settlement, and gladly breasted the tempest on land or sea in pursuit of wealth or social enjoyment, while freedom was their daily companion and solace : but now the oppressor was in their midst ; his iron heel was upon their necks ; their wives and daughters were exposed to the low ribaldry, profanity, and insults of an ignorant and brutal soldiery ; their peaceful dwellings were made noisy barracks ; their beautiful shade-trees, pleasant groves, and broad forests were destroyed, and the huge right arm of general plunder was plying its strength incessantly. Enslaved and impoverished, the bright sun and warm south winds, harbingers of on-coming summer and the joyous season of flowers, brought no solace to them, but were rather a mockery. At home all was desolation ; abroad all was doubt and gloom.

Early in May the British troops left the houses of the inhabitants and returned to their camp. This was some relief, yet plunder and insolence were rife. General Clinton, with nearly half of the invading army, soon afterward left the island for New York, and the command of those who remained to hold possession devolved upon Brigadier-general Prescott, infamous in the annals of that war as one of the meanest of petty tyrants when in power, and of dastards when in danger. He had been nurtured in the lap of aristocracy, and taught all its exclusive precepts. Possessing a narrow mind, utterly untutored by benevolence or charity ; a judgment perverse in the extreme ; a heart callous to the most touching appeals of sympathy, but tender when avarice half opened its lips to plead, he was a most unfit commander of a military guard over people like those of Rhode Island, who could appreciate courtesy, and who might be more easily conquered by kindness than by the bayonet. He was a tyrant at heart, and, having the opportunity, he exercised a tyrant's doubtful prerogatives.¹

¹ Mr. Ross, in his *Historical Discourse*, mentions several circumstances illustrative of Prescott's tyranny. His habit while walking the streets, if he saw any of the inhabitants conversing together, was to shake his cane at them, and say, "Disperse, ye rebels!" He was also in the habit, when he met citizens in the streets, of commanding them to take off their hats, and unless the order was instantly complied with, it was enforced by a rap of his cane. One evening, as he was passing out of town to his country quarters, he overtook a Quaker, who did not doff his hat. The general, who was on horseback, dashed up to him, pressed him against a stone wall, knocked off his hat, and then put him under guard. Prescott caused many citizens of Newport to be imprisoned, some of them for months, without any assigned reason. Among others thus deprived of liberty, was William Tripp, a very respectable citizen. He had a large and interesting family, but the tyrant would not allow him to hold any communication with them, either written or verbal.

Bad Conduct of General Prescott.

Colonel Barton's Plan for capturing him.

Biographical Sketch of Barton.

Incensed by the conduct of Prescott, the inhabitants devised several schemes to rid themselves of the oppressor. None promised success, and it was reserved for Lieutenant-colonel Barton, of Providence,¹ to conceive and execute one of the boldest and most hazardous enterprises undertaken during the war. It was accomplished on the night of the 10th of July, 1777. At that time General Prescott was quartered at the house of a Quaker named Overing, about five miles above Newport, on the west road leading to the ferry, at the north part of the island. Barton's plan was to cross Narraganset Bay from the main, seize Prescott, and carry him to the American camp. It was a very hazardous undertaking, for at that time there were three British frigates, with their guard-boats, lying east of Prudence Island, and almost in front of Prescott's quarters. With a few chosen men, Colonel Barton embarked in four whale-boats, with muffled oars, at Warwick Point, at nine o'clock in the evening, and passed unobserved over to Rhode Island, between the islands of Prudence and Pa-



The first intelligence he received from them was by a letter, baked in a loaf of bread, which was sent to him by his wife. In this way a correspondence was kept up during his confinement of many months. During his incarceration, his wife sought an audience with the general to intercede for the liberty of her husband, or to obtain a personal interview with him. She applied to a Captain Savage, through whom alone an interview with the general could be obtained. She was directed to call the following day, when the *savage* by name and nature, echoing his master's words, roughly denied her petition for an interview with the general, and with fiendish exultation informed her, as he shut the door violently in her face, that he expected her husband would be hung as a rebel in less than a week!

I was informed that when Prescott took possession of his town quarters, he had a fine sidewalk made for his accommodation some distance along Pelham and up Spring Street, for which purpose he took the door-steps belonging to other dwellings. The morning after the evacuation, the owners of the steps hastened to Prescott's quarters, each to claim his door-stone. It was an exciting scene, for sometimes two or three persons, not positive in their identification, claimed the same stone. Prescott's fine promenade soon disappeared, and like Miss Davidson's

"Forty old bachelors, some younger, some older,
Each carrying a maiden home on his shoulder,"

the worthy citizens of Newport bore off their long-abused door-steps.

¹ William Barton was a native of Providence, Rhode Island. He was appointed to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the militia of his state, and held that position when he planned and executed the expedition for the abduction of General Prescott. For that service Congress honored him by the presentation of a sword, and also by a grant of land in Vermont. By the transfer of some of this land he became entangled in the toils of the law, and was imprisoned for debt in Vermont for many years, until the visit of La Fayette to this country in 1825. That illustrious man, hearing of the incarceration of Colonel Barton and its cause, liquidated the claim against him, and restored his fellow-soldier to liberty. It was a noble act, and significantly rebuked the Shylock who held the patriot in bondage, and clamored for "the pound of flesh." This circumstance drew from Whittier his glorious poem, *The Prisoner for Debt*, in which he exclaims,

"What has the gray-hair'd prisoner done?
Has murder stain'd his hands with gore?
Not so; his crime's a fouler one:
God made the old man poor.
For this he shares a felon's cell,
The fittest earthly type of hell!
For this, the boon for which he pour'd
His young blood on the invader's sword,
And counted light the fearful cost—
His blood-gain'd liberty is lost.

Down with the law that binds him thus!
Unworthy freemen, let it find
No refuge from the withering curse
Of God and human kind!

Expedition to capture Prescott.

Prescott's Quarters.

A Sentinel deceived.

Names of Barton's Men.



PRESCOTT'S HEAD-QUARTERS.*

remainder was to make a circuitous route to approach Prescott's quarters from the rear, and secure the doors. As Barton and his men approached the gate, a sentinel hailed them twice, and then demanded the countersign. "We have no countersign to give," Barton said, and quickly added, "Have you seen any deserters here to-night?" The sentinel was misled by this question, supposing

tience.¹ They heard the cry, "All's well!" from the guard-boats of the enemy, as they passed silently and unobserved, and landed in Coddington's Cove, at the mouth of a small stream which passed by the quarters of Prescott. Barton divided his men into several squads, assigning to each its duty and station, and then, with the strictest order and profound silence, they advanced toward the house. The main portion of the expedition passed about midway between a British guard-house and the encampment of a company of light horse, while the re-

Open the prisoner's living tomb,
And usher from its brooding gloom
The victims of your savage code
To the free sun and air of God!
No longer dare, as crime, to brand
The chastening of the Almighty's hand!"

Colonel Barton was wounded in the action at Bristol Ferry in 1778, and was disabled from further service during the war. He died at Providence in 1831, aged eighty-four years. The portrait here given is from a painting of him executed soon after the close of the Revolution, and now in possession of his son, John B. Barton, Esq., of Providence, who kindly allowed me to make a copy.

¹ Mr. Barton, by request, furnished me with the following list of the names of those who accompanied his father on the perilous expedition:

OFFICERS.—Andrew Stanton, Eleazér Adams, Samuel Potter, John Wilcox.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.—Joshua Babcock and Samuel Phillips.

PRIVATES.—Benjamin Pren, James Potter, Henry Fisher, James Parker, Joseph Guild, Nathan Smith, Isaac Brown, Billington Crumb, James Haines, Samuel Apia, Alderman Crank, Oliver Simmons, Jack Sherman, Joel Briggs, Clark Packard, Samuel Cory, James Weaver, Clark Crandall, Sampson George, Joseph Ralph, Jedediah Grenale, Richard Hare, Darius Wale, Joseph Denis, William Bruff, Charles Hassett, Thomas Wilcox, Pardon Cory, Jeremiah Thomas, John Hunt, Thomas Austin, Daniel Page (a Narraganset Indian), Jack Sisson* (black), and — Howe, or Whiting, boat-steerer.

² This house is on the east side of the west road, about a mile from the bay. The view is from the road where the small stream crosses, after leaving the pond seen in the picture. It is a beautiful summer resi-

* In Allen's *American Biography*, the name of the black man is written Prince, and he says that he died at Plymouth in 1821, aged seventy-eight years. The name given by Mr. Barton must be correct, for he has the original paper of his father.

Entrance to Prescott's Room.

Seizure of the General and his Aid-de-camp.

Barton rewarded by Congress.

them to be friends, and was not undeceived until his musket was seized, and himself bound and menaced with instant death if he made any noise. The doors had been secured by the division from the rear, and Barton entered the front passage boldly. Mr. Overton sat alone, reading, the rest of the family being in bed. Barton inquired for General Prescott's room. Overton pointed upward, signifying that it was directly over the room in which they were standing. With four strong men, and Sisson, a powerful negro who accompanied them, Barton ascended the stairs and gently tried the door. It was locked; no time was to be lost in parleying; the negro drew back a couple of paces, and using his head for a battering-ram, burst open the door at the first effort. The general, supposing the intruders to be robbers, sprang from his bed, and seized his gold watch that was hanging upon the wall. Barton placed his hand gently upon the general's shoulder, told him he was his prisoner, and that perfect silence was now his only safety. Prescott begged time to dress, but it being a hot July night, and time precious, Barton refused acquiescence, feeling that it would not be cruel to take him across the bay, where he could make his toilet with more care, at his leisure. So, throwing his cloak around him, and placing him between two armed men, the prisoner was hurried to the shore. In the mean time, Major Barrington, Prescott's aid, hearing the noise in the general's room, leaped from a window to escape, but was captured. He and the sentinel were stationed in the center of the party. At about midnight captors and prisoners landed at Warwick Point, where General Prescott first broke the silence by saying to Colonel Barton, "Sir, you have made a bold push to-night." "We have been fortunate," coolly replied Barton. Captain Elliot was there with a coach to convey the prisoners to Providence, where they arrived at sunrise. Prescott was kindly treated by General Spencer and other officers, and in the course of a few days was sent to the head-quarters of Washington, at New Windsor, on the Hudson. On his way the scene occurred in the Alden Tavern at Lebanon, mentioned on page 35. Prescott was exchanged for General Charles Lee¹ in April following, and soon afterward resumed his command of the British troops on Rhode Island. This was the same Prescott who treated Colonel Ethan Allen so cruelly when that officer was taken prisoner near Montreal in the autumn of 1775.

On account of the bravery displayed and the importance of the service in this expedition, Congress, having a "just sense of the gallant behavior of Lieutenant-colonel Barton, and the brave officers and men of his party, who distinguished their valor and address in making prisoner of Major-general Prescott, of the British army, and Major William Barrington, his aid-de-camp," voted Barton an elegant sword; and on the 24th of December following, he was promoted to the rank and pay of colonel in the Continental army.²

General Sullivan was appointed to the command of the American troops in Rhode Island in the spring of 1778, at about the time when Prescott resumed his command of the enemy's forces. The latter, incensed and mortified by his capture and imprisonment, determined to gratify his thirst for revenge. Under pretense of an anticipated attack upon the island, he sent a detachment of five hundred men up the bay on the 24th of May, to destroy the American boats and other property that fell in their way. At daylight the next morning they landed between Warren and Bristol, and proceeded in two divisions to execute their orders. One party, who proceeded to the Kickemuet River, destroyed seventy flat-bottomed boats and a state galley; the other burned the meeting-house and a number of dwellings at Warren, and plundered and abused the inhabitants in various ways. The females were robbed of their shoe-buckles, finger-rings, and other valuables, and live stock were driven away for the use of the British army. They then proceeded to Bristol, and fired

decease, the grounds around it being finely shaded by willows, elms, and sycamores. The present occupant kindly showed me the room in which Prescott was lying at the time of his capture. It is on the second floor, at the southwest corner of the house, or on the right as seen in the engraving. It is a well-built frame house, and was probably then the most spacious mansion on the island out of Newport.

¹ General Lee had been captured at Baskingridge, in New Jersey, in December, 1776, while passing from the Hudson to join Washington on the Delaware.

² Journals of Congress, iii., 241.

³ Ibid., 459.

Predatory Excursions. French Fleet for America. Count d'Estaing. France and England. Excitement in Parliament.

the Episcopal church (mistaking it for a dissenters' meeting-house), burned twenty-two dwellings, and carried off considerable plunder. A few days afterward, another marauding party of a hundred and fifty burned the mills at Tiverton, and attempted to set fire to and plunder the town, but a resolute band of twenty-five men kept them at bay, effectually disputing their passage across the bridge. Satisfied with this great display of prowess and vengeance, Prescott refrained from further hostile movements, until called upon to defend himself against the combined attacks of an American army and a French fleet.

I have noticed on pages 86 and 87, vol. i., the treaty of alliance and commerce concluded between the United States and France on the 6th of February, 1778.¹ Pursuant to the stipulations of that treaty, a French squadron for the American service was fitted out at Toulon, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and four frigates of superior size. Count d'Estaing, a brave and successful naval officer, was appointed to the command, and on the 13th of

1778. April the fleet sailed for America. Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners, and M. Gerard, the first appointed French minister to the United States, came passengers in the *Languedoc*, D'Estaing's flag-ship. Authentic information of the sailing of this expedition reached the British cabinet on the

1778. 4th of May. Some of the ministers being out of town, a cabinet council was not held until the 6th, when it was determined speedily to dispatch a powerful squadron, then at Portsmouth, to America. On the 20th, Admirals Byron and Hyde Parker, with twenty-two ships of the line, weighed anchor. Doubtful of the destination of D'Estaing, and not knowing that Deane and Gerard were with him, ministers countermanded the order for sailing, and the squadron, overtaken by an express, returned to Plymouth, where it remained until the 5th of June, when it again sailed under the command of Admiral Byron alone.²

The conduct of the French government, in thus openly giving aid, by treaty and arms, to the revolted colonies, aroused the ire, not only of ministers, but of the people of Great Britain, in whose bosoms the embers of ancient feuds were not wholly extinct. In Parliament, which was just on the eve of adjournment, ministers moved an appropriate address to the king. The opposition proposed an amendment requesting his majesty to dismiss the ministry! A furious debate arose, but the original address was carried by a majority of two hundred and sixty-three against one hundred and thirteen in the Commons, and an equally



¹ The French envoy, De Noailles (uncle of La Fayette's wife), delivered a rescript to Lord Weymouth on the 17th of March, in which he informed the British court of the treaty. While in it he professed in the name of the government a desire to maintain amicable relations with Great Britain, and declared that the "court of London" would find in his communication "new proofs of his majesty's [Louis XVI.] constant and sincere disposition for peace," he plainly warned it that his sovereign, "being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, had, in consequence, taken effectual measures, in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America." This note greatly incensed the British ministry, for they considered it more than half ironical in language, and intentionally insulting in spirit. Orders were issued for the seizure of all French vessels in English ports. A similar order was issued by the French government. War thus actually commenced between the two nations, though not formally declared.

² Charles Henry Count d'Estaing was a native of Auvergne, in France. He was under the famous Count Lally, governor general of the French possessions in the East Indies, in 1756. He was taken prisoner by the English, but escaped by breaking his parole. He was commander at the taking of Grenada after his services in America. He became a member of the Assembly of Notables in the French Revolution, and, being suspected of unfriendliness to the Terrorists, was guillotined on the 29th of April, 1793.

³ Admiral Byron carried with him to Earl Howe, the naval commander on the American coast, a permit for that officer to return to England, pursuant to his own urgent request. Byron became his successor in the chief command.

The King's Speech.

Boldness of the Opposition.

The British and French Fleets.

Sandy Hook and Amboy Bay.

decided majority in the Upper House. Parliament soon afterward adjourned, and did not meet again until November, when the king, in his speech at the opening, directed the attention of the Legislature to the conduct of France. After speaking of the good faith of Great Britain, and the quiet then prevailing in Europe, he said, "In a time of profound peace, without pretense of provocation or color of complaint, the court of France hath not forborne to disturb the public tranquillity, in violation of the faith of treaties and the general rights of sovereigns; at first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aid to my revolted subjects in North America; afterward by avowing openly their support, and entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion; and at length by committing open hostilities and depredations on my faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of my dominions in America and the West Indies." He alluded to the want of success in America, the means that had been put forth to suppress the rebellion, the complete failure of the commissioners to conclude a peace, and the evident preparations for hostilities which Spain was making. He closed his address by calling upon Parliament to put forth their utmost energies which the crisis demanded, assuring them that his cordial co-operation would always be extended, and informed them that he had called out the militia for the defense of the country. In fact, the king carefully avoided casting censure upon ministers for the late miscarriages in America, and, by implication, fixed the blame upon the commanders in that service. The address was warmly opposed in both houses, and in the Commons the king was accused of falsehood—uttering "a false, unjust, and libelous slander on the commanders in the service of the crown; loading them with a censure which ought to fall on ministers alone." Yet ministers were still supported by pretty large majorities in both houses, while the war-spirit, renewed by the French alliance, was hourly increasing among the multitude without.¹

After a voyage of eighty-seven days, the French squadron arrived on the coast, and anchored at the entrance of Delaware Bay. Howe, with his fleet, had, for-
July 8, 1778
 tunately for himself, left the Delaware a few days before, and was anchored off Sandy Hook, to co-operate with the British land forces under Clinton, then proceeding from Philadelphia to New York.² On learning this fact, Deane and Gerard proceeded immediately up the Delaware to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session.³ After communicating with that body, D'Estaing weighed anchor and sailed for Sandy Hook. Howe was within the Hook, in Raritan or Amboy Bay,⁴ whither D'Estaing could not with safety attempt to follow him with his large vessels, on account of a sand-bar extending to Staten Island from Sandy Hook.⁵ He anchored near the Jersey shore, not far from the mouth of the Shrewsbury River.

On the 22d of July, D'Estaing sailed with his squadron, at the urgent request of Washington, to co-operate with General Sullivan, then preparing to make an attempt
1778.

¹ Lossing's "1776," p. 274.

² It was during this progress of the British army toward New York that the Americans, under the immediate command of Washington, pursued and overtook them near Monmouth court-house, in New Jersey, where a severe battle occurred on the 28th of June, 1778.

³ Congress had sat at York, in Pennsylvania, from the time of the entrance of the British into Philadelphia in the autumn of 1777, until the 30th of June, 1778, after the evacuation of that city by the enemy under Clinton.

⁴ Howe's fleet consisted of only six 64 gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Several of D'Estaing's ships were of great bulk and weight of metal, one carrying 90, another 80, and six 74 guns each. Had D'Estaing arrived a little sooner, and caught Howe's fleet in the Delaware, he might easily have captured or destroyed it; and doubtless the land forces of the enemy would have shared the fate of those under Burgoyne at Saratoga.

⁵ Sandy Hook, in form and extent, has been greatly changed since the time in question. According to a map, in my possession, of the State of New York, published under the direction of Governor Tryon, in 1779, Sandy Hook was a low point, extending northward from the Highlands of Neversink or Navesink. The sandy bar on which the Ocean House, at the mouth of the Neversink River, now stands, forming a sound many miles in extent, was not then in existence; and it was not until the sea made a breach across the neck of Sandy Hook in 1778, that there was a passage within it along the base of the Highlands from the Raritan or Amboy Bay. Now the water is from thirty to forty feet in depth in the main ship channel, immediately above the east beacon on Sandy Hook, quite sufficient to allow ships as heavy as D'Estaing's to enter

General Spencer's Expedition against Rhode Island. His Resignation. French Fleet off Newport. American Land Forces.

to expel the enemy from Rhode Island. In consequence of the failure, on the part of General Spencer, to carry out the plan of an expedition against the British on Rhode Island in 1777, Congress ordered an inquiry into the cause. This expedition was arranged by General Spencer at considerable expense, and with fair promises of success. The Americans

September, 1777. were stationed at Tiverton, near the present stone bridge, and had actually embarked in their boats to cross over to Rhode Island to surprise the enemy, when

Spencer prudently countermanded the order. He had ascertained that the British commander was apprised of his intentions, and seeing no effort on the part of the enemy to oppose his

landing, apprehended some stratagem that might be fatal. Such, indeed, was the fact. The British had determined to allow the Americans to land and march some distance upon the island, when they would cut off their retreat by destroying their boats, and thus make them captives. General Spencer, indignant at the censure implied in the proposed inquiry of Congress, resigned his commission, and General Sullivan was appointed in his place.¹

The French fleet appeared off the harbor of Newport on the 29th of July, and the next morning, to the great joy of the inhabitants, the vessels of the allies were anchored near Brenton's Reef, where General Sullivan had a conference with the admiral, and a plan of operations was agreed upon. One of the ships ran up the channel west of Canonicut, and anchored at the north point of that island.

Washington had directed Sullivan to call upon Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut for five thousand militia. The call was made, and promptly responded to. The Massachusetts militia marched under John Hancock as general;² and so great was the enthusiasm engendered by the presence of the French squadron, that thousands of volunteers, gentlemen and others, from Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Portsmouth, &c., engaged in the service.³ Two brigades of Continental infantry, under La Fayette, were sent from the main army; and the whole force, ten thousand strong, was arranged in two divisions, under the immediate command of Generals Greene⁴ and La Fayette.

On the morning of the 5th of August, D'Es-



(OPERATIONS UPON RHODE ISLAND IN 1777.)

¹ Joseph Spencer was born at East Haddam, in Connecticut, in 1714. He was a major in the colonial army in 1756, and was one of the first eight brigadiers appointed by the Continental Congress in 1775. He was appointed a major general in August, 1776, and in 1777 was in command of the American forces on Rhode Island. After his resignation he was elected a delegate to Congress from his native state. He died at East Haddam in January, 1789, aged seventy-five years.

² Hildreth, iii., 252.

³ Gordon, ii., 369.

⁴ General Greene was then the quarter-master general of the Continental army. His prudence, military skill, and the fact that he was a Rhode Islander, induced Washington to dispatch him to that field of operations at that time.

⁵ The letters upon the map indicate the position of the following named objects: A, head-quarters of Prescott when he was captured; C D, the two British lines across the island, the former extending from

Destruction of British Vessels.

Landing of Americans on Rhode Island.

Naval Battle.

Great Storm.

taing commenced operations. Two of his vessels approached to the attack of four British frigates (the Orpheus, Lark, Juno, and Cerberus) and some smaller vessels, lying near Prudence Island. Unable to fight successfully or to escape, the enemy set fire to all these vessels, and soon afterward sunk two others (the Flora and Falcon), to prevent their falling into the hands of D'Estaing. Unfortunately, the American troops were not quite prepared to co-operate with the French fleet. Although Sullivan had every thing in readiness at Providence, a delay in the arrival of troops prevented his departure for Rhode Island, and it was nearly a week before he was prepared to make a descent upon it. This delay was the occasion of great difficulty, and proved fatal to the enterprise.

On the 10th, according to agreement, the whole American force, in two divisions, crossed from Tiverton in eighty-six flat-bottomed boats,¹ prepared under the direction of the energetic Major Talbot, and landed on the north end of the island, where it was to be joined by four thousand marines from the French squadron. The British had just been re-enforced, and were about six thousand strong, under the immediate command of Sir Robert Pigot. They abandoned their works on the north part of the island when the Americans landed, and retired within their strongly-intrenched lines about three miles above Newport. Perceiving this movement, Sullivan ordered the Americans to advance, without waiting for the landing of the French troops. They moved from the ferry, and in the afternoon encamped upon the high ground known as Quaker Hill, between ten and eleven miles north of Newport.

Within five days after D'Estaing left Sandy Hook, four British men-of-war had arrived singly at New York. With this re-enforcement Howe determined to proceed to the relief of his majesty's army on Rhode Island. He appeared off Newport harbor with a fleet of twenty-five sail on the afternoon of the 9th; and the next morning, D'Esaing, instead of landing his marines according to agreement, spread his sails to a favorable breeze, and sailed out of the harbor, under a severe cannonade from the British batteries, to attack Admiral Howe. It was about eight o'clock in the morning when the French fleet went out into the open sea, and all that day the two naval commanders contended for the weather-gage.² This manœuvring prevented an engagement. The next morning the wind had increased to a gale, and a violent tempest, that raged for nearly forty-eight hours,³ separated the belligerents. Two of the French ships were dismasted, and the count's flag-ship lost her rudder and all her masts. In this condition she was borne down upon by a British frigate under full sail, from which she received a broadside, but with little damage. Another of the French disabled vessels was attacked in the same way, the assailants sheering off after firing a single broadside; but the junction of six sail of the French squadron on the 14th prevented other attacks on the crippled ships. On the 16th, the French seventy-four gun ship *Cæsar* and the British fifty gun ship *Iris* had a

August,
1778.August,
1778.August 10,
1778.

Tonomy Hill, H, and the latter crossing the slope near Rose Island, near Newport; E, the American lines between Quaker and Turkey Hills and Butts's Hill, at the north end of the island; F, the position of the Americans, with their batteries, when preparing to attack the British lines and waiting for D'Estaing; G, Barker's Hill, fortified by the British; H, Tonomy Hill; O, the west or Narraganset passage of the bay; P, the middle; and Q, the east or Seaconet passage. The Bristol Ferry, across which the Americans retreated, is named on the map. It was at the narrowest place, a line to the right of the word Butts. There were fortifications upon Gold, Rose, Goat, and Contour Islands, as well as upon Canonicut, ruins of which are still visible. The short double lines upon the map, immediately above the letter N in Newport, mark the site of the present Fort Adams, the Castle Hill of the Revolution, and opposite, upon a point of Canonicut, is the Dumpings Fort, or Fort Canonicut, now a picturesque ruin.

¹ These boats were capable of bearing one hundred men each. They were fitted out with great dispatch, and Talbot, who directed the operations, became so wearied by over-exertions, that he slept soundly, for a long time, under one of them, while the hammers of the caulkers, who were at work by candle-light, were rattling over his head.—Tuckerman's *Life of Talbot*, p. 47.

² A ship is said to have the weather-gage when she is at the windward of another vessel. In naval engagements, obtaining the weather-gage is an important desideratum for the contending squadrons.

³ This storm is still spoken of by the older inhabitants of Newport as "the great storm," accounts of which they had received from their parents. So violent was the wind, that the spray was brought by it from the ocean, and incruited the windows in the town with salt.

State of the American Troops.

Refusal of the French to co-operate.

They sail for Boston.

Protests.

severe engagement for an hour and a half, in which both vessels were much injured. This ended the contest, and D'Estaing, with his disabled vessels, appeared off the harbor of Newport on the 20th.

The Americans, greatly disappointed and chagrined by the abandonment of them by their allies, nevertheless continued their preparations for attack with vigor. They had suffered much from the gale and the rain. On the night of the 12th, not a tent or marquee could be kept standing. Several soldiers perished, many horses died, and all the powder delivered to the troops was ruined by the rain. The troops were in a deplorable state when the

August,
1778.

storm ceased on the 14th, yet their courage and ardor were not abated. On the 15th, in expectation of the speedy return of the French squadron, as promised by the admiral, they marched forward in three divisions, took post within two miles of the enemy's lines, commenced the erection of batteries, and soon afterward opened a fire of balls and bombs upon the British works.¹ On the night of the reappearance of D'Estaing, Generals Greene and La Fayette proceeded to visit him on board his vessel, to consult upon measures proper to be pursued. They urged the count to return with his fleet into Newport harbor; for the British garrison, disappointed and dispirited on account of not receiving provision and ammunition from Howe, would doubtless surrender without resistance. D'Estaing was disposed to comply, but his officers insisted upon his adherence to the instructions of his government to put into Boston harbor for repairs in the event of injuries being sustained by his vessels. Such injuries had been sustained in the late gale and partial engagement, and, overruled by his officers, he refused compliance, sailed for Boston, and left the Americans to take care of themselves.² Greene and La Fayette returned on the night of the 21st with a report of the resolution of the French admiral, and the next day Generals Sullivan and Hancock sent letters of remonstrance to him. A protest against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, signed by all the general officers except La Fayette, was sent to him, declaring such a measure derogatory to the honor of France, contrary to the intentions of its monarch, destructive to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations.³ D'Estaing affected to be offended at this protest, and returned

August 23,
1778.

a spirited answer, just as he weighed anchor for Boston, which drew from Sullivan a sarcastic reflection, in general orders, the following morning.⁴ From Boston the count wrote an explanatory and vindictory letter to Congress, in which he complained of the protest and of Sullivan's ungenerous innuendoes. The whole matter was finally amicably adjusted.

Disgusted at what they deemed the perfidy of the French commander, and despairing

¹ General Sullivan quartered about five miles from Newport, at what is now called the Gibb's Farm. La Fayette quartered on the east side of the island, at what was then called the Boller Garden Farm; and Greene had his quarters in Middletown, on the farm now owned by Colonel Richard K. Randolph.—*Ross's Historical Discourse*, page 53.

² It is asserted that D'Estaing was disliked by his officers, not on account of personal considerations, but from the fact that he had been a land officer, and they considered it an affront that he was placed over them. They therefore cast every impediment in his way, where opportunities were presented in which he might gain personal distinction. In the case in question, all his officers insisted upon his proceeding to Boston, and entered into a formal protest against his remaining at Newport.

³ This protest was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, J. Glover, Ezekiel Cornell, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, and John Fitzconnell.

⁴ "The general can not help," said Sullivan, in his orders, "lamenting the sudden and unexpected departure of the French fleet, as he finds it has a tendency to discourage some who placed great dependence upon the assistance of it, though he can by no means suppose the army or any part of it endangered by this movement." Sullivan was doubtless correct in his opinion, intimated in the last clause, that the French alliance was of little advantage to the Americans, as will be hereafter seen. This same Admiral d'Estaing subsequently abandoned the Americans at the South, at a most critical juncture, under pretense that he must seek safe winter quarters, although it was then only in the month of October! The English and Americans were both duped by "his most Christian majesty" of France; and, as I have elsewhere said, a balance-sheet of favors connected with the alliance will show not the least preponderance of service in favor of the French, unless the result of the more vigorous action of the Americans, caused by the hopes of success from that alliance, shall be taken into the account.

Retreat of the Americans to Butts's Hill.

Battle of Quaker Hill.

Scene of the Engagement.

Loss of the Belligerents.

of success, between two and three thousand of the American volunteers left for home on the 24th and 25th. The American force was thus reduced to about the number of that of the enemy. Under these circumstances, an assault upon the British lines was deemed hazardous, and a retreat prudent. La Fayette was dispatched to Boston, to solicit the return of D'Estaing to Newport, but he could only get a promise from that officer to march his troops by land to aid the Americans in the siege, if requested. It was too late for such a movement.

On the night of the 28th, the Americans commenced a retreat with great order and secrecy, and arrived at the high grounds at the north end of the island, with all their artillery and stores, at three the next morning. Their retreat having been discovered by the enemy, a pursuit was undertaken. The Americans had fortified an eminence called Butts's Hill, about twelve miles from Newport. Here they made a stand, and at daylight called a council of war. General Greene proposed to march back and meet the enemy on the west road, then approaching in detachments, and consisting only of the Hessian chasseurs and two Anspach regiments under Lossberg. On the east road was

August,
1778.

SCENE OF THE ENGAGEMENT ON RHODE ISLAND, AUG. 29, 1778.

From a print in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1778.

General Smith, with two regiments and two flank companies. To the former were opposed the light troops of Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, and to the latter those of Colonel Henry B. Livingston. Greene's advice was overruled, and the enemy were allowed to collect in force upon the two eminences called respectively Quaker and Turkey Hill.¹ A large detachment of the enemy marched very near to the American left, but were repulsed by Glover, and driven back to Quaker Hill. About nine o'clock the British opened a severe cannonade upon the Americans from the two hills, which was returned from Butts's Hill with spirit. Skirmishes continued between advanced parties until near ten, when two British sloops of war and other armed vessels, having gained the right flank of the Americans, began a fire upon that point simultaneously with a furious attack there by the land forces of the enemy. This attempt to gain the rear of the Americans, and cut off a retreat, brought on an almost general action, in which from twelve to fifteen hundred of the patriots were at one time engaged. The enemy's line was finally broken, after a severe engagement, in attempts to take the redoubt on the American right, and they were driven back in great confusion to Turkey Hill, leaving many of their dead and wounded in the low grounds between the contending armies, where the hottest of the battle occurred. This was between two and three o'clock in the afternoon of a very sultry day, and a number on both sides perished from the effects of the heat and fatigue. A cannonade was kept up by both parties until sunset, when the battle ceased. The skirmishing and more general action continued seven hours without intermission, and the most indomitable courage was evinced by both parties. The Americans had thirty killed, one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and forty-

¹ The three eminences, Butts's, Quaker, and Turkey Hill, are seen in the picture, the former on the left, its slopes covered with the American tents, Quaker Hill in the center, and Turkey Hill on the right. The house in the fore-ground, on the right, belonged to a Mr. Brindley, now near the site of the residence of Mr. Anthony.

Evacuation of Rhode Island by the Americans.

Return of La Fayette from Boston.

Expedition against New Bedford.

four missing. The British lost, in killed and wounded, two hundred and ten, and twelve missing.

So nearly matched were the belligerents, that both willingly rested in their respective camps during the night, and the next morning each seemed reluctant to renew the battle. Sullivan had good cause to refrain from another engagement, for at break of day a messenger arrived from Providence, informing him that Howe had again sailed for Newport, was

seen off Block Island the day before, and probably, before night, would be in Newport harbor.¹ Under these circumstances, Sullivan thought it prudent to evacuate

Rhode Island, a measure concurred in by his officers. There were difficulties in the way, for the first indications of a retreat on the part of the Americans would bring the repulsed enemy upon them in full force. The sentinels of the two armies were only four hundred yards apart, and the greatest caution was necessary to prevent information of Sullivan's design from reaching Sir Robert Pigot. Fortunately, Butts's Hill concealed all movements in the rear of the American camp. During the day, a number of tents were brought forward by the Americans and pitched in sight of the enemy, and the whole army was employed in fortifying the camp. This was intended to deceive the British, and was successful. At the same time, and, indeed, during the engagement of the previous day, the heavy baggage and stores were falling back and crossing Bristol ferry to the main. At dark the

tents were struck, fires were lighted in front at various points, the light troops, with the baggage, marched down to the ferry, and before midnight the whole

American army had crossed in flat-bottomed boats to the main, in good order, and without the loss of a man. During the retreat, La Fayette arrived from Boston, whither, as we have seen, he had been sent to persuade D'Estaing to proceed with his squadron to Newport again. He was greatly mortified at being absent during the engagement.² Anticipating that a battle would take place, he traveled from Rhode Island to Boston, nearly seventy miles, in a little more than seven hours, and returned in six and a half.³ Although denied the laurels which he might have won in battle, he participated in the honors of a successful retreat.

The evacuation of Rhode Island was a mortifying circumstance to General Sullivan, for Newport had been almost within his grasp, and nothing could have saved the British army

¹ The fleet of Lord Howe had on board Sir Henry Clinton, with four thousand troops destined for Rhode Island; but on approaching Newport, and hearing of the retreat of Sullivan (for the fleet did not arrive until the 31st, the day after) and the sailing of the disabled French squadron to Boston, Howe changed his course, and sailed for the latter port, where he arrived on the 1st of September. Perceiving no chance of success in attacking D'Estaing, Howe prudently withdrew, after throwing the town of Boston into the greatest consternation, and, with the disappointed Sir Henry Clinton, sailed for New York. On the way, Clinton ordered his marauding officer, General Grey, to land with the troops at New Bedford, on the west side of the Acushnet River, and proceed to destroy the shipping in the harbor. They landed upon Clark's Neck, at the mouth of the river, and between six o'clock in the evening on the 5th of September and twelve the next day, destroyed about seventy sail of vessels, many of them prizes taken by American privateers, and several small craft; burned the magazine, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, all the buildings at M'Pherson's wharf, the principal part of the houses at the head of the river, and the mills and houses at Fairhaven, opposite. The amount of property destroyed was estimated at \$323,266. Grey and his troops then embarked, and proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, where they destroyed several vessels, and made a requisition for the militia arms, the public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep. The defenseless inhabitants were obliged to comply with the requisition, and the marauders returned to New York with a plentiful supply of provisions for the British army.

² La Fayette had advised a retreat from Newport six days before. On the 24th he gave his opinion in writing, as follows: "I do not approve of continuing the siege. The time of the militia is out, and they will not longer sacrifice their private interests to the common cause. A retreat is the wisest step." Writing to Washington after the retreat, he expressed his mortification, and said, "That there has been an action fought where I could have been, and was not, will seem as extraordinary to you as it seems to myself." He arrived while the army was retreating, and brought off the rear guard and pickets in the best manner. His feelings were soothed by the resolutions of Congress, adopted on the 19th of September, thanking General Sullivan and those under his command for their conduct in the action and retreat, and specially requesting the president to inform the marquis of their due sense of his personal sacrifice in going to Boston, and his gallantry in conducting the pickets and out-sentries in the evacuation.—*Journals of Congress*, iv., 378.

³ Gordon, ii., 376.

Murmurings against the French.

Evacuation of Rhode Island by the British.

Severe Winter.

Sir Robert Pigot.

from capitulation had D'Estaing co-operated. Policy, at that time, dictated the course of Congress in withholding the voice of censure, but the people unhesitatingly charged the failure of the expedition upon the bad conduct of the French. The retreat was approved of by Congress, in a resolution adopted on the 9th of September. It was not unanimously agreed to, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to reconsider it. With this event closed the Eastern campaign, neither party in the contest having gained any thing.¹ 1778.

The British held possession of Rhode Island until the autumn of 1779, when Sir Henry Clinton, desirous of making a further demonstration at the South, and apprehending an attack upon New York from the combined forces of the American and French, supposed to have been concerted between Washington and D'Estaing, dispatched a number of transports to bring off the troops from Newport to strengthen his position at head-quarters. They embarked on the 25th of October, leaving Rhode Island in possession of the Americans, after an occupation of three years by the enemy. During their stay, they had desolated the island. Only a single tree of the ancient forest is left, a majestic sycamore, standing near the bank of the Seaconet channel, on the eastern side of the island. When they left, they burned the barracks at Fort Adams and the light-house upon Beavertail Point. They also carried away with them the town records. These were greatly injured by being submerged in the vessel that bore them, which was sunk at Hell Gate. They were recovered and sent back to Newport, but were of little service afterward. This event produced some embarrassment in respect to property, but they were as nothing compared to the sufferings of the impoverished inhabitants when they returned to their mutilated dwellings and desolated farms. The winter of 1779-80 was a terrible one for the people of Rhode Island.² 1779.

ANCIENT SYCAMORE.³

It is proper to remark, that after Sir Robert Pigot superseded Prescott in command of the British forces in Rhode Island, the people were greatly relieved of the annoyances they had been subject to under the rule of the latter. Private property was respected, plunder ceased, the people were treated with respect, and, when the evacuation took place, no violence marked the departure of the enemy. General Gates was then at Providence with a small force, and kept a vigilant eye upon the movements of the British,⁴ anticipating predatory excursions along the coast; but General Pigot

¹ Washington, in a letter to Brigadier-general Nelson of Virginia, written on the 20th of August, says: "It is not a little pleasing nor less wonderful to contemplate that, after two years' maneuvering, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxes for defense. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."—*Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington*, vi., 36.

² This was the severest winter ever experienced in America. Narraganset Bay was frozen over; and the reader will remember the fact already mentioned, that the Bay of New York was so firmly bridged that troops and heavy field-pieces crossed from the city to Staten Island. The British having destroyed the trees on Rhode Island, fuel was very scarce. It was sold in Newport for twenty dollars a cord. Food, also, was very scarce; corn sold at four silver dollars a bushel, and potatoes at two dollars. A tax of ten thousand dollars was levied for the relief of the poor, and Tiverton and neighboring towns contributed generously to their aid.—*Ross's Historical Discourse*, p. 59.

³ This tree stands, solitary and peerless, within a few rods of the water. It is upon the land of Mr. Thomas R. Hazzard, and between his fine mansion and the river. It is thirty-two feet in circumference within twelve inches of the ground. It is yet vigorous, though storms have riven some of its topmost branches. When I made the sketch it was leafless, the autumn winds having defoliated it.

⁴ During the occupation of the island by the British, after the retreat of Sullivan, Gates was in constant

Return of La Fayette to France.

His Zeal and Success.

Washington appointed Lieutenant-general by the French King.

was no marauder, and scorned to do, even under command, what Tryon, Wallace, and Grey seemed to take great delight in.

Early in the summer of 1779 the Marquis de La Fayette obtained leave of absence for one year, and returned to France. But this absence was not a season of idleness among his old associates, or of forgetfulness of the Americans on the part of La Fayette. On the contrary, the chief design of his visit to his native country was to enlist the sympathies of his people and government more warmly in the cause of the Americans, and to procure for them more substantial aid than they had hitherto received. After passing a few days with his beautiful and much loved wife, he addressed a long letter to the Count de Vergennes, one of the French ministers, on the subject of furnishing an army, well-appointed in every particular, to fight in America. In making such a request, a soul less ardent and hopeful than the youthful general's would not have perceived the least probability of success. He was acting without instructions from the American Congress, or even its sanction or the full approval of Washington. It seemed but too recently that French and American troops were battling in opposition in the Western World, to hope that they would freely commingle, though Britons were still the foes of the French. La Fayette, however, understood French character better than Washington and Congress did, and he *knew* that success would attend the measure. "He had that interior conviction which no argument or authority could subdue, that the proposed expedition was practicable and expedient, and he succeeded in imparting his enthusiasm to the ministers."¹ He was only twenty-two years old, and held a subordinate rank in the army of his king; he, therefore, had no expectation of being commander of any force that might be sent; his efforts were disinterested.² Nothing could divert him from his object, and, with a joyful heart, he returned to America the following

May, 1780. spring, bearing to the patriots the glad tidings that a French squadron, with an army of more than four thousand men, admirably officered and equipped, and conveying money for the United States Treasury, was about to sail for our shores. The marquis also brought a commission from Louis XVI. for Washington, appointing him lieutenant general of the armies of France, and vice-admiral of its fleets. This was a wise measure, and operated, as intended, to prevent difficulties that might arise respecting official etiquette. It was stipulated that the French should be considered as auxiliaries, and always cede the post of honor to the Americans. Lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau, the commander of the French expedition, was to place himself under the American commander-in-chief, and on all occasions the authority of Washington was to be respected as supreme. This arrangement secured the best understanding between the two armies while the allies remained in America.³

receipt of intelligence respecting the movements of the enemy, by means of secret letters and a sort of telegraphic communication. Lieutenant Seth Chapin employed a woman, residing in Newport, to write down every thing of importance, and conceal the letter in a hole in a certain rock. By setting up poles, as if to dry clothes, and by other signals agreed upon, the lieutenant was informed of the presence of a letter in the secret post-office, and of perfect safety in coming to receive it. He would then row across from the opposite shore of Little Compton, get the packet, and send it off to Gates. After the evacuation, the lieutenant and his aids received one thousand five hundred dollars, Continental money, for their services, the whole amount being worth then only about seventy dollars in specie.

¹ Everett's *Eulogy on La Fayette*.

² At the request of Count de Vergennes, La Fayette drew up a statement containing a detailed plan of the proposed expedition. It is a paper of great interest, and exhibits genius of the highest order, of which a general of threescore might be proud. The number and disposition of the troops, the character of the officers proper to accompany them, the appointments of the fleet and army, the time of embarkation, proper place for landing, and the probable service to which the fleet and army would be called, were all laid out with a minuteness and clearness of detail which seemed to indicate almost an intuitive knowledge of the future. The whole expedition was arranged in accordance with the plan of the marquis.

³ This arrangement was conceived by La Fayette, and he made it a fundamental point. Not content with soliciting troops for America, La Fayette requested large supplies of clothing, guns, and ammunition for the Republican army. They were promised, but only a part were sent. Such was the importunity of La Fayette, and such the disinterested enthusiasm with which he represented the wants and claims of his Republican friends, that the old Count Maurepas, who was then prime minister, said one day in the Coun-

Good Tidings brought by La Fayette.	Their effect.	Arrival of the Allies.	Encampment at Newport.
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Great was the joy of the American Congress produced by the tidings brought by La Fayette, and assurance possessed the minds of that assembly that the next campaign would secure peace and independence to the States. Although policy forbade giving publicity to the fact that aid from abroad was near at hand, sufficient information leaked out to diffuse among the people pleasant hopes for the future. The return of La Fayette was hailed with delight. Congress, by resolution,^a testified their satisfaction at his return, and accepted with pleasure a tender of the further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer.¹ Three days afterward^b Congress resolved that bills be immediately drawn on Dr. Franklin for twenty-five thousand dollars, and on Mr. Jay for the same amount, payable at sixty days' sight; and that the money be applied solely to the bringing of the army into the field, and forwarding them supplies in such a manner as the exigency and nature of the service shall require. Also, that the States of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, be most earnestly called upon to pay into the Continental treasury, within thirty days, ten millions of dollars. It was also resolved that the Legislatures, from New Hampshire to Virginia, be requested to invest their executive authority, or some other persons, with such powers as would enable them, on the application of the committee at the head-quarters of the army, to draw forth the resources of the state.² The Carolinas and Georgia were exempt from the requisition, because they were then bearing the heavy burden of an active campaign within their own limits. Congress thus began to prepare for the most energetic co-operation with the allies when they should arrive.

^a May 15,
1780.

^b May 19.

The French fleet, under the command of Admiral de Ternay, sailed from Brest early in April, and appeared off the coast of Virginia on the 4th of July.³ On the evening of the 10th it entered Newport harbor, on which occasion the town was brilliantly illuminated, and every demonstration of joy was made by the inhabitants. General Heath, then in command on Rhode Island, was present to receive Rochambeau and his troops on landing, and to put them in possession of the batteries upon the island. On the 24th, the General Assembly, then in session, presented complimentary addresses to Rochambeau and Ternay; and General Washington, having heard of their arrival, recommended, in general orders at his camp in the Hudson Highlands, to the officers of the American army, to wear cockades of black and white—the *ground* being of the first color, and the *relief* of the second—as a compliment to, and a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies.⁴ The American cockade, at that time, was black; the French white.

1780.

As soon as intelligence was received of the arrival of the allies, La Fayette set out for Newport, under instructions from Washington, to concert measures with Rochambeau for future operations. The French troops were pleasantly encamped southeast of Newport, but they were not suffered to remain quiet. When intelligence of the sailing of Ternay from Brest reached the British cabinet, they dispatched Admiral Graves, with six ships of the line, to re-enforce Admiral Arbuthnot, the successor of Byron, then commanding the squadron on the American coast. Graves arrived at New York three days after Ternay entered New-

oil, "It is fortunate for the king that La Fayette does not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture, to send to his dear Americans, as his majesty would be unable to refuse it." La Fayette purchased, on his own account, a large quantity of swords and other military equipages, which he brought with him and presented to the officers of the light infantry whom he commanded during the campaign.—See Appendix to vol. vii. of Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, where will be found interesting documents relating to this expedition.

¹ *Journals of Congress*, vi., 49. While in France, La Fayette was presented with an elegant sword, prepared there under the directions of Franklin, by order of Congress. Franklin sent it to the marquis from Passy, by his grandson. An account of this sword, and drawings will be found in a future Chapter.

² *Journals of Congress*, vi., 50, 51.

³ The fleet consisted of two ships of eighty guns each, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, a cutter of twenty, a hospital-ship, pierced for sixty-four, a bomb-ship, and thirty-two transports. The land forces consisted of four regiments, a battalion of artillery, and the legion of the Duke de Lauzun, amounting in all to about six thousand men.

⁴ Thacher, p. 290. Gordon, iii., 65.

British Blockade of Narraganset Bay.

Clinton's Expedition.

Death of Ternay.

Washington in Newport.

July 13, 1780. port harbor. The English fleet, now stronger than the French, proceeded immediately to attempt a blockade of the latter in Narraganset Bay. On the 19th, four British ships, the advance sail of the fleet rendezvousing at Block Island, appeared off Newport. The next morning, as soon as the wind would permit, three French frigates went in pursuit of them, but, falling in with nine or ten ships of the enemy that were approaching, made sail for the harbor, under full chase.

Intelligence was received that General Clinton, lately returned to New York from the South, was preparing to proceed in person, with a large part of his army, to attack Rhode Island. Menaced by sea and land, General Heath called earnestly upon Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut for troops, and his requisition was promptly complied with; so promptly, that, before any enemy appeared, the allied forces felt quite competent to oppose the largest army that Clinton could possibly bring into the field. Sir Henry actually sailed from New York with eight thousand troops, but proceeded no further than Huntington Bay, in Long Island Sound. Informed there of the fortified position of the French at Newport, the rapid gathering of the militia, and the approach of Washington toward New York city, Clinton abandoned the expedition and returned to his head-quarters.

While these events were taking place on our coast, the French and English fleets were striving for the mastery in the West Indies. The former was commanded by Admiral de Guichen, the latter by Admiral Rodney. It was the understanding when Ternay and Rochambeau left France, that they were to be joined at Rhode Island by the squadron of De Guichen. Events unforeseen prevented this junction. The arrival of Rodney at St. Lucie, and subsequent maneuvers and encounters, detained De Guichen in the West Indies until

July 5. July; and five days before Ternay arrived at Newport, De Guichen left St. Domingo for Europe, his ships having suffered greatly in the engagements, and the land troops which they carried having been terribly diminished by sickness. The failure of this co-operation, the great number of invalids among the French troops at Newport, and the expectation of an attack there, or an attempt to blockade the squadron, made it inexpedient to break up the encampment on Rhode Island and attempt any operations at a distance. It was concluded to pass the winter there. Lauzun and his legion, as we have seen, were cantoned at Lebanon, in Connecticut. Three thousand five hundred militia were kept under arms at Newport, to assist in guarding the French squadron, and the allies became a burden, rather than an aid, to the Americans. The conference between Washington and Rochambeau, and the final departure of the French troops in 1781, to form a junction with the American army on the Hudson, have been noticed on page 436, vol. i.

March, 1781. The Chevalier de Ternay died at Newport soon after the arrival of the fleet, and was buried with distinguished honors in Trinity Church-yard, where a slab was afterward erected to his memory. Admiral de Barras succeeded him in command early in the following spring, about which time Washington arrived at Newport, and held a conference with Rochambeau. The town was illuminated on the occasion of his visit, and from that time until the departure of the allies, quiet prevailed on Rhode Island. Active military operations ceased there, and, until the close of the war, the people were undisturbed, except by occasional menaces from English vessels in pursuit of American privateers, of which a large number hailed from Narraganset Bay, or made its waters their place of refuge when in danger upon the coast.¹ Newport suffered terribly during the war. Its population of eleven thousand in 1774, was reduced to about six thousand in 1782; and, according to an

¹ It is believed that Newport furnished more seamen for the naval service of the United States during the Revolution than any other port on the continent, except Boston. At least one thousand men were shipped for service in the navy from that port, one half of whom fell into the hands of the enemy and died in prison-ships. The naval commanders in the war who belonged to Rhode Island were John Grimes, Benjamin Pierce, Joseph Gardiner, William Dennis, James Godfred, Remembrance Simmons, Thomas Stacy, Oliver Read, Captain Bently, Samuel Jeffers, John Coggeshall, William Finch, Captain Jaques, James Phillips, Ezekiel Burroughs, John Murphy, Isaac Frabor, William Ladd, Joseph Sheffield, and Captain Gazzee. These either sailed from Newport previous to its possession by the enemy, or subsequently from other ports of New England.—*Ross*, page 62. Silas Talbot, also, belonged to Rhode Island.

Property destroyed in Newport. Ride to Butts's Hill. Hospitality. Fort on Butts's Hill. View of the Battle-ground.

estimate of a committee of the General Assembly, appointed for the purpose, the value of private property destroyed was six hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars, silver money.

The sun has gone down behind Conanicut and the hills of the Narraganset country; the broad sails of the wind-mills are still; the voices of the milkers come up from the neighboring farm-yard, and twilight is spreading its mysterious veil over the bay, the islands, and the ocean. Let us descend from our observatory on the hill of Miantonomoh and return to the city, and in the morning visit the places hallowed by events just viewed in the speculum of history.

The morning of the 23d was cold and blustering; the ground was hard frozen; ice covered the surface of the pools, and the north wind was as keen as the breath of December. I started early in a light rockaway for the battle-ground at the north end of the island, making a brief call on the way (or, rather, out of the way) upon Mr. Nathaniel Greene, a grandson of the eminent general of the Revolution who bore that name. He resides about three miles above Newport, and kindly furnished me with explicit directions respecting the localities I was about to visit. About a mile north of his estate I came to the head-quarters of Prescott, printed on page 76, which I sketched in haste, for my fingers were too soon benumbed with cold to hold the pencil expertly. Twelve miles from Newport I came to the residence of Mr. Anthony, which is, I believe, the "Brindley House" in the picture on page 83. An introductory line from his brother, David Anthony, Esq., was a key to his generous hospitality; and after accompanying me to the top of Butts's Hill, and pointing out the places of interest included in the view from its summit, he kindly invited me to dine with him when my sketching should be finished, an invitation heartily accepted, for a ride of twelve miles in the cold morning air was a whetstone to my usually good appetite.



QUAKER HILL, FROM THE FORT ON BUTTS'S HILL.

The remains of the old fort on Butts's Hill, the embankments and fossé, with traces of the hastily-constructed ravelins, are well preserved. Even the ruts made by the carriage-wheels of the cannons, at the embrasures (for the ordnance was composed of field-pieces), were visible. The banks, in some places, are twenty feet high, measuring from the bottom of the fossé. Fortunately for the antiquary, the works were constructed chiefly upon a rocky ledge, and the plow can win no treasure there; the banks were earth, and afford no quarry for wall builders, and so the elements alone have lowered the ramparts and filled the ditches. Southward from this eminence, I had a fine view of Quaker and Turkey Hills—indeed, of the whole battle-ground. Sitting upon the exterior slope of the southern parapet, and sheltered from the wind by a clump of bushes and the remains of one of the bastions, I sketched the above view, which includes all the essential portions of the field of conflict. The eminence in the center, on which stands a wind-mill, is Quaker Hill; that on the right is Turkey Hill, on the northern slope of which is seen the west road. In the hollow at the foot of these hills the hottest of the battle was waged. On the left is seen the little village of Newton, beyond which is the Eastern or Seaconet Channel, stretching away to the ocean, and bounded on the left by the cultivated slopes of Little Compton. The undulations in the foreground are the embankments of the fort.

North View from Butte's Hill.

The Narraganset Country.

Massasoit and his Sons.

King Philip.

Northward the view is more extensive, and in some respects more interesting. The houses near the center of the picture mark the site of the old Bristol ferry, over which the



VIEW NORTHWARD FROM BUTTE'S HILL.

Americans, under Sullivan, retreated to the main land. A little to the left, lying upon the east shore of the Narraganset, was Bristol; beyond was a glimpse of Warren; and in the far distance, directly over the steam-boat seen in the picture, the church spires of Providence were visible. On the right the high promontory of Mount Hope loomed up; and turning eastward, beyond the limits of the sketch, stood Tiverton and its old stone bridge, already mentioned. I could find no sheltered nook in making the sketch; upon the bleak summit of the hill I plied the pencil, until I could hold it no longer; but the drawing was finished.

From this eminence the vision takes in some of the most interesting portions of the Narraganset country and of the domains of Massasoit, the fast friend of the English. There were old Pocasset and Pokanoket, and, more conspicuous and interesting than all, was Mount Hope, the royal seat of King Philip, the last of the Wampanoags. It is too cold to turn the leaves of the chronicle here; let us wrap our cloaks around us, and, while gazing upon the beautiful land over which that great sachem held sway, read the records upon the tablets of memory, brief but interesting, concerning "King Philip's War."

"'Tis good to muse on nations pass'd away
Forever from the land we call our own;
Nations as proud and mighty in their day,
Who deem'd that everlasting was their throne.
An age went by, and they no more were known!
Sublimar sadness will the mind control,
Listening time's deep and melancholy moan;
And meaner griefs will less disturb the soul;
And human pride falls low at human grandeur's goal."

ROBERT C. SANDS.

We have observed how Massasoit, the sagamore of the Wampanoags, whose dominions extended from Narraganset Bay to that of Massachusetts, presenting the hand of friendship and protection to the white settlers, remained faithful while he lived. His residence was near Warren, on the east side of the Narraganset; and so greatly was his friendship prized by the PILGRIM FATHERS, that Winslow and others made a long journey to visit him when dangerously ill.^a Recovering, he entered into a solemn league of friendship with the whites, and faithfully observed it until his death, which occurred thirty-two years afterward.^b Alexander, his eldest son, succeeded him, and gave promise of equal attachment to the whites; but his rule was short; he died two years after the death of his father, and his brother^c Pommetacom or Metacomet, better known as King Philip, became the head of his nation. He was a bold, powerful-minded warrior, and al-

^a Bancroft and Hildreth say nephew. Earlier historians disagree. Prince and Trumbull say he was grandson to Massasoit, and Hutchinson and Belknap call him his son. Governor Prince, it is said, named Alexander and Philip after the great Macedonians, in compliment to Massasoit, indicating his idea of their character as warriors. They were doubtless sons of Massasoit.

Jealousy of King Philip.

Treaties with the Whites.

Curtalement of his Domains.

His chief Captains.

John Eliot.

ready his keen perception gave him uneasiness respecting the fate of his race. Year after year the progress of settlement had curtailed the broad domains of the Wampanoags, until now they possessed little more than the narrow tongues of land at Pocanoket and Pocasset, now Bristol and Tiverton; yet Philip renewed the treaties made with Massa-

1692. soit, and kept them faithfully a dozen years; but spreading settlements, reducing his domains acre by acre, breaking up his hunting-grounds, diminishing the abundance of his fisheries, and menacing his nation with the fate of the landless, stirred up his savage patriotism, and made him resolve to sever the ties that bound him, with fatal alliance, to his enemies. His residence was at Mount Hope; and there, in the solitude of the primeval forest, he called his warriors around him, and planned, with consummate skill, an alliance of all the New England tribes against the European intruders.¹



*Philip alias Metacomb
his Pnunko*

PORTRAIT AND SIGN-MANUAL OF KING PHILIP.²

For years the pious Eliot³ had been preaching the gospel among the New England tribes;

¹ The number of Indians in New England at that time has been variously estimated. Dr. Trumbull, in his *History of the United States* (i., 36), supposes that there were thirty-six thousand in all, one third of whom were warriors. Hutchinson (i., 406) estimates the fighting men of the Narragansets alone at two thousand. Hinckley says the number of Indians in Plymouth county in 1685, ten years after Philip's war, was four thousand. Church, in his *History of King Philip's War*, published in Boston in 1716, estimated the number of Indian warriors in New England, in the commencement of that war, at ten thousand. Bancroft (ii., 94) says there were probably fifty thousand whites and hardly twenty-five thousand Indians in New England, west of the Piscataqua; while east of that stream, in Maine, were about four thousand whites and more than that number of red men.

² I copied this and the annexed marks of Philip's chief captains, from an original mortgage given by the sachem, to Constant Southworth, on land four miles square, lying south of Taunton. The mortgage is dated October 1, 1672. It was drawn up by Thomas Leonard, and is signed by himself, Constant Southworth, and Hugh Cole. It was acknowledged before, and signed by, John Alden.* This interesting document is in the possession of that intelligent antiquary, S. G. Drake, Esq., of Boston, to whose kindness I am indebted for these signatures. No. 1 is the sign of MUNASHUM, *alias* NIMROD; No. 2, of WONCKOMPAWHAN; No. 3, of Captain ANNAWAN, the "next man to Philip," or his chief warrior.

³ John Eliot, usually called the Apostle of the Indians, was minister of Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was born in Essex county, England, in 1604, and came to America in 1631. Educated thoroughly at Cambridge University, he soon obtained great influence among the settlers. Touched by the ignorance of the Indians respecting spiritual things, his heart yearned to do them good, and for many years he labored assiduously among them, with great success. He founded, at Natick, the first Indian church in America, in 1660. The next year he published the New Testament in the Indian language, and in a few years the whole Bible and other books. He died May 20th, 1690, aged about eighty-six. The venerable apostle was buried in the *Ministers' Tomb*,† in the first burying-ground at Roxbury, which is situated on the east side of the great avenue across the Neck to Boston. The residence of Eliot was opposite the house of Governor Thomas Dudley, on the other side of the brook. Dudley's mansion was taken down in 1775, and a redoubt was erected upon the spot. The site is now occupied by the Universalist church. Reverend Dr. Putnam, of Roxbury, is the fifth pastoral successor of the apostle in the first church. The remains of

* Alden was a passenger in the *May Flower*, and one of the immortal FORTY-ONE who signed the instrument of civil government, given on pages 437 and 438, vol. I. of this work, where also is the signature of Southworth.

† In 1794-5, a citizen of Roxbury, named William Bowen, was made prisoner by the Turks. The people of his town raised a sum of money sufficient for his ransom. Before it could be applied they received intelligence of his death. The money was then appropriated to the building of a tomb for the ministers of the church.

Enlightenment of the Indians.

Sassamon.

Rising of the New England Tribes.

Daniel Gookin.

no pains were spared to teach them to read and write; and in a short time a larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians could do so than, recently, of the inhabitants of Russia.¹ Churches were gathered among the natives; and when Philip lifted the hatchet, there were four hundred "praying Indians," as the converts were called, who were firmly attached to the whites; yet Christianity hardly spread beyond the Indians on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and the seven feeble villages around Boston. Philip, like Red Jacket of our days, opposed meddling with the religion of his fathers, and, two years before the war, boldly and openly, at the head of seven hundred warriors, boasted of his own and their attachment to the ancient belief.

Rox^{bury}: this 16th of
the 4th 71.

your writings to pray on
in v^o L^od J^oph
John Eliot

Daniel Gookin.

HANDWRITING OF ELIOT AND GOOKIN.

A "praying Indian" named John Sassamon, who had been educated at Cambridge, and employed as a teacher, had fled to Philip on account of some misdemeanor, and became a sort of secretary to the sachem. Being persuaded to return to the whites, he accused Philip of meditated treason. For this he was waylaid by the savages, and slain. Three of Philip's men, suspected of the murder, were tried by a jury of half English and half Indians, convicted, and hanged. The evidence on which they were convicted was slender, and the Wampanoags were greatly irritated. Philip was cautious; his warriors were impetuous. Overruled by their importunities, and goaded by a remembrance of the wrongs and humiliations he had suffered from the English,² he trampled solemn treaties beneath his feet, and lighted the flame of war. Messengers were sent to other tribes, to arouse them to co-operation, and, with all the power of Indian eloquence, Metacomet exhorted his followers to curse the white men, and swear eternal hostility to the pale faces.

"Away! away! I will not hear
Of aught but death or vengeance now;
By the eternal skies I swear
My knee shall never learn to bow!
I will not hear a word of peace,
Nor clasp in friendly grasp a hand
Link'd to the pale-brow'd stranger race,
That work the ruin of our land.

his predecessors all lie in the Ministers' Tomb. The commissioners of the Forest Hills Cemetery have designated the heights on its western border as the *Eliot Hills*, and there the citizens of Roxbury are about to erect a beautiful monument to the memory of the apostle.

DANIEL GOOKIN, whose signature is given above, was the friend of, and a zealous co-worker with, Mr. Eliot. He came to Virginia, from England, in 1621. He went to Massachusetts with his family in 1644, and settled in Cambridge. He was soon called to fill civil and military offices, and in 1652 was appointed superintendent of the Indians. This office he held until his death, in 1687, at the age of seventy-five years. Gookin wrote an historical account of the New England Indians, and was the firm friend of the red man through life. His remains are in the old burying-ground at Cambridge. Lieutenant Gookin of our Revolutionary army was his lineal descendant.

¹ Bancroft, ii., 94.

² In 1671, Philip was suspected of secret plottings against the English, and, notwithstanding his asseverations to the contrary, was ordered to give up his fire-arms to the whites. This was a fortunate occurrence for the English; for, had the Indians possessed those arms in the war that ensued, their defeat would have been doubtful.

Philip's Appeal.

Condition of the Indians.

Commencement of Hostilities.

Canonchet.

Mather's Magnalia.

"Before their coming, we had ranged
Our forests and our uplands free;
Still let us keep unsold, unchanged,
The heritage of Liberty.
As free as roll the chainless streams,
Still let us roam our ancient woods;
As free as break the morning beams,
That light our mountain solitudes.

"Touch not the hand they stretch to you;
The falsely-proffer'd cup put by;
Will you believe a coward true?
Or taste the poison'd draught, to die?
Their friendship is a lurking snare;
Their honor but an idle breath;
Their smile the smile that traitors wear;
Their love is hate, their life is death.

"And till your last white foe shall kneel,
And in his coward pangs expire—
Sleep—but to dream of brand and steel;
Wake—but to deal in blood and fire."

C. SHERRY.

Although fierce and determined when once aroused, no doubt Philip was hurried into this war against his best judgment and feelings, for his sagacity must have forewarned him of failure. The English were well armed and provisioned; the Indians had few guns, and their subsistence was precarious. "Phrensy prompted their rising. It was but the storm in which the ancient inhabitants of the land were to vanish away. They rose without hope, and therefore they fought without mercy. For them as a nation there was no to-morrow."

Bancroft has given a condensed, yet perspicuous and brilliant narrative of this war. "The minds of the English," he says, "were appalled by the horrors of the impending conflict, and superstition indulged in its wild inventions. At the time of the eclipse of the moon, you might have seen the figure of an Indian scalp imprinted on the center of its disk. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the sky. The sighing of the wind was like the whistling of bullets. Some distinctly heard invisible troops of horses gallop through the air, while others formed the prophecy of calamities in the howling of the wolves."

"At the very beginning of danger, the colonists exerted their wonted energy. Volunteers from Massachusetts joined the troops from Plymouth, and, within a week from the commencement of hostilities, the insulated Pokanokets were driven from Mount Hope, and in less than a month Philip was a fugitive among the Nipmucks, the interior tribes of Massachusetts. The little army of the colonists then entered the territory of the Narragansets, and from the reluctant tribe extorted a treaty of neutrality, with a promise to give up every hostile Indian. Victory seemed promptly assured; but it was only the commencement of horrors. Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, was the son of Miantonomoh; and could he forget his father's wrongs? And would the tribes of New England permit the nation that had first given a welcome to the English to perish unavenged? Desolation extended along the whole frontier. Banished from his patrimony,

¹ Bancroft, ii., 101.

² Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, ii., 486, says, "Yea, and now we speak of things *ominous*, we may add, some time before this [the execution of three Indians for the murder of Sassamon], in a clear, still, sunshiny morning, there were divers persons in Malden who heard in the air, on the southeast of them, a great gun go off, and presently thereupon the report of *small guns*, like musket shot, very thick discharging, as if there had been a battle. This was at a time when there was nothing visible done in any part of the colony to occasion such noises; but that which most of all astonished them was the flying of *bullets*, which came singing over their heads [beetles? See page 574, vol. i.], and seemed very near to them; after which the sound of *drums*, passing along westward, was very audible; and on the same day, in Plymouth colony, in several places, invisible troops of horse were heard riding to and fro." No credence is to be attached to this book of Mather's.

where the Pilgrims found a friend, and from his cabin, which had sheltered the exiles, Philip and his warriors spread through the country, arousing their brethren to a warfare of extermination.

"The war, on the part of the Indians, was one of ambush and surprise. They never once met the English in open field; but always, even if eight-fold in number, fled timorously before infantry. But they were secret as beasts of prey, skillful marksmen, and in part provided with fire-arms, fleet of foot, conversant with all the paths of the forest, patient of fatigue, mad with passion for rapine, vengeance, and destruction, retreating into swamps for their fastnesses, or hiding in the green-wood thickets, where the leaves muffled the eyes of the pursuers. By the rapidity of their descent, they seemed omnipotent among the scattered villages, which they ravaged like a passing storm; and for a full year they kept all New England in a state of terror and excitement. The exploring party was waylaid and cut off, and the mangled carcasses and disjointed limbs of the dead were hung upon the trees to terrify pursuers. The laborer in the field, the reapers as they went forth to harvest, men as they went to mill, the shepherd's boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking foes, whose approach was invisible. Who can tell the heavy hours of woman? The mother, if left alone in the house, feared the tomahawk for herself and children; on the sudden attack, the husband would fly with one child, the wife with another, and perhaps only one escape; the village cavalcade, making its way to meeting on Sunday, in files on horseback, the farmer holding the bridle in one hand and a child in the other, his wife seated on a pillion behind him, it may be with a child in her lap, as was the fashion of those days, could not proceed safely; but, at the moment when least expected, bullets would whiz among them, discharged with fatal aim from an ambuscade by the wayside. The red men hung upon the skirts of the English villages 'like the lightning on the edge of the clouds.'

"What need of repeating the same tale of horrors? Brookfield was set on fire,^a and rescued only to be abandoned. Deerfield was burned.^b Hadley, surprised during a time of religious service,^c was saved only by the daring of Goffe, the regicide, now bowed with years, a heavenly messenger of rescue, who darted from his hiding-place, rallied the disheartened, and, having achieved a safe defense, sank away in his retirement, to be no more seen. The plains of Northfield were wet with the blood of Beers^a and twenty of his valiant associates. Lathrop's company of young men, the very flower of Essex, culled out of the towns of that county, were butchered;^b hardly a white man escaped; and the little stream whose channel became red with their life currents, is called Bloody Brook to this day."

The Narragansets played false to the white men, and in winter sheltered the foe that wasted their settlements. It was resolved to treat them as enemies, and through the deep snows of December, a thousand men, levied by the united colonies, marched to the great fort of the tribe.^c Its feeble palisades quickly yielded, and fire and sword soon "swept away the humble glories of the Narragansets. Their winter stores, their wigwams, and all the little comforts of savage life, were destroyed; and more, their old men, their women, their babes, perished by hundreds in the fire."^d It was a terrible blow for the Indians. Cold, hunger, and disease followed, and were the powerful allies of the English in the decimation of the tribe. Yet Canonchet did not despair, and he fought gallantly, until, being taken prisoner by the English, he was put to death.

In the spring, the spirit of revenge and retaliation began its work. Weymouth, 1676. Groton, Medfield, Lancaster, and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, were laid in ashes;

¹ See page 420, vol. i., of this work.

² The fort was situated upon an island containing four or five acres, imbosomed in a swamp. The island was encompassed by high and strong palisades, with *abatis* outside, and there three thousand of the Narragansets were collected to pass the winter. This swamp is a short distance southwest of Kingston village, in the township of Kingston, Washington county, Rhode Island. The Stonington and Providence railway crosses the swamp in a northeasterly direction from its western verge.

³ Bancroft, ii., 105.

Decimation of the Indians.	Strifes among them.	Philip a Fugitive.	His Death.	His Son.	Captain Church.
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Warwick and Providence, in Rhode Island, were burned; and every where the isolated dwellings of adventurous settlers were laid waste. But as the season advanced, and more remote tribes came not to re-enforce them, the Indians, wasted and dispirited, abandoned all hopes of success. Strifes arose among them. The Connecticut Indians charged their misfortunes upon Philip, and so did the Narragansets. The cords of alliance were severed. Some surrendered to avoid starvation; other tribes wandered off and joined those of Canada; while Captain Church, the most famous of the English partisan warriors, went out to hunt and destroy the fugitives.¹ During the year, between two and three thousand Indians were killed or submitted. Philip was chased from one hiding-place to another; and although he had vainly sought the aid of the Mohawks, and knew that hope was at an end, his proud spirit would not listen to words of peace; he cleft the head of a warrior who ventured to propose it. At length, after an absence of a year, he resolved, as it were, to meet his destiny. He returned to the beautiful land where his forefathers slept, the cradle of his infancy, and the nestling-place of his tribe. Once he escaped narrowly, leaving his wife and only son prisoners. This bereavement crushed him. "My heart breaks," cried the chieftain, in the agony of his grief; "now I am ready to die." His own followers now began to plot against him, to make better terms for themselves. In a few days he was shot by a faithless Indian, and Captain Church cut off his head with his own sword. The captive orphan was transported to an island of the ocean. So perished the princes of the Pokanokets. Sad to them had been their acquaintance with civilization. The first ship that came on their coast kidnapped men of their kindred; and now the harmless boy, who had been cherished as an only child and the future sachem of their tribes—the last of the family of Massasoit—was sold into bondage, to toil as a slave under the suns of Bermuda.² Of the once prosperous Narragansets of old, the chief tribe of New England, hardly one hundred remained. The sword, famine, fire, and sickness had swept them from the earth. "During the whole war the Mohegans remained faithful to the English, and not a drop of blood was shed on the happy soil of Connecticut. So much the greater was the loss in the adjacent colonies. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed. The disbursements and losses equaled in value half a million of dollars—an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom any mother might have been proud, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burned. Of the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burned out. The loss of lives and property was, in proportion

August,
1676.

¹ Benjamin Church was born at Duxbury, in 1639. He was the first white settler at Seaconnet, or Little Compton. He was the most active and noted combatant of the Indians during King Philip's war, and when Philip was slain, Church cut off his head with his own hands. The sword with which he performed the act is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society (see page 562, vol. i.). In 1689, Church was commissioned by President Hinckley, of Plymouth, and the governors of Maine and Massachusetts, commander-in-chief of a force sent against the Eastern Indians. He continued making expeditions against them until 1704. In his old age he was corpulent. A fall from his horse was the cause of his death, which occurred at Little Compton, January 17, 1718, at the age of seventy-seven years. Under his direction his son prepared a history of the Indian wars, which was published in 1716.

² The disposal of this child was a subject of much deliberation. Several of the elders were urgent to put him to death. It was finally resolved to be merciful, and send him to Bermuda, to be sold into slavery. Such was the fate of many Indians, a fate to them worse than death. During the war the government of Plymouth gave thirty shillings for every head of an Indian killed in battle, and Philip's brought the same price. Their living bodies brought a high price in Bermuda, and probably more living Indian heads went thither than dead ones to the market at Plymouth. Witamo, the squaw sachem of Pocasset, shared in the disasters of Philip. She was drowned while crossing a river in her flight. Her body was recovered, and the head cut off and stuck upon a pole at Taunton, amid the jeers of the whites and the tears of the captive Indians. The body of Philip was beheaded and quartered, according to the sentence of the English law against traitors. One of his hands was given to the Indian who had shot him, and on the day appointed for a public thanksgiving, his head was carried in triumph into Plymouth. What a mockery of Christianity! Men, guilty of gross injustice to a race that had befriended them, lifting their hands toward heaven reeking with the blood of those they had injured, and singing *Te Deum Laudamus*, or praising God for his providential care! No Providence for the poor Indian, because he had neither cunning, skill, nor gun-powder!

Sufferings of the Colonists.

A Happy Change.

Capture of the *Pigot* by Talbot.

to numbers, as distressing as in the Revolutionary war. There was scarce a family from which Death had not selected a victim."¹ Thus ended the first general Indian war in New England. Righteousness, sitting upon the throne of judgment, has long since decided the question of equity; and we, viewing the scene at a distance, can not fail to discern the true verdict against the avaricious white man.

Those dark days of distress and crime are passed away forever. The splendors of an October sun, which then shed a radiance over the forests and the waters, beautiful as now, no longer light up the ambuscade of the red men, or the hiding-places of the pale-faces lurking for blood. From the bald eminence on which I stand, the land of Philip and Canonchet, of Witamo and Miantonomoh, and the broad waters where they sported in peace, are spread out to the eye beautiful as the "Happy Valley," and upon the whole domain rest the beneficent influences of love, harmony, righteousness, and peace. Let us, then, endeavor to forget the gloomy past, and leave upon memory only the bright vision of the present.

The vision was bright indeed, but it was the sheen of the glacier. The unclouded sun and the uncurbed north wind wrestled for the mastery. The latter was the victor, and, until I was warmed at the table of Mr. Anthony, I could not fully comprehend the charms which I had beheld while half frozen among the mounds of the old fortress on the hill.

I returned to Newport by the way of Vacluse, on the eastern road, where I sketched the great sycamore pictured on page 85, which is standing upon the bank of the Seaconnet or Eastern Channel. Near the mouth of this passage, a little below Vacluse, occurred one of those events, characterized by skill and personal bravery, which make up a large portion of the history of our war for independence. In order to close up this channel, when the French fleet appeared off Newport, the British converted a strong vessel of two hundred tons into a galley, and named it *Pigot*, in honor of the commander on Rhode Island. Its upper deck was removed, and on its lower deck were placed twelve eight-pounders, which belonged to the *Flora*, that was sunk in Newport harbor, and also ten swivels. Thus armed, she was a formidable floating battery. Major Silas Talbot, whose exploits had already won the expressed approbation of Congress, proposed an expedition to capture or destroy this vessel, for it effectually broke up the local trade of that section. General Sullivan regarded his scheme as impracticable, but finally consented to give Talbot permission to make the attempt. A draft of men for the purpose was allowed, and with sixty resolute patriots, Talbot sailed from Providence in a coasting sloop called the *Hawk*, which he had fitted out for the purpose. Armed with only three three-pounders, besides the small arms of his men, he sailed by the British forts at Bristol Ferry, and anchored within a few miles of the *Pigot*. Procuring a horse on shore, he rode down the east bank and reconnoitered. The galley presented a formidable appearance, yet the major was not daunted. At nine o'clock in the evening, favored with a fair wind, and accompanied by Lieutenant Helm, of Rhode Island, and a small re-enforcement, Talbot hoisted the anchor of the *Hawk*, and with a kedge-anchor lashed to the jib-boom to tear the nettings of the *Pigot*, he bore down upon that vessel. It was a very dark night in October. Under bare poles he drifted past 1778.

Fogland Ferry fort without being discovered, when he hoisted sail and ran partly under the stern of the galley. The sentinels hailed him, but, returning no answer, a volley of musketry was discharged at the *Hawk* without effect. The anchor tore the nettings and grappled the fore-shrouds of the *Pigot*, enabling the assailants to make a free passage to her deck. With loud shouts, the Americans poured from the *Hawk*, and drove every man of the *Pigot* into the hold, except the commander, who fought desperately alone, with no other mail than shirt and drawers, until he perceived that resistance was useless. The *Pigot* was surrendered, with the officers and crew. Her cables were coiled over the hatchways, to secure the prisoners below, and, weighing anchor, Talbot, with his prize, entered the harbor of Stonington the next day. This bold adventure was greatly applauded, and, on the 14th of November following, Congress complimented Talbot and his men, and presented him with

¹ Bancroft, ii., 108, 109.

Promotion of Talbot.

Departure from Newport.

Adieu to New England.

Halleck's "Connecticut."

a commission of lieutenant colonel in the army of the United States.¹ He was afterward transferred to the navy, in which service we shall meet him again.

I reached Newport at four o'clock, and at sunset was on board the *Empire State*, a noble Sound steam-boat (which was partially destroyed by fire a few weeks afterward), bound for New York. We passed old Fort Canonicut and Fort Adams, and out of the harbor at twilight; and at dark, leaving the Beaver-tail light behind, we were breasting the moon-lit waves of the ocean toward Point Judith. I now bade a final adieu to New England, to visit other scenes hallowed by the struggle of our fathers for liberty. Often since has the recollection of my visit there come up in memory like a pleasant dream; and never can I forget the universal kindness which I received during my brief tarry among the people of the East.



CANONICUT, OR DUMPLINGS
FORT.

"They love their land because it is their own,
And scorn to give aught other reason why;
Would shake hands with a king upon his throne,
And think it kindness to his majesty;
A stubborn race, fearing and flattering none.
Such are they nurtured, such they live and die,
All, but a few apostates, who are meddling
With merchandise, pounds, shillings, pence, and peddling;

"Or, wandering through the Southern countries, teaching
The A B C from WEBSTER's spelling-book;
Gallant and godly, making love and preaching,
And gaining, by what they call 'hook and crook,'
And what the moralists call overreaching,
A decent living. The Virginians look
Upon them with as favorable eyes
As GABRIEL on the Devil in Paradise.

"But these are but their outcasts. View them near,
At home, where all their worth and pride are placed;
And there their hospitable fires burn clear,
And there the lowliest farm-house hearth is graced
With manly hearts; in piety sincere;
Faithful in love, in honor stern and chaste,
In friendship warm and true, in danger brave,
Beloved in life, and sainted in the grave."

HALLECK'S "CONNECTICUT."

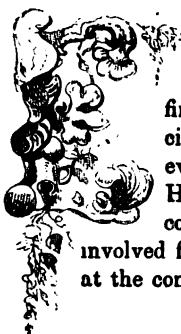
¹ See Tuckerman's *Life of Talbot*; *Journals of Congress*, iv., 471.

CHAPTER V.

"By wooded bluff we steal, by leaning lawn,
By palace, village, cot, a sweet surprise
At every turn the vision breaks upon;
Till to our wondering and uplifted eyes
The Highland rocks and hills in solemn grandeur rise.

"Nor clouds in heaven, nor billows in the deep,
More graceful shapes did ever heave or roll;
Nor came such pictures to a painter's sleep,
Nor beam'd such visions on a poet's soul!
The pent-up flood, impatient of control,
In ages past here broke its granite bound,
Then to the sea in broad meanders stole,
While ponderous ruin strew'd the broken ground,
And these gigantic hills forever closed around."

THEODORE S. FAY.



VERY place made memorable by Revolutionary events has an interest in the mind and heart of the American, and claims the homage of regard from the lover of freedom, whosoever he may have inspired his first breath. But there are a few localities so thickly clustered with associations of deep interest, that they appear like fuglemen in the march of events which attract the historian's notice. Prominent among these are the Highlands, upon the Hudson, from Haverstraw to Newburgh, the scenes of councils, battles, sieges, triumphs and treason, in all of which seemed to be involved for the moment, the fate of American liberty. Thitherward I journeyed at the commencement of our beautiful Indian summer,¹ the season

"When first the frost
Turns into beauty all October's charms;
When the dread fever quits us; when the storms
Of the wild equinox, with all its wet,
Has left the land as the first deluge left it,
With a bright bow of many colors hung
Upon the forest tops,"

BRAINERD.

and rambled for a week among those ancient hills and the historic grounds adjacent. I arrived at Newburgh on the morning of the 25th of October. The town is pleasantly situated upon the steep western bank of the Hudson, sixty miles from New York, and in the midst of some of the finest scenery in the world, enhanced in interest to the student of history by the associations which hallow it. In the southern suburbs of the village, on the brow of the hill, stands the gray old fabric called "The Hasbrouck House," memorable

¹ The week or ten days of warm, balmy weather in autumn, immediately preceding the advent of winter storms, when, as Irving says of Sleepy Hollow, a "drowsy, dreamy influence seems to hang over the land and pervade the very atmosphere," appears to be peculiar to the United States, and has attracted the attention of travelers and philosophers. It is called *Indian summer*, because it occurs at a season when the natives gathered in their crops of maize or Indian corn. The atmosphere is smoky, and so mellow the sunlight that every object wears the livery of repose, like the landscapes of Southern Italy. The cause of the warmth and other peculiarities of this season is an unexplained question. It is the season when the fallen leaves of our vast forests begin to decay. As decadence is slow combustion, may not the heat evolved in the process produce the effects noticed?

The "Hasbrouck House" and Vicinity. Its interior construction. Purchased by the State. Ceremonies at its Dedication.

as the head-quarters of Washington at the close of the Revolution. From the rickety pi-



WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT NEWBURGH.¹

azza or *stoop* on the river front may be seen the historic grounds of Fish-kill, New Windsor, Plumb Point, Pollopel's Island, and the Beacon Hills; and through the mighty gateway in the Highlands, whose posts are Break-neck and Butter Hills, in altitude fifteen hundred feet, appear glimpses of distant West Point and the amphitheater of mountains which surround it. Let us take a peep

within the venerable mansion; and as the morning sun is shining pleasantly upon the porch, we will there sit down, and glance over the pages of the old clasped volume, the *vade mecum* and Mentor of our journey.

The front door opens into a large square room, which was used by Washington for his public audiences, and as a dining hall. It is remarkable for the fact that it has seven doors, and only one window. Of the two doors on the left in the picture, the nearest one to the spectator was the entrance to the chief's sitting-room; the other, to his bed-room. There is no plaster ceiling above; the heavy beams, nine inches wide and fourteen deep, completely exposed, give it a strong as well as antique appearance. Properly taken care of,

¹ This view is from the northeast, comprising the north gable and east or river front. The house is substantially built of stone, and is now (1850) just one hundred years old. This remark applies only to the portion containing the large room with seven doors, and the two bed-rooms on the north of it. This portion was built in 1750. Afterward a kitchen was built on the south end, and in 1770 an addition was made to it, on the west side, of the same length and height of the old part. The dates of the first and last additions are cut in the stones of the building. The fire-place in the large room is very spacious, "in which," says Mr. Eager, "a small bullock might have been turned upon a spit."* The house has been in the possession of the Hasbrouck family (one of the oldest of the Huguenot families in the county) from the time of its erection until recently, when it was purchased by the State of New York for the purpose of preserving it as a relic of the Revolution. It is placed in charge of the trustees of the village of Newburgh, who are required to expend a certain amount in repairs, ornamenting the grounds, &c. The family residing in the house is employed for the purpose of receiving and attending visitors. The house has been thoroughly repaired since the above sketch was made, under the direction of an advisory committee for its restoration and the embellishment of the grounds. Some of the modern alterations within have been changed, and the whole appearance of the edifice is now as much like that of the era of the Revolution as it is possible to make it. Interesting ceremonies were had upon the occasion of its dedication, on the 4th of July, 1850. There was a civic and military procession. The ceremonies on the green before the house were opened with prayer by Reverend Doctor Johnson, and an address by J. J. Monell, Esq., of Newburgh. While a choir was singing the following last stanza of a beautiful ode, written by Mrs. Monell,

"With a prayer your faith expressing,
Raise our country's flag on high;
Here, where rests a nation's blessing,
Stars and stripes shall float for aye!
Mutely telling
Stirring tales of days gone by,"

major-general Scott, who was present, hoisted the American flag upon a lofty staff erected near. The Declaration of Independence was read by Honorable F. J. Betts, after which Honorable J. W. Edmonds pronounced an oration, marked by evidences of much historic research. Henceforth this venerated relic belongs to the people of New York; and doubtless its cabinet of Revolutionary remains, already begun, will be augmented by frequent donations, until a museum of rare interest shall be collected there.

* History of Orange County.

Washington's Dining-hall.

Anecdote concerning it.

Lady Washington's Gardening.

Settlement of Newburgh.

this relic of the Revolution may remain another century. The timbers are sound, the walls massive, and the roof and weather-boards were well preserved.



THE DINING-HALL, OR ROOM WITH SEVEN DOORS.¹

Lady Washington was a resident of the "Hasbrouck House" during the summer of 1783, and, in gratification of her taste for gardening, a large space in front of the house was cultivated by her. Mr. Eager, the historian of Orange county, informed me that within his remembrance the brick borders of her flower-beds remained. Washington, with his lady, left

there about the middle of August, to attend upon Congress, then in session at Princeton, New Jersey, leaving the portion of the Continental army then in service, under the command of General Knox. The commander-in-chief did not return to Newburgh, but made his head-quarters, for a few days in November, at West Point, from whence he repaired to New York and took possession of that city on its evacuation by the British troops.

Orange county was among the first settled portions of the State of New York. It was organized in 1683; its name was given in honor of William, prince of Orange, afterward King of England. The first permanent settlers in the county were Germans, and their original location was in the present town of Newburgh, at a place called by the Indians Quassaic, on a creek of that name, a little below the village. They obtained a patent from Queen Anne, in 1719, for twenty-one hundred and ninety acres, extending north from the Quassaic Creek, and proceeded to lay out a village which they called New Burgh or New

¹ In the December number of the New York Mirror for 1834, is an interesting account of this old building, by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. He relates the following anecdote connected with this room, which he received from Colonel Nicholas Fish, father of the late governor of the State of New York. Just before La Fayette's death, himself and the American minister, with several of his countrymen, were invited to dine at the house of that distinguished Frenchman, Marbois, who was the French secretary of legation here during the Revolution. At the supper hour the company were shown into a room which contrasted quite oddly with the Parisian elegance of the other apartments where they had spent the evening. A low boarded, painted ceiling, with large beams, a single small, uncurtained window, with numerous small doors, as well as the general style of the whole, gave, at first, the idea of the kitchen, or largest room of a Dutch or Belgian farm-house. On a long rough table was a repast, just as little in keeping with the refined kitchens of Paris as the room was with its architecture. It consisted of a large dish of meat, uncouth-looking pastry, and wine in decanters and bottles, accompanied by glasses and silver mugs, such as indicated other habits and tastes than those of modern Paris. "Do you know where we now are?" said the host to La Fayette and his companions. They paused for a few minutes in surprise. They had seen something like this before, but when and where? "Ah! the seven doors and one window," said La Fayette, "and the silver camp-goblets, such as the marshals of France used in my youth! We are at Washington's head-quarters on the Hudson, fifty years ago!"

The view here given is from the west door of the dining-hall, looking out of the east door upon the Hudson, the green fields of Fishkill, and the North Beacon of the Highlands, whereon the Americans lighted watch-fires when occasion demanded it. The fire-place on the right is within the area of the room, having a heavy hewn stone for a *back-log*. The visitor may stand there, and look up the broad-mouthed chimney to the sky above.

First Settlements in Orange County.

Indian Wars.

Sufferings of the People.

Attack on Minisink.

Town. Five hundred acres were reserved as glebe land, and under favorable auspices the village of Newburgh was founded. The Germans in time became dissatisfied, sold out their patent and dispersed, some going to Pennsylvania, and others to the Mohawk country. Some English, Irish, New Englanders, and a few Huguenots from Ulster filled their places, and flourishing settlements were soon planted along the river, or upon the rich bottoms of the water-courses. They also spread interiorly, and Goshen, Minisink, Wawarsing, and other thriving towns started up in the midst of the red men. The ante-revolutionary history of this section of the state is full of stirring incidents, for the wily Indian, properly suspicious of the pale faces, was ever on the alert to do them damage; and the privations, alarms, and sufferings of those who opened the fertile bosom of the country to the sun and rain, and spread broad acres of cultivation where the deer grazed in shady solitudes, compose a web of romance wonderful indeed. And when the Revolution broke out, and the savages of the Mohawk Valley and of Western New York were let loose upon the remote settlements, the people of Orange county were intense sufferers, particularly those upon its frontier settlements, in the direction of the wilderness. The Tories and their savage associates spread terror in every direction, and in Wawarsing and vicinity many patriots and their families were the victims of ambuscade or open attack. But I will not repeat a tale of horror such as we have already considered in viewing the history of the Mohawk Valley. The atrocities committed in Orange county were but a counterpart in character and horror of the former.¹ Strong houses were barricaded and used as forts; the people went armed by day, and slept armed at night; and almost hourly murder and rapine stalked boldly abroad. It was a time of darkest misery; and not until the Indian power of the West was broken, and the Tories failed to receive their aid, was the district blessed with quiet.

The invasion of Minisink,² alluded to in a former chapter, was one of those prominent links in the chain of Indian and Tory depredations, that I may not pass it over with only brief mention. Here let us consider it. There were very few engaged in the battle that ensued, yet that few fought with wonderful valor, and suffered a terrible slaughter.

Count Pulaski and his legion of cavalry were stationed, during a part of the winter of 1778-9, at Minisink. In February, he was ordered to South Carolina, to join the army under Lincoln. The settlement was thus left wholly unprotected, which being perceived by Brant, the accomplished Mohawk warrior, he resolved to make a descent upon it. During the night of the 19th of July, at the head of sixty Indians, and twenty-seven Tories^{1779.} disguised as savages, he stole upon the little town, and before the people were aroused from their slumbers he had fired several dwellings. With no means for defense, the inhabitants sought safety in flight to the mountains, leaving their pretty village and all their worldly goods a spoil to the invaders. Their small stockade fort, a mill, and twelve houses and barns were burned, several persons were killed, some taken prisoners, the orchards and plantations were laid waste, cattle were driven away, and booty of every kind was carried to Grassy Brook, on the Delaware, a few miles above the mouth of the Lackawaxen, where the chief had left the main body of his warriors. When intelligence of this invasion reached Goshen, Doctor Tusten, colonel of the local militia, issued orders to the officers of his regiment to meet him at Minisink the next day, with as many volunteers as they could muster. The call was promptly responded to, and one hundred and forty-nine hardy men were gathered around Tusten the following morning. Many of these were principal gentlemen of the vicinity. A council was held, and it was unanimously determined to pursue the invaders.

¹ For details of the trials of the settlers, and the atrocities committed by the Indians and Tories in this section, see a pamphlet published at Rondout, entitled "THE INDIANS; or, Narratives of Massacres, &c., in Wawarsing and its Vicinity during the American Revolution."

² Minisink was one of the most ancient settlements in Orange county. It was in existence as a white settlement as early as 1669, when a severe battle was fought with the Indians on the 22d of July, ninety years, to a day, previous to the conflict in question. From that time until the Revolution it was often the scene of strife with the red men, and almost every dell, and rock, and ancient tree has its local tradition. The place of the ancient settlement is situated about ten miles northwest of Goshen, among the Shawangunk Mountains, between the Walkill and the Navasink Valleys.

Intemperate zeal of the Volunteers.	Unwise Decision.	Battle of Minisink.	Its Location.	The Massacre.
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Colonel Tusten, who well knew the skill, prowess, caution, and craftiness of Brant, opposed the measure, as a hazardous undertaking with so small a force. He was overruled, and the debates of the council were cut short by Major Meeker, who mounted his horse, flourished his sword, and shouted, "Let the *brave* men follow me; the *cowards* may stay behind!" These words ignited the assembly, and the line of march was immediately formed. They traveled seventeen miles, and then encamped for the night. The next morning, Colonel Hathorn, of the Warwick militia, with a small re-enforcement, joined them. He was Tusten's senior officer, and took the command. They resumed their march at sunrise, and at Half-way Brook came upon the Indian encampment of the previous night; the smoldering watch-fires were still smoking. The number of these fires indicated a large savage force, and the two colonels, with the more prudent of the company, advocated, in council, a return, rather than further pursuit. But excited bravado overcame prudence, and a large majority determined to pursue the Indians; the minority yielded, and the march was resumed.

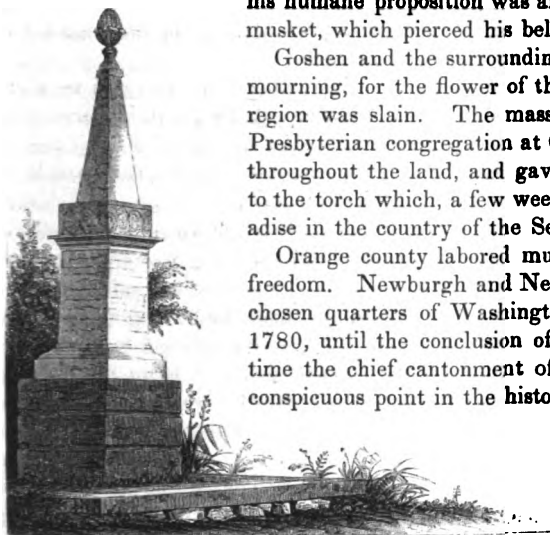
A scouting party, under Captain Tyler, was sent forward upon the Indian trail. The pursuers were discovered, and a bullet from an unseen foe slew the captain. There was momentary alarm; but the volunteers pressed eagerly onward, and at nine in the morning they hovered upon the high hills overlooking the Delaware near the mouth of the Lackawaxen. The enemy were in full view below, marching in the direction of a fording-place. Hathorn determined to intercept them there, and disposed his men accordingly. The intervening hills hid the belligerents from each other. Brant had watched the movements of his pursuers, and comprehending Hathorn's design, he wheeled his column, and thridding a deep and narrow ravine which the whites had crossed, brought his whole force in the rear of the Americans. Here he formed an ambuscade, and deliberately selected his battle ground.

The volunteers were surprised and disappointed at not finding the enemy where they expected to, and were marching back when they discovered some of the Indians. One of them, mounted on a horse stolen at Minisink, was shot by a militia-man. This was a signal for action, and the firing soon became general. It was a long and bloody conflict. The Indians were greatly superior in numbers, and a detachment of Hathorn's troops, consisting of one third of the whole, became separated from the rest at the commencement of the engagement. Closer and closer the savages pressed upon the whites, until they were hemmed within the circumference of an acre of ground, upon a rocky hill that sloped on all sides. The ammunition of the militia was stinted, and they were careful not to fire at random and without aim. Their shots were deadly, and many a red man was slain. The conflict began at eleven o'clock, and continued until the going down of the sun, on that long July 22, 1779. July day. At twilight the battle was yet undecided, but the ammunition of the whites being exhausted, a party of the enemy attacked and broke their hollow square at one corner. The survivors of the conflict attempted to retreat. Behind a ledge of rocks, Doctor Tusten had been dressing the wounds of the injured during the day. There were seventeen men under his care when the retreat commenced. The Indians fell upon them furiously, and all, with the Doctor, were slain. Several who attempted to escape by swimming across the Delaware were shot by the Indians; and of the whole number that went forth, only about thirty returned to relate the dreadful scenes of the day.¹ This massacre of the wounded is one of the darkest stains upon the memory of Brant, whose honor and humanity were often more conspicuous than that of his Tory allies. He made a weak defense of his conduct by asserting that he offered the Americans good treatment if they would surrender;

¹ The place of conflict is about two miles from the northern bank of the Delaware, and the same distance below the *Lechawachsin* or Lackawaxen River. It is about three miles from the Barryville station, on the New York and Erie rail-road. The battle ground and the adjacent region continue in the same wild state as of old, and over the rocky knolls and tangled ravines where the Indians and the Goshen militia fought, wild deer roam in abundance, and a panther occasionally leaps upon its prey. The place is too rocky for cultivation, and must ever remain a wilderness. At the Mohackamack Fork (now Port Jervis, on the Delaware) was a small settlement, and a block-house, called Jersey Fort.

Brant's Defense. Effect of the Massacre. Salvation of Major Wood. Interment of the Remains of the Slain. Monument.

that he warned them of the fierceness of the thirst for blood that actuated his warriors, and that he could not answer for their conduct after the first shot should be fired ; and that his humane proposition was answered by a bullet from an American musket, which pierced his belt.¹



MONUMENT AT GOSHEN.²

Goshen and the surrounding country was filled with the voice of mourning, for the flower of the youth and mature manhood of that region was slain. The massacre made thirty-three widows in the Presbyterian congregation at Goshen. At the recital, a shudder ran throughout the land, and gave keenness to the blade and fierceness to the torch which, a few weeks afterward, desolated the Indian paradise in the country of the Senecas and Cayugas.

Orange county labored much and suffered much in the cause of freedom. Newburgh and New Windsor, within it, having been the chosen quarters of Washington at different times, from December, 1780, until the conclusion of peace in 1783, and a portion of that time the chief cantonment of the American army, the county is a conspicuous point in the history of the war. At the close of 1780,

the army was cantoned at three points : at Morristown, and at Pompton, in New Jersey, and at Phillipstown, in the Hudson Highlands. Washington established his head-quarters at

¹ During the battle, Major Wood, of Goshen, made a masonic sign, by accident, which Brant, who was a Free-mason, perceived and heeded. Wood's life was spared, and as a prisoner he was treated kindly, until the Mohawk chief perceived that he was not a Mason. Then, with withering scorn, Brant looked upon Wood, believing that he had obtained the masonic sign which he used, by deception. It was purely an accident on the part of Wood. When released, he hastened to become a member of the fraternity by whose instrumentality his life had been spared. The house in which Major Wood lived is yet standing (though much altered), at the foot of the hill north of the rail-way station at Goshen. The house of Roger Townsend, who was among the slain, is also standing, and well preserved. It is in the southern part of the village. The *Farmers' Hall Academy*, an old brick building, two stories high, and now used for a district school-house, is an object of some interest to the visitor at Goshen, from the circumstance that there Noah Webster, our great lexicographer, once taught school. An old gentleman of the village informed me that he had often seen him at twilight on a summer's evening in the grove on the hill northward of the rail-way station, gathering up the manuscripts which he had been preparing in a retired spot, after school hours.

² In 1822, the citizens of Orange county collected the bones of those slain in the battle of Minisink, which had been left forty-three years upon the field of strife, and caused them to be buried near the center of the green at the foot of the main street of the village. On that occasion there was a great gathering of people, estimated at fifteen thousand in number. The cadets from West Point were there, under the command of the late General Worth, then a major. The corner-stone was laid by General Hathorn, one of the survivors of the battle, then eighty years of age. He accompanied the act with a short and feeling address. A funeral oration was pronounced by the Reverend James R. Wilson, now of Newburgh. Over these remains a marble monument was erected. It stands upon three courses of brown freestone, and a stone pavement a few feet square, designed to be surrounded by an iron railing. In consequence of neglecting to erect the railing, the monument has suffered much from the prevailing spirit of vandalism which I have already noticed. Its corners are broken, the inscriptions are mutilated, and the people of Goshen are made to feel many regrets for useless delay in giving that interesting memorial a protection. On the east side of the pedestal is the following inscription :

"ERECTED by the inhabitants of Orange county, 22d July, 1822. Sacred to the memory of their fellow-citizens who fell at the battle of MINISINK, 22d July, 1779."

Upon the other three sides of the pedestal are the following names of the slain :

"Benjamin Tusten, colonel ; Bezaleel Tyler, Samuel Jones, John Little, John Duncan, Benjamin Vail, captains ; John Wood, lieutenant ; Nathaniel Finch, adjutant ; Ephraim Mastin, Ephraim Middaugh, ensigns ; Gabriel Wisner, Esq., Stephen Mead, Mathias Terwilliger, Joshua Lockwood, Ephraim Fergerson, Roger Townsend, Samuel Knapp, James Knapp, Benjamin Bennet, William Barker, Jonathan Pierce, James Little, Joseph Norris, Gilbert Vail, Abraham Shepperd, Joel Decker, Nathan Wade, Simon Wait, — Tallmadge, Jacob Dunning, John Carpenter, David Barney, Jonathan Haskell, Abraham Williams,

Cantonment of the Army near Newburgh.

Head-quarters of the Officers.

Nicola's Proposition to Washington.

New Windsor in December, 1780, where he remained until June, 1781, when the French, who had quartered during the winter at Newport and Lebanon, formed a junction with the Americans on the Hudson. In April, 1782, he established his head-quarters at Newburgh, two miles above the village of New Windsor, where he continued most of the time until November, 1783, when the Continental army was disbanded.

For a short time in the autumn of 1782, while the head-quarters of Washington were at Newburgh, the main portion of the army was encamped at Verplanck's Point, in pursuance of an engagement with Rochambeau to form a junction of the American and French forces at that place, on the return of the latter from Virginia. The allies marched eastward late in autumn, when the American army crossed the Hudson at West Point, traversed the mountains, and arrived in the township of New Windsor on the 28th of November, 1782.

where it was hutted for the winter. The main portion of the army was encamped in the neighborhood of Snake Hill; of this we will write presently. Washington continued his head-quarters at the stone house at Newburgh; Generals Knox and Greene, who had the immediate command of the chief forces and of the artillery, were quartered at the house of John Ellison (now Captain Charles Morton's), in the vicinity of the main camp near Snake Hill; Gates and St. Clair, with the hospital stores, were at Edmonston's, at The Square; La Fayette was at William Ellison's, near by; and the Baron Steuben was at the house of Samuel Verplanck, on the Fishkill side of the river.

At Newburgh occurred one of the most painful events in the military life of Washington. For a long time the discontents among the officers and soldiers in the army respecting the arrearages of their pay and their future prospects, had been increasing, and in the spring of 1782 became alarmingly manifest. Complaints were frequently made to the commander-in-chief. Feeling the justice of these complaints, his sympathy was fully alive to the inter-

ests of his companions in arms. Colonel Nicola, an experienced officer, and a gentleman possessed of much weight of character, was usually the medium for communicating to him, verbally, their complaints, wishes, and fears. In May, Colonel Nicola

Lewis Nicola

addressed a letter to Washington, the tenor of which struck harshly upon the tenderest chord in that great man's feelings. After some general remarks on the deplorable condition of the army, and the little hope they could have of being properly rewarded by Congress, the colonel entered into a political disquisition on the different forms of government, and came to the conclusion that republics are, of all others, the least susceptible of stability, and the least capable of securing the rights, freedom, and power of individuals. He therefore inferred that America could never become prosperous under such a form of government, and that the English government was nearer perfection than any other. He then proceeded to express his opinion that such a government would be the choice of the people, after due consideration, and added, "In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties apparently insurmountable by human power to victory and glory—those qualities, that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army—would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the idea of tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may, therefore, be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some national advantage." How amazingly Colonel Nicola, and those officers and civilians (and they, doubtless, were not a few) whom he represented, misapprehended the true character of Washington, may be readily inferred from the prompt and severe rebuke which they received from his hand. The commander-in-chief replied as follows:

James Mosher, Isaac Ward, Baltus Nierpos, Gamaliel Bailey, Moses Thomas, Eleazer Owens, Adam Embler, Samuel Little, Benjamin Dunning, Samuel Reed."

Washington's Letter of Rebuke to Nicola. Patriotism of the Chief. Discontents in the Army. Memorial to Congress.

"SIR,—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of this war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more serious wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and, as far as my power and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature. I am, &c."

In this affair the disinterested patriotism of Washington shone with its brightest luster. At the head of a victorious army; beloved and venerated by it and by the people; with personal influence unbounded, and with power in possession for consummating almost any political scheme not apparently derogatory to good government, he receives from an officer whom he greatly esteems, and who speaks for himself and others, an offer of the scepter of supreme rule and the crown of royalty! What a bribe! Yet he does not hesitate for a moment; he does not stop to revolve in his mind any ideas of advantage in the proposed scheme, but at once rebukes the author sternly but kindly, and impresses his signet of strongest disapprobation upon the proposal. History can not present a parallel.

The apprehensions which this event produced in the mind of Washington, though allayed for a while, were painfully revived a few months later. The same circumstances of present hardship and gloomy prospects that disturbed the army when Nicola addressed Washington, not only continued to exist, but reasons for discontent daily increased. After the return of the army from Verplanck's Point, and their settlement in winter quarters in the neighborhood of Newburgh and New Windsor, the officers and soldiers had leisure to reflect upon their situation and prospects. Expecting a dissolution of the Revolutionary government when peace should be established, and a thorough reorganization of civil and military affairs, they apprehended great difficulties and losses in the adjustment of their claims, particularly those appertaining to the long arrearages of their pay. They were aware of the poverty of the treasury and the inefficiency of the existing government in commanding resources for its replenishment; a condition arising from the disposition of individual states to deny the right of Congress to ask for pecuniary aid from their respective treasuries in satisfying public creditors. This actual state of things, and no apparent security for a future adjustment of their claims, caused great excitement and uneasiness among the officers and soldiers, and in December they addressed a memorial to Congress on the subject of 1782. their grievances.² A committee, composed of General McDougal, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks, were appointed to carry the memorial to Philadelphia, lay it before Congress, and explain its import. Congress appointed a committee, consisting of a delegate from each state, to consider the memorial. The committee reported, and, on the 25th of January, Congress passed a series of resolutions, which were not very satisfactory. In 1783.

¹ Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, viii., 300, 302. Washington's letter to Colonel Nicola is dated at Newburgh, 22d May, 1782.

² This memorial comprehended five different articles: 1. Present pay; 2. A settlement of the accounts of the arrearages of pay, and security for what was due; 3. A commutation of the half-pay authorized by different resolutions of Congress, for an equivalent in gross; 4. A settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations and compensation; 5. A settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of clothing and compensation.

Resolutions of Congress respecting Claims.

The Army still dissatisfied.

Action of the Officers.

Major Armstrong.

regard to present pay, the superintendent of finance was directed to make "such payment and in such measure as he shall think proper," as soon as the state of public finances would permit. In relation to arrearages and the settlement of accounts, it was resolved "that the several states be called upon to complete, without delay, the settlements with their respective



John Armstrong

lines of the army, up to the 1st day of August, 1783, and that the superintendent of finance be directed to take such measures as shall appear to him most proper for effecting the settlement from that period." Concerning security for what should be found due on such settlement, Congress declared, by resolution, that they would "make every effort in their power to obtain from the respective states substantial funds, adequate to the object of funding the whole debt of the United States, and will enter upon an immediate and full consideration of the nature of such funds, and the most likely mode of obtaining them."¹

In these resolutions, Congress, feeble in actual power and resources, made no definite promises of present relief or future justice; and when General Knox, who had been appointed by the army to correspond with their committee, reported the facts, the discontent and dissatisfaction was quite as

February 8,
1783.

great as before the action of Congress. Some thought it necessary to further make known their sentiments and enforce their claims, and to this end it was deemed advisable to act with energy. A plan was arranged among a few "for assembling the officers, not in mass, but by representation; and for passing a series of resolutions, which, in the hands of their committee, and of their auxiliaries in Congress, would furnish a new and powerful lever" of operation. Major John Armstrong,² General Gates's aid-de-camp, a young officer of six-and-

¹ *Journals of Congress*, viii., 82. The remainder of the report was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Mann, Osgood, Fitzsimmons, Gervais, Hamilton, and Wilson.

² John Armstrong was born at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, on the 25th of November, 1758. He was the youngest of two sons of General John Armstrong, of Carlisle, distinguished by his services in the French and Indian war in 1756. In 1775, at the most critical period of the American Revolution, young Armstrong, then a student of Princeton College, joined the army as a volunteer in Potter's Pennsylvania regiment. He was soon after appointed aid-de-camp by General Hugh Mercer, and remained with him till the connection was severed on the bloody field of Princeton by the death of his chief. He subsequently occupied the same position in the family of Major-general Gates, and served through the campaign which ended in the capture of Burgoyne. In 1780 he was made adjutant general of the Southern army, but falling sick of fever on the Pedee, was succeeded by Colonel Otho Williams, a short time previous to the defeat at Camden. Resuming his place as aid, he remained with General Gates till the close of the war. He was the author of the celebrated *Newburgh Addresses*, the object of which has been greatly misrepresented, and very generally misunderstood. They were intended to awaken in Congress and the States a sense of justice toward its creditors, particularly toward the army, then about to be disbanded without requital for its services, toils, and sufferings. General Washington, in 1797, bore testimony to the patriotic motives of the author.

Armstrong's first civil appointments were those of Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, and adjutant general, under Dickinson's and Franklin's administrations; posts which he continued to occupy till 1787, when he was chosen a member of the old Congress. In the autumn of the same year, he was appointed by Congress one of the three judges for the Western Territory; this appointment he declined, and having married, in 1789, a sister of Chancellor Livingston, of New York, removed to that state. Here he purchased a farm, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits; and, though offered by President Washington, in 1793, the place of United States supervisor of the collection of internal revenue in the State of New York, he declined this and other invitations to public office, until, in the year 1800, he was elected United States senator by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the Legislature. Having resigned in 1802, he was again

Meeting of Officers privately called.

Anonymous Address to the Army.

Dangerous Tendency of its Recommendations.

twenty, and possessing much ability, was chosen to write an address to the army suited to the subject; and this, with an anonymous notification of a meeting of the officers, was circulated privately.¹ The address exhibits superior talents, and was calculated to make a deep impression upon the minds of the malcontents. Referring to his personal feelings, and his sacrifices for his country, the writer plays upon the sensibilities of his readers, and prepares their minds for a relinquishment of their faith in the justice of their country, already weakened by circumstances. "Faith," he says, "has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched without sinking into cowardice or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation; hurried to the verge of both, another step would ruin you forever. To be tame and unprovoked, when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserved the chains you broke." He then takes a review of the past and present—their wrongs and their complaints—their petitions and the denials of redress—and then says, "If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defense of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you, then, consent to be the only sufferers by the Revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity of the world! Go, starve, and be forgotten."

The writer now changes from appeal to advice. "I would advise you, therefore," he says, "to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear and what you will suffer. If your determination be in proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk-and-water style of your last memorial; assume

elected in 1803, and, the year following, appointed by Mr. Jefferson minister plenipotentiary to France; which post, at a very critical period of our relations with that country, he filled with distinguished ability for more than six years, discharging incidentally the functions of a separate mission to Spain with which he was invested.

In 1812 he was appointed a brigadier general in the United States army, and commanded in the city of New York until called by Mr. Madison, in 1813, to the War Department. This office he accepted with reluctance, and with little anticipation of success to our arms. In effecting salutary changes in the army, by substituting young and able officers for the old ones who had held subordinate stations in the army of the Revolution, he made many enemies. The capture of the city of Washington in 1814 led to his retirement from office. Public opinion held him responsible for this misfortune, but, as documentary history has shown, without justice. No man took office with purer motives, or retired from it with a better claim to have faithfully discharged its duties.

General Armstrong died at his residence at Red Hook, N. Y., on the 1st of April, 1843, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was among the remarkable men of a remarkable generation. The productions of his pen entitle him to rank with the ablest writers of his time and country. These consist of a voluminous correspondence, diplomatic and military; a valuable treatise on agriculture, the result of some experience and much reading; and "Notices of the War of 1812," a work written with great vigor of style. The portrait of General Armstrong, printed on the preceding page, is from a painting in possession of his daughter, Mrs. William B. Astor, drawn from life by John Wesley Jarvis.

¹ This notice was circulated on the 10th of March, 1783. It was in manuscript, as well as the anonymous address that followed. The originals were carried by a major, who was a deputy inspector under Baron Steuben, to the office of Barber, the adjutant general, where, every morning, aids-de-camp, majors of brigades, and adjutants of regiments were assembled, all of whom, who chose to do so, took copies and circulated them. Among the transcribers was the adjutant of the commander-in-chief's guard, who probably furnished him with the copies that were transmitted to Congress. The following is a copy of the anonymous notification:

"A meeting of the field officers is requested at the Public Building on Tuesday next at eleven o'clock. A commissioned officer from each company is expected, and a delegate from the medical staff. The object of this convention is to consider the late letter of our representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seem to have solicited in v. in."

Bold Tone of the Address. Similar Opinions held by Hamilton. Washington's Counteraction. Second anonymous Address.

a bolder tone, decent, but lively, spirited, and determined; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance.¹ Let two or three men who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up *your last remonstrance*—for I would no longer give it the suing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of *memorial*.” He advises them to talk boldly to Congress, and to warn that body that the slightest mark of indignity from them now would operate like the grave, to part them and the army forever; “that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that, courting the auspices and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and mock when their fear cometh on.” Let it represent, also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable.”

A copy of these papers was put into the hands of the commander-in-chief on the day of their circulation, and he wisely determined to guide and control the proceedings thus begun, rather than to check and discourage them by any act of severity. In general orders the next morning, he referred to the anonymous papers and the meeting. He expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceeding as disorderly; at the same time, he requested that the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation of the staff of the army, should assemble at twelve o'clock on Saturday the 15th, at the New Building (at which the other meeting was called), for the purpose of hearing the report of the committee of the army to Congress. He requested the senior officer in rank (General Gates) to preside at the meeting. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous address put forth another, rather more subdued in its tone, in which he sought to convince the officers that Washington approved of the scheme, the time of meeting only being changed. The design of this interpretation the commander-in-chief took care to frustrate, by conversing personally and individually with those officers in whose good sense and integrity he had confidence. He impressed their minds with a sense of the danger that must attend any rash act at such a crisis, inculcated moderation, and exerted all

¹ This sentence, particularly alluded to by Washington in his address to the officers, was the one which drew down upon the head of the writer the fiercest anathemas of public opinion, and he alone has been held responsible for the suggestion that the army should use its power to intimidate Congress. Such a conclusion is unwarrantable. It is not likely that a young man of twenty-six, acting in the capacity of aid, should, without the promptings of men of greater experience who surrounded him, propose so bold a measure. It is well known, too, that many officers, whose patriotism was never suspected, were privy to the preparation of the address, and suggested many of its sentiments; and there can be no reasonable doubt that General Gates was a prominent actor. Nor was the idea confined to that particular time and place. General Hamilton, one of the purest patriots of the Revolution, wrote to Washington from Philadelphia, a month before (February 7, 1783), on the subject of the grievances of the army, in which he held similar language. After referring to the deplorable condition of the finances, the prevailing opinion in the army “that the disposition to recompense their services will cease with the necessity for them,” and lamenting “that appearances afford too much ground for their distrust,” he held the following language: “It becomes a serious inquiry, What is the true line of policy? *The claims of the army, urged with moderation but with firmness*, may operate on those weak minds which are influenced by their apprehensions more than by their judgments, so as to produce a concurrence in the measures which the exigencies of affairs demand. They may add weight to the applications of Congress to the several states. So far, a useful turn may be given to them.”* What was this but “carrying their appeal from the *justice* to the *fears* of government?” Hamilton further remarked, that the difficulty would be “to keep a *complaining* and *suffering* army within the bounds of moderation;” and advised Washington not to discountenance their endeavors to procure redress, but, “by the intervention of confidential and prudent persons, to *take the direction of them*.” Hamilton was at that time a member of Congress. In a letter to him, written on the 12th of March, Washington remarked that all was tranquillity in the camp until after the arrival from Philadelphia of “a certain gentleman” (General Walter Stewart), and intimated that the discontents in the army were made active by members of Congress, who wished to see the delinquent states thus forced to do justice. Hamilton, in reply, admitted that he had urged the propriety “of uniting the influence of the public creditors” (of whom the soldiers were the most meritorious) “and the army, to prevail upon the states to enter into their views.”† But, while Hamilton held these views, he deprecated the idea of the army turning its power against the civil government. “There would be no chance of success,” he said, “without having recourse to means that would reverse our Revolution.”‡

* See the *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, John C. Hamilton, ii., 47.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 71.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii., 158.

Meeting called by Washington.

Major Burnet's Recollections.

Washington's Address to the Officers.

his powers of argument to appease their discontents. They were thus prepared to deliberate in the proposed convention without passion, and under a deep sense of the responsibilities which rested upon them as patriots and leaders.

The meeting was held pursuant to Washington's orders. There was a full attendance of officers, and deep solemnity pervaded the assembly when the commander-in-chief stepped forward upon the platform to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion.¹ This address, so compact in construction of language; so dignified and patriotic; so mild, yet so severe, and, withal, so vitally important in its relation to the well-being of the unfolding republic and the best interests of human freedom, I here give entire, in a foot-note, for a mere synopsis can not do it justice.²

¹ Major Robert Burnet, of Little Britain, Orange county, who was one of the officers present, informed me that the most profound silence pervaded the assembly when Washington arose to read his address. As he put on his spectacles,* he said, "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown *gray* but *blind* in your service." This simple remark, under such circumstances, had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. Humphreys, in his *Life of Putnam*, mentions this circumstance; so, also, does Mr. Hamilton, in the *Life* of his father.

² "GENTLEMEN.—By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together; how inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide. In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen, and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises.

"But he had another plan in view, in which candor and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proofs than a reference to the proceedings.

"Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honor and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But, as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself." But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms, and other property which we leave behind us? or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter can not be removed), to perish in a wilderness, with hunger, cold, and nakedness?

"If peace takes place, never sheathe your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it—which is the apparent object—unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe? some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the

* It is said that the identical spectacles used by Washington during the Revolution are now (1850) in the possession of an aged lady, named Marsh, who resides in Detroit, Michigan. They came to her from a deceased relative, who exchanged spectacles with the general. "They are of a heavy silver frame," says the Detroit Advertiser, "with very large, round glasses, and apparently constructed after the style we have been accustomed to see, in the books, upon the nose of Red Riding Hood's grandmother."

After reading the address, Washington retired without uttering a word, leaving the officers to deliberate without restraint. Their conference was brief; their deliberations short. They passed resolutions, by unanimous vote, thanking their chief for the course he had pursued; expressing their unabated attachment to his person and their country; declaring their unshaken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances, until in due time they should be redressed.¹ These proceedings were

ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the Continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature?

"But, here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of that writing.

"With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man, who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep, to the slaughter. I can not, in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion that that honorable body entertains exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and, from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice; that their endeavors to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt. But, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why, then, should we distrust them, and, in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No; most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself (and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me), a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honor to command, will oblige me to declare, in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

"While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favor, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretenses, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice; you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'—*Journals of Congress*, viii., 180–183.

¹ One of the resolutions is expressed in the following strong language:

"Resolved unanimously, That the officers of the American army view with abhorrence and reject with disdain the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order."

Record of Proceedings sent to Congress.

Washington's Opinion of Armstrong's Motives.

His farewell Address.

signed by General Gates, as president of the meeting; and on the 18th, Washington, in general orders, expressed his entire satisfaction. All the papers relating to the affair were transmitted to Congress, and entered at length upon their Journals.¹ March, 1783.

It was in this old building at Newburgh, on the porch of which we are sitting, that Washington wrote his address to the officers, on the occasion just considered; and here, also, he penned his admirable circular letter addressed to the governors of all the states, on disbanding the army. This was his last official communication with these functionaries. "This letter," says Sparks, "is remarkable for its ability, the deep interest it manifests for the officers and soldiers who had fought the battles of their country, the soundness of its principles, and the wisdom of its counsels. Four great points he aims to enforce, as essential in guiding the deliberations of every public body, and as claiming the serious attention of every citizen, namely, an indissoluble union of the states; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper military peace establishment;" and a pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the states which should induce them to forget local prejudices, and incline them to mutual concessions for the advantage of the community. These he calls the pillars by which alone independence and national character can be supported. On each of these topics he remarks at considerable length, with a felicity of style and cogency of reasoning in all respects worthy of the subject. No public address could have been better adapted to the state of the times; and coming from such a source, its influence on the minds of the people must have been effectual and most salutary." The Legislatures that were then in session passed resolves highly commendatory of the public acts of the commander-in-chief; and he received letters from several of the governors, expressing their thanks and gratitude for his long and successful services in the cause of his country. June 8, 1783.

Many of the troops now went home on furlough, and Washington, having leisure, pro-

At that time the author of the anonymous addresses was unknown except to a few; and for forty years there was no certainty in the public mind that Major Armstrong was the writer. That he was generally suspected of being the author, among those who were acquainted with his abilities, is evident from a letter to him written by Colonel Timothy Pickering, in after years, in which he says, that so certain was he, at the time, of the identity of the author, that he endorsed the copy of the address which he received, "Written by Major John Armstrong, Jr." An article appeared in the January number of the *United States Magazine* for 1823, in which the author, understood to be General Armstrong, avowed himself the writer of the Newburgh Addresses. The article in question contains a history of the event we have been just considering, and defends the course of the writer on that occasion with the plea that apparent urgent necessity justified the act. Subsequent events proved the writer to be mistaken in his views, and his proposition to be highly dangerous to the common good. General Armstrong has, consequently, been greatly censured, and his patriotism has been questioned by writers and speakers who have judged him by results instead of by the circumstances in which he was placed. I can see no reason to doubt the purity of his motives and the sincerity of his patriotism. Other men, as we have noticed in a preceding note, who were far above suspicion, held similar views. Unfortunately for his reputation, in this particular, he was the aid-de-camp and confidant of Gates, whose ambition had made him a plotter against Washington. In fact, the commander-in-chief plainly alluded to Gates, when, writing to Hamilton concerning the scheme, he said that some believed it to be "the illegitimate offspring of a person in the army."

It appears that the first president was made acquainted with the authorship of these addresses toward the close of his second administration, some fourteen years after they were penned. His estimate of the motives of the writer may be understood by the following letter, addressed to Armstrong:

"Philadelphia, February 23d, 1797.

"SIR.—Believing that there may be times and occasions on which my opinion of the anonymous letters and the author, as delivered to the army in the year 1783, may be turned to some personal and malignant purpose, I do hereby declare, that I did not, at the time of writing my address, regard you as the author of said letters; and further, that I have since had sufficient reason for believing that the object of the author was just, honorable, and friendly to the country, though the means suggested by him were certainly liable to much misunderstanding and abuse.

"I am, sir, with great regard, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

¹ *Journals of Congress*, vol. viii.

² Washington proposed the establishment of a military academy at West Point as early as April, 1783. His proposition will be hereafter noticed.

³ *Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington*, i., 395.

Washington's Tour to the Northern Battle Fields. Called to Princeton. A Statue ordered by Congress. General Clinton.

ceeded up the Hudson with Governor Clinton to visit the principal fields of military operations at the north. He passed over the battle ground at Stillwater, with Generals Schuyler and Gansevoort, and extended his journey as far northward as Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and westward to Fort Schuyler (now Rome), on the Mohawk. He returned to Newburgh after an absence of nineteen days, where he found a letter from the President of Congress requesting his attendance upon that body, then in session at Princeton, in New Jersey. While he was awaiting the convalescence of Mrs. Washington, and preparing to go, Congress conferred upon the chief the distinguished honor of voting, unanimously, that an equestrian statue of him should be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the direction of the minister of the United States at the court of Versailles, and erected at the place where the residence of Congress should be established.¹ Like other similar memorials authorized by Congress to be made in honor of their servants, this statue has never been constructed.

Upon the lawn before us, now covered with the matted and dull-green grass of autumn, Washington parted with many of his subalterns and soldiers forever, on the day he left the army to attend upon Congress at Princeton. It was an affecting prelude to the final parting with his official companions in arms at Fraunce's tavern, in New York, a few months subsequently, and furnishes a noble subject for the pencil of art. The scenery is beautiful and grand, and here I would fain loiter all the day, musing upon the events which hallow the spot; but the sun has climbed high toward meridian, and I must hasten away to adjacent localities, all of which are full of interest.



James Clinton

I left Newburgh toward noon, and rode down to New Windsor, two miles below, along a fine sandy road upon the beach. The little village, once the rival of Newburgh, is nestled in a pleasant nook near the confluence of Chambers's Creek with the Hudson, on the western rim of the bay. Its sheltered position and fertile acres wooed the exploring emigrants from Ireland, who were seeking a place whereon to pitch their tents on the banks of the Hudson, and here some of them sat down. Among them was Charles Clinton; and at a place called Little Britain, a few miles interior, were born his four sons; two of whom, James and George, were distinguished men of the Revolution. The former was a major general in the army, and the latter a brigadier, and Governor of New York during the contest.

New Windsor claims the distinction of being the birth-place of Governor Dewitt Clinton, a son of General James Clinton;

¹ The following is a description of the proposed statue, as given in the resolution of Congress adopted on the 7th of August, 1783:

"Resolved, That the statue be of bronze: the general to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled with a laurel wreath. The statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, viz., the evacuation of Boston; the capture of the Hessians at Trenton; the battle of Princeton; the action of Monmouth; and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved as follows: The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord 1783, in honor of George Washington, the illustrious commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence."

² A biographical sketch of General Clinton may be found on page 272, vol. i., and also a brief notice of his father on page, 255, vol. i.

A very little Maiden.

Her Dignity.

Plum Point.

Fortifications there.

An Acrostic.

but evidence is adduced to prove that a violent snow storm, which detained his mother at "the Fort," in Deerpark, the residence of her brother, deprived the village of the intended honor.¹ Although denied the distinction of the paternity of a great man, it can boast the residence, for a time, of one of the smallest of women, beautiful, witty, and good. The name of this "pretty, charming little creature" was Anna Brewster; her height, in womanhood, three feet; her symmetry of form perfect; her face sweet and intelligent; her mind active and pure; her extraction truly noble, for her ancestor was Elder Brewster, of the May Flower. Too little to be wooed, too wise to be won, she was loved and admired by every body. She lived a charming maiden until she was seventy-five years old, when she died. Fifty years before, a rustic poet, inspired by her charms during an evening 1844. passed in her company, portrayed her character in verse.² Mrs. Washington, pleased with the sprightly little maiden, invited her, on one occasion, to visit her at head-quarters while the chief was at New Windsor,³ but she declined, believing it to be curiosity rather than respect that prompted the invitation. It was a mistake; but she had through life such a dignified self-respect, that it repelled undue familiarity, and closed all opportunities for the indulgence of prying curiosity.

From New Windsor I rode to Plum Island, or Plum Point, the fine estate of Philip A. Verplanck, Esq. At high tide, this alluvial height, which rises about one hundred and twenty feet above the Hudson, is an island, approached by a narrow causeway from the main, which bridges a rivulet, with a heavy stone arch. Murderer's Creek washes its southwestern border, and a

REMAINS OF FORTIFICATIONS AT PLUM POINT.⁴

marsh and rivulet inclose it upon the land side. Upon a broad, level table-land of some thirty-five acres in extent, stands the mansion of Mr. Verplanck, noted for the beauty and grandeur of the scenery which encompasses it. Accompanied by the proprietor, I strolled down the winding pathway to the base of the steep river bank, where, overgrown by a new forest, are well-preserved remains of a fortification, erected there

¹ See Eager's *History of Orange County*, page 630.

² His poetic effort produced the following

"ACROSTIC.

"A pretty, charming little creature,
Neat and complete in every feature,
Now at New Windsor may be seen,
All beauteous in her air and mien.
Birth and power, wealth and fame,
Rare not to view when her we name:
Every virtue in her shine,
Wisely nice, but not o'er fine.
She has a soul that's great, 'tis said,
Though small's the body of this maid:
Even though the casket is but small,
Reason proclaims the jewel's all."

October 8, 1794.

³ Washington established his head-quarters at New Windsor village, first on the 23d of June, 1779, and again toward the close of 1780, where he remained till the summer of 1781. He lived at a plain Dutch house, long since decayed and demolished. In that humble tenement Lady Washington entertained the most distinguished officers and their ladies, as well as the more obscure who sought her friendship. On leaving New Windsor in June, 1781, Washington established his quarters, for a short time, at Peekskill.

⁴ This view is from the interior of the redoubt looking eastward upon the river. In the distance is seen Pollopel's Island, near the upper entrance to the Highlands, beyond which rise the lofty Beacon Hills, whereon alarm-fires often gleamed during the war.

Redoubt on Plum Point.

Chevaux-de-frise.

Anecdote.

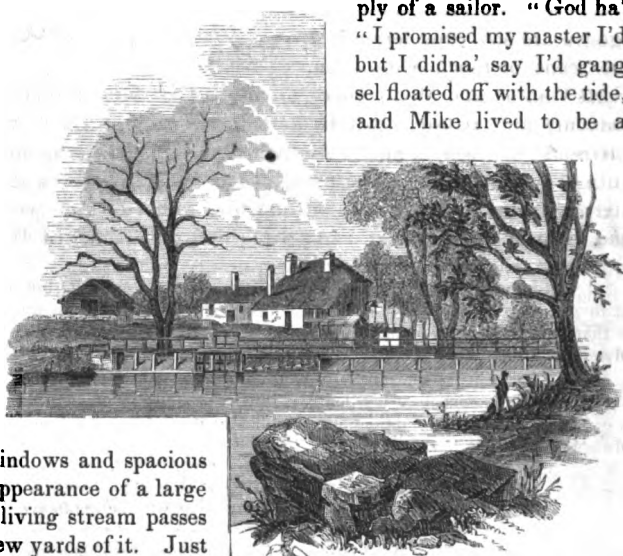
Head-quarters of Greene and Knox.

partly at an early period of the war, and partly when the American army was in the vicinity. It was a redoubt, with a battery of fourteen guns, and was designed to cover strong *chevaux-de-frise* and other obstructions placed in the river, and extending from the flat below Murderer's Creek to Pollopel's Island.¹ It would also rake the river channel at the opening in the Highlands. The *chevaux-de-frise* were constructed under the superintendence of Captain Thomas Machin, in the summer of 1778. Had they and the strong redoubt on Plum Point been in existence a year sooner, the marauding expedition of Vaughan and Wallace, up the Hudson, could not have occurred. The remains of this battery, the old Continental road, and the cinders of the forges, extend along the river bank several hundred feet. The embrasures are also very prominent.

Mr. Verplanck pointed out the remains of the cellar of a log-house, which stood a little above the battery, and belonged to a man named M'Evers, long before the Revolution. M'Evers was a Scotchman, and when about to emigrate to America, he asked his servant, Mike, if he would accompany him. Mike, who was faithful, and much attached to his master, at once consented to go, saying, in illustration of the force of his love, "Indeed, gude mon, I'll follow ye to the gates o' hell, if ye gang there yersel'." The voyage was long and tempestuous, and instead of entering New York harbor by the Narrows, the vessel sailed through Long Island Sound and the East River. At the whirlpool called *Hellgate*, the ship struck upon the *Hog's Back* with a terrible crash. The passengers, in affright, rushed upon deck, and none was more appalled than Mike. "What place is it?" he exclaimed. "*Hellgate*," was the short remembrance on me!" groaned Mike; follow him to the *gate o' hell, through* with him!" The vessel arrived safely in New York, gardener on Plum Point.

A pleasant ride of about three miles westward from Plum Point placed me at the residence of Charles F. Morton, Esq., a picturesque old mansion on the south side of the New Windsor road. It was built about 1735² by John Ellison, one of the first settlers in New Windsor. The material is stone, and its dormer windows and spacious and irregular roof give it the appearance of a large cottage in rural England. A living stream passes through a rocky glen within a few yards of it. Just below is the old mill, erected more than a hundred years ago by the first proprietor; nor has the monotonous music of its stones and hopper yet ceased.

This old mansion was the head-quarters of Generals Greene and Knox while Washington was domiciled at the Hasbrouck House in Newburgh, and it was from hence that the com-

HEAD-QUARTERS OF GREENE AND KNOX.³

¹ According to a survey made by Henry Wisner and Gilbert Livingston in the autumn of 1776, the channel of the river, wherein these *chevaux-de-frise* were placed, was about fifty feet deep, and eighty chains, or about five thousand two hundred and eighty feet broad. The channel east of Pollopel's Island was not deep enough for the passage of ships of war.

² One of the fire-places has a cast-iron back, on which, in raised letters, is the date 1734.

³ This view is from the turnpike road, looking southeast. The water in front is a mill-pond, over the dam of which passes a foot-bridge. The mill is hidden by the trees in the ravine below. This side was originally the rear of the house, the old Goshen road passing upon the other side. The old front is a story and a half high. Captain Morton, the proprietor, is a son of the late General Jacob Morton, of New York city.

Ball at the Quarters of Greene and Knox.

Signatures of young Ladies.

Washington on Dancing.

The Square.

mander-in-chief, accompanied by those generals, after taking some refreshments, rode to the "New Building," to attend the meeting of officers convened by Washington on account of the anonymous addresses just considered. Here the accomplished Lucy Knox gave her choice *soirees*, graced by the presence of Mrs. Washington, and other ladies of taste and refinement with which that region abounded; and here, if tradition is truthful, Washington opened a ball on one occasion, having for his partner Maria Colden, then one of the pretty belles of Orange county.¹

I dined with Mr. Morton in the old drawing-room, which, with the other apartments, is preserved by him, with scrupulous care, in the original style. The ceilings are high, and the wainscoting displays architectural taste. The heavy window-sashes, with their small squares of glass, remain; very few of the panes have been broken and replaced since the Revolution. On one of them, inscribed by a diamond, are the names of three young ladies of the "olden time" (Sally Jansen, Gitty Winkoop, and Maria Colden), one of whom was the reputed partner of Washington at the ball. May not these names have been written on that occasion? Believing it probable, I copied the signatures, and present them here for the gratification of the curious and the sentimental.

Sally Jansen

Gitty Winkoop

Maria Colden

In October, 1777, the vicinage we are now considering was the scene of much commotion.

Fort Clinton and Montgomery, among the Hudson Highlands, fell beneath one heavy blow, suddenly and artfully dealt by a British force from New York, and the smitten garrisons were scattered like frightened sheep upon the mountains; not, however, until they had disputed the possession of the fortresses with the besiegers long and desperately. General James Clinton and his brother George were in command of the fortresses, and escaped up the river. At a place afterward called *Washington Square*,² about four

October 6, 1777.

¹ I was informed by the venerable Mrs. Hamilton that Washington *never danced*. He often attended balls by invitation, and sometimes *walked* the figures, but she never saw him attempt to dance. Probably no lady of that day, if we except Mrs. Knox, was more often at parties and social gatherings with Washington than Mrs. Hamilton.

It may not be inappropriate here to give a copy of a letter on the subject of dancing, written by Washington a short time before his death. It was in reply to an invitation from a committee of gentlemen of Alexandria to attend the dancing assemblies at that place. I copied it from the original in the Alexandria Museum.

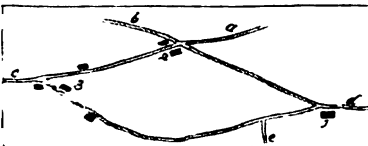
"To Messrs. Jonathan Swift, George Deneale, William Newton, Robert Young, Charles Alexander, Jr., James H. Hoole, Managers.

"Mount Vernon, 12th November, 1799.

"GENTLEMEN,—Mrs. Washington and myself have been honored with your polite invitation to the assemblies of Alexandria this winter, and thank you for this mark of your attention. But, alas! our dancing days are no more. We wish, however, all those who have a relish for so agreeable and innocent an amusement all the pleasure the season will afford them; and I am, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."



² "The Square" is a small district of country, and so called from the fact that the public roads ran in such a direction as to form a diamond-shaped inclosure, as seen in the diagram, in which *a* is the road to Newburgh; *b*, to Goshen; *c*, to Little Britain; and *d*, to New Windsor. - 1 denotes the house of Mrs. Falls; 2, the quarters of St. Clair and Gates; * and, 3, the quarters of La Fayette.

¹ There are two ancient houses at this angle of "The Square," but I could not ascertain which was occupied by those officers. It is probable, however, that the one on the northwest side of the road, which is supposed to have been Edmonston's, was the one.

A Spy in the American Camp.

Dispatch in a silver Bullet.

Name and Fate of the Spy.

miles west of the village of New Windsor, Governor Clinton established his head-quarters at the house of a Mrs. Falls, and there the dispersed troops were collected, preparatory to their marching for the defense of Kingston.

At about noon on the 10th of October, 1777.

a horseman, apparently in great haste, approached the disordered camp. The sentinel on duty challenged him, when he replied, "I am a friend, and wish to see General Clinton." The horseman was a messenger, bearing a secret dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Burgoyne, the latter being then hedged round by the Americans at Saratoga. The messenger supposed the American forces in the Highlands to be utterly broken and destroyed, and having never heard of a *general Clinton*¹

MRS. FALLS'S.¹

in the patriot army, he believed himself to be among his friends. He was conducted to Clinton's quarters, and, when ushered into his presence, he perceived his mistake. "I am lost!" he exclaimed, in a half subdued voice, and immediately cast something into his mouth and swallowed it. Suspicion was aroused, and he was arrested. Dr. Moses Higby, who was then residing near Mrs. Falls's, was summoned. He administered to the prisoner a powerful dose of tartar emetic, which soon brought from his stomach a silver bullet of an oval form. Though closely watched, the prisoner succeeded in swallowing it a second time. He now refused the emetic, but yielded when Governor Clinton threatened to hang him upon a tree and search his stomach by the aid of the surgeon's knife. The bullet again appeared. It was a curiously-wrought hollow sphere, fastened together in the center by a compound screw. Within it was found a piece of thin paper, on which was written the following note:²

"Fort Montgomery, October 8, 1777.

"*Nous y voici*,³ and nothing now between us and Gates. I sincerely hope this little success of ours may facilitate your operations. In answer to your letter of the 28th of September, by C. C.,⁴ I shall only say, I can not presume to order, or even advise, for reasons obvious. I heartily wish you success.

"Faithfully yours,

H. CLINTON.

"GEN. BURGoyNE."

The prisoner's guilt was clear; *out of his own mouth* he was condemned. Governor Clinton soon afterward marched to Esopus, or Kingston, taking the spy with him. At Hurley, a few miles from Kingston, he was tried, condemned, and hanged upon an apple-tree near the old church, while the village of Esopus was in flames, lighted by the marauding enemy.⁵

¹ This house, now (1850) owned by Mr. Samuel Moore, is a frame building, and stands on the right side of the New Windsor road, at the southeastern angle of "The Square." It is surrounded by locust and large balm-of-Gilead trees. There Major Armstrong wrote the famous *Newburgh Addresses*, and there those in the secret held their private conferences.

² The British officers in this country adhered pertinaciously to the resolution of not dignifying the *rebel* officers with their assumed titles. They were called Mr. Washington, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Greene, &c. It is amusing to look over the Tory newspapers of the day, particularly Rivington's *Gazette*, and observe the flippant and attempted witty manner in which the American generalissimo was styled *Mister Washington*.

³ Letter of Governor Clinton to the Council of Safety, dated "Head-quarters, Mrs. Falls's, 11th October, 1777."

⁴ "We come." I copied this note from a transcript in the handwriting of Governor Clinton, which is among the manuscripts of General Gates in the library of the New York Historical Society. It is endorsed "Sir Henry Clinton to J. Burgoyne, 8th of October, 1777, found in a silver bullet." That identical bullet was presented to the New York Historical Society, a few years ago, by General James Tallmadge; through the carelessness of its then secretary, it was lost.

⁵ Captain Campbell. See page 79, vol. i.

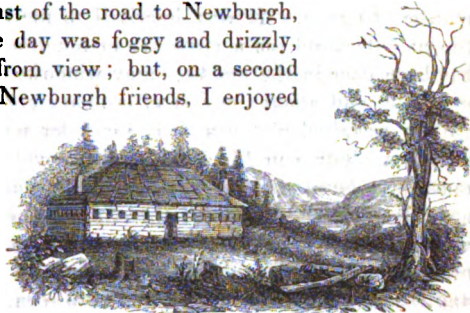
⁶ The name of the spy was Daniel Taylor. He was a major in the British service. The father of the

Site and probable Form of the *Temple*.

View from it.

The Camp Ground and Vicinity.

Leaving Mr. Morton's, I proceeded to visit the site of the "New Building," or *Temple*, as it was called, where the meeting of officers was held. It is in a field now belonging to Mr. William McGill (formerly to the late Jabez Atwood), upon a commanding eminence about one hundred rods east of the road to Newburgh, and two miles northward of Morton's. The day was foggy and drizzly, and the distant scenery was entirely hidden from view; but, on a second visit, upon a bright summer day, with some Newburgh friends, I enjoyed the magnificent prospect to be obtained from that observatory. On the southeast loomed the lofty Highlands, cleft by the Hudson; North and South Beacons, and Butter Hill, rising above their hundred lesser companions, were grouped in a picture of magnificence and beauty. Glittering in meridian sunlight were the white houses of Cornwall and Canterbury; and far up the slopes of the mountains, stretching westward to Woodcock Hill, yellow grain-fields and acres of green maize variegated the landscape. In the far distance, on the northwest, was the upper Shawangunk range, and an occasional glimpse was caught of the blue high peaks of the Catskills, sixty miles northward. Across the meadows westward we could distinctly trace the line of

THE TEMPLE.¹

the old causeway, constructed while the army was encamped there; and in the groves which skirt the slopes (whither we soon afterward went) we found the remains of several huts that were built for the use of the soldiers.

The *Temple* was a large, temporary structure, erected by command of Washington for the several purposes of a chapel for the army, a lodge-room for the fraternity of Free-masons which existed

VIEW OF THE CAMP GROUND.²

late Judge Woodward, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, acted as judge-advocate on the occasion. On page 389, vol. i., I have alluded to this occurrence, and remarked that Kingston was the place of the execution of the spy. Hurley was then included in the township of Kingston.

¹ This view is from the site of the *Temple*, looking southeast. In the distance is seen the opening of the Highlands into Newburgh Bay. On the right is Butter Hill, and near it is the village of Cornwall. The form and appearance of the *Temple* was drawn from the description given by Major Burnet, and doubtless has a general resemblance to the original.

² This is from a painting by Tice, in my possession. The land on which the encampment on the west side of the meadow was, is now owned chiefly by Gilbert Tompkins and Nathaniel Moore. This view is from the land of Mr. Tompkins, looking east-southeast. On the slopes seen in the foreground, and on the margin of the meadow beyond, Van Cortlandt's New York regiment, and the Maryland and Virginia troops were encamped. On the east side of the meadow, upon the most distant elevation in the middle ground, the New England troops were stationed. On the slope toward the right of that elevation stood the *Temple*. In the distance is seen the upper entrance of the Hudson into the Highlands. The meadow was formerly called Beaver Dam Swamp, from the circumstance that beavers constructed dams at the lower extremity, causing the waters to overflow the low grounds. The Americans built a causeway across, and a stone dike, or *levee*, on the west side, to protect their parade. I saw the remains of this causeway; its site is marked by the light line across the flat. About a quarter of a mile north of the site of the *Temple* is an ancient stone house, seen in the picture, the only dwelling near in the time of the war. It was built by Samuel P. Brewster in 1768, as appears from an inscribed stone in the front wall. It was owned by a Mr. Moore. Its present occupant is Francis Weyant.



The Temple as described by Major Burnet.

Two living Patriots.

Visit to Major Burnet.

among the officers, and for public meetings of various kinds. When erected, it was called *The Temple of Virtue*; when dedicated, the suffix was properly omitted, and it was named simply *The Temple*. The orgies held on the occasion of its dedication disrobed it of its mantle of purity. It was described to me by Major Burnet, who is still living (1851) in the neighborhood, as a structure of rough-hewn logs, oblong square in form, one story in height, a door in the middle, many windows, and a broad roof. The windows were square, unglazed, and about the size of ordinary port-holes in a man-of-war. There was a small gallery, or raised platform, at one end, for speakers and presiding officers. We traced, near an old apple-tree in Mr. McGill's field, evident lines of the foundation of the building. It must have been some eighty feet long and forty wide. On the crown of the hill northward are traces of fire-places, and there, at the beginning of the present century, a long building was standing. Some have supposed this to have been the *Temple*; it was only the barracks for the New England troops stationed there. In a few years those faint land-marks and that old apple-tree will be no more seen. The spot is consecrated by one of the loftiest exhibitions of true patriotism with which our Revolutionary history abounds. There love of country, and devotion to exalted principles, achieved a wonderful triumph over the seductive power of self-love and individual interest, goaded into rebellion against higher motives by the lash of apparent injustice and personal suffering. It is, indeed, a hallowed spot; and if the old stone house at Newburgh is worthy of the fostering regard of the state because it was the head-quarters of the beloved Washington, surely the site of the *Temple*,

where he achieved his most glorious victory, deserves some monument to perpetuate the memory of its place and associations.

At Little Britain, a few miles from the *Temple*, and within a quarter of a mile of each other, reside two of the sons of Orange county, who loved and served Washington and their country in the war for independence. These are ROBERT BURNET and USUAL KNAPP. Of the once long list of Revolutionary pensioners in Orange county, these only remain, honored living witnesses of the prowess of those who wrestled successfully for freedom. I left the *Temple* field on the occasion of my first visit with the intention of seeing these patriot fathers, but missing the proper road, and the night shadows coming thickly with the fog and rain, I made my way back to Newburgh.

Kind friends afterward procured likenesses and autographs of both for me.¹ Better than this, I subsequently enjoyed the pleasure of a personal interview with Major Burnet at his residence. It was on the occasion of my second visit to the camp ground. At dark, on that

August 1,
1850.

sultry day, we made our way up a green lane, flanked by venerable willows—a few cast down by a recent tornado—and sat down in the spacious hall of the old soldier's man-



Robert Burnet

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Charles U. Cushman, of Newburgh, for a daguerreotype, from life, of Major Burnet, from which the picture above was copied. The likeness of Mr. Knapp is from an excellent painting of the almost centenarian's head, by Mr. Charles W. Tice, an accomplished self-taught artist of Newburgh, who kindly furnished me with a copy for my use.

Public Life of Major Burnet and Sergeant Knapp.

Washington's Letter to Greene.

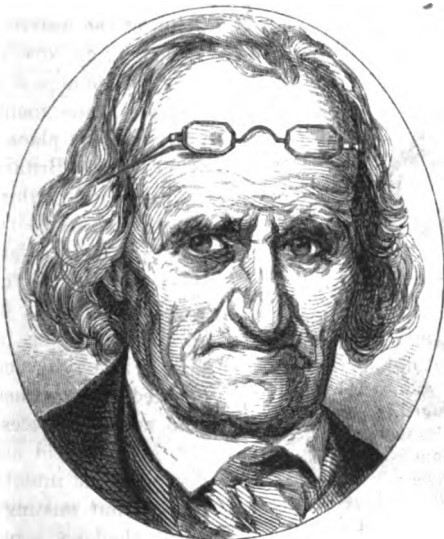
sion. He had just retired to his bed-room, but soon appeared, standing before us as erect and manly as if in the prime of his life, although then in his ninetieth year.

The father of Major Burnet was a Scotchman, his mother a native of Ireland. He was a lieutenant in Captain Stevens's company, and commanded Redoubt No. 3, at West Point, at the time of Arnold's defection. He afterward attained to the rank of major in the service, and was one of the delegates who attended the meeting of officers at the *Temple*.¹ He continued in the army, under the immediate command of the chief, until the disbanding of the forces in 1783. When the Americans marched into the city of New York as the British evacuated it, he commanded the rear guard. He told me that he remem- November 25, 1783.
bered distinctly the dignified appearance of Washington, when, with Governor Clinton and other civil and military officers, he stood in front of an old stone house,² about two miles below Kingsbridge, while the troops, with uncovered heads, passed by. He saw Cunningham, the wicked provost-marshal at New York, strongly guarded by his friends, in the march to the place of embarkation, while the exasperated populace were eager to seize and punish him according to his deservings.

Major Burnet was also present when Washington finally parted with his officers at Fraunce's' tavern, in New York. How could the heart do otherwise than beat quick and strong with deep feeling, while conversing face to face with one who grasped the hand of the chief on that occasion, so pathetically described by Marshall and others! The lips of the patriot quivered with emotion while speaking of that scene, and I perceived my own eye dimmed with the rheum of sympathetic sentiment. Major Burnet has seen, what few men in modern times have beheld, the living representatives of seven generations of his kindred: his great-grandfather, grandfather, father, himself, his chil-

dren, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

It was late when we said farewell to Major Burnet—too late to visit his neighbor, Mr. Knapp, who was ninety-one years of age, and quite feeble. From another I learned the principal events of his public life, and obtained his autograph, a facsimile of which is here given, with his portrait. Mr. Knapp was born in Connecticut, in 1759. He joined the army when about eighteen years of age. His first experience in warfare was in the battle at White Plains; afterward he served under General Wooster in the skirmish at Ridgefield.⁴ When La Fayette



¹ Washington, in a letter to General Greene, dated "Newburgh, 6th February, 1782," refers to Mr. Burnet as follows: "I intended to write you a long letter on sundry matters; but Major Burnet came unexpectedly at a time when I was preparing for the celebration of the day, and was just going to a review of the troops previous to the *feu de joie*.* As he is impatient, from an apprehension that the sleighing may fail, and as he can give you the occurrences of this quarter more in detail than I have time to do, I will refer you to him."

² This stone house is yet standing. A drawing of it may be found in another part of this work. It has other interesting reminiscences.

³ This tavern, now (1850) the Broad Street Hotel, is well preserved. It stands on the corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. A drawing of it may be found in another part of this work.

⁴ See page 408, vol. i.

* The anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance between the United States and France is here alluded to.

enrolled his corps of light infantry, Mr. Knapp became a member, and with them fought in the battle at Monmouth, in June, 1778.¹ He was soon afterward chosen a member of the *Commander-in-chief's Guard*, and served faithfully as a sergeant therein for more than two years. He left the service in 1782, bearing the approbation of Washington. He is believed to be the only surviving member of that well-disciplined corps of the Revolution, *WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD*.² Although feeble in body, I was informed that his mind was

¹ Many of the muskets which belonged to that corps are now preserved in the *Relic Room* of the Headquarters at Newburgh. La Fayette purchased them with his own money in France, and presented them to his favorite corps.

² *The Commander-in-chief's Guard*, commonly called *The Life Guard*, was a distinct corps of mounted men, attached to the person of the commander-in-chief, but never spared in battle. It was organized in 1776, soon after the siege of Boston, while the American army was encamped upon York or Manhattan Island, near the city of New York. It consisted of a major's command—one hundred and eighty men. Caleb Gibbs, of Rhode Island, was its first chief, and bore the title of *captain commandant*. He held that office until the close of 1779, when he was succeeded by William Colfax, one of his lieutenants. Gibbs's lieutenants were Henry P. Livingston, of New York, William Colfax, of New Jersey, and Benjamin Goymes, of Virginia. Colonel Nicholas, of Virginia, was a lieutenant under Colfax. The latter officer remained in command of the corps until the disbanding of the army in 1783. The terms of enlistment into the *Guard* were the same as those into any other corps of the regular army, except in the matter of qualification. They were selected with special

Caleb Gibbs
Henry P. Livingston
+
William Colfax
Benjamin Goymes

SIGNATURES OF THE OFFICERS OF WASHINGTON'S
LIFE GUARD.*

reference to their physical, moral, and intellectual character; and it was considered a mark of peculiar distinction to belong to the *Commander-in-chief's Guard*. From George W. P. Custis, Esq., of Arlington House, Virginia, I learned many particulars respecting this corps. Mr. Custis is a grandson of Lady Washington, and the adopted son of the general. He was acquainted with several of the officers and privates of the *Guard*, distinctly remembers their uniform, and is familiar with their history. He owns a flag which once belonged to the *Guard*. It is now in the museum at Alexandria, on the Potomac, where I sketched the annexed representation of it. The flag is white silk, on which the device is neatly painted. One of the *Guard* is seen holding a horse, and is in the act of receiving a flag from the Genius of Liberty, who is personified as a woman leaning upon the Union shield, near which is the American eagle. The motto of the corps, "CONQUER OR DIE," is upon a ribbon. The uniform of the *Guard* consisted of a blue coat with white facings, white waistcoat and breeches, black half gaiters, a cocked hat with a blue and white feather. They carried muskets, and occasionally side arms.

The corps varied in numbers at different periods. At first it consisted of one hundred and eighty men. During the winter of 1779–80, when the American army under Washington was cantoned at Morristown, in close proximity to the enemy, it was increased to two hundred and fifty. In the spring it was reduced to its original number; and in 1783, the last year of service, it consisted of only sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates. Care was always taken to have all the states, from which the Continental army was supplied with troops, represented in this corps.

Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City, kindly allowed me to copy the names of the *Guard*, contained in an original Return in his possession, bearing the date of March 2, 1783. It is signed by Colfax, and on the back is an endorsement in the handwriting of Washington, a fac simile of which is given on the next page. I found in the archives of the State Department another Return, dated June 4th, 1783.† It is one of the last Re-



BANNER OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD.

* I copied these signatures from the original oaths of allegiance, signed at Valley Forge, in the spring of 1778, by each officer of the Continental army, and of the militia then in service there. These oaths are carefully preserved in the archives of the State Department at Washington City.

† The following are the names of the non-commissioned officers and privates, from the various states, who constituted the *Commander-in-chief's Guard* on the 4th of June, 1783:

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Ebenezer Carlton and Samuel Smith, *privates*.

Sergeant Knapp. Return to Newburgh. Departure for Fishkill. Return of the Commander-in-chief's Guard

quite active and clear respecting the war-scenes of his youth. He delights "to fight his battles o'er again," and is pleased when,

"With cherub smile, the prattling boy,
Who on the vet'ran's breast reclines,
Has thrown aside the favorite toy,
And round his tender finger twines
Those scattered locks, that, with the flight
Of ninety years are snowy white;
And, as a scar arrests his view,
He cries, 'Grandpa, what wounded you?'"

HANNAH F. GOULD.

Broad flashes of sheet lightning, and rumbling thunder, on the van of an approaching shower, made us use the whip freely when we left the dark lane of the patriot. We reached Newburgh at eleven o'clock, wearied and supperless, the tempest close upon us, but in time to escape a drenching. This, be it remembered, was on the occasion of my second visit to the camp ground in New Windsor, in the fervid summer time. Let us resume our narrative of the autumnal tour.

The mist and clouds were gone the next morning. At six o'clock I crossed the Hudson to Fishkill landing, and at half past seven breakfasted at the village, five miles eastward. The air was a little frosty, but as soon as the sun appeared above the hills, the warm breath and soft light of the Indian summer spread their genial influence over the face of nature, and awakened corresponding delight in the heart and mind of the traveler. The country through which the highway passes is exceedingly picturesque. It skirts the deep, rich valleys of Matteawan and Glenham, where flows a clear stream from a distant mountain lake and bubbling spring,¹ turning, in its course, many mill-wheels and thousands of spindles set up along its banks. On the south the lofty range of the eastern Highlands, rocky and abrupt near their summits, come down with gentle declivities, and mingle their rugged forms with the green undulations of the valley. Up their steep slopes, cultivated

turns made to the commander-in-chief, for the army was disbanded soon afterward. The roll is precisely the same as that in possession of Mr. Force, with the exception of the omission of the names of John Dent, *corporal*, and Samuel Wortman, *private*, in the June Return. Dennis Moriarty, who was a *corporal* in March, appears as a *private* in June. The latter Return is signed by Colfax, with his certification that "The above list includes the whole of the Guard." It is endorsed, "Return of the non-commissioned officers and privates in the Commander-in-chief's Guard, who are engaged to serve during the war."

I have been thus particular respecting this corps, because history is almost silent upon the subject, and because the living witnesses, now almost extinct, will take with them the unwritten records of the *Guard* into the oblivion of the grave.

¹ The chief sources of this beautiful stream are Whaley's Pond, situated high among the broken hills of the eastern Highlands, on the borders of Pawlings, and a spring at the foot of the mountains in the Clove in Beckman.

*Return
of the Com^d in Chief's
Guard
2^d March 1783*

MASSACHUSETTS.—John Phillips, *sergeant*; John Herrick, *corporal*; Isaac Manhing, *sfr*; Joseph Vinal, John Barton, Joel Crosby, *privates*.

RHODE ISLAND.—Davis Brown, *sergeant*; Randall Smith, Reuben Thompson, William Tanner, Solomon Daley, *privates*.

CONNECTICUT.—Elihu Hancock, *corporal*; Diah Manning (see notice of him on page 39), *drum major*; Jacob Goodrich and Frederic Park, *sfrs*; Peter Holt, Jedediah Brown, Levi Deane, James Dady, Henry Wakelee, Elijah Lawrence, *privates*.

NEW YORK.—John Robinson, Jacob Schriver, Edward Wiley, John Cole, *privates*.

NEW JERSEY.—Jonathan Moore, Benjamin Eaton, Stephen Hatfield, Lewis Campbell, Samuel Bailey, William Martin, Laben Lander, Robert Blair, Benjamin Bonnel, *privates*; John Fenton, *drummer*.

PENNSYLVANIA.—William Hunter and John Arnold, *sergeants*; Enoch Wells, *corporal*; Cornelius Wilson, *drummer*; Charles Dougherty, William Kamehan, Robert Findley, John Dowther, John Patton, Hugh Coll, James Hughes, John Finch, Dennis Moriarty, John Montgomery, Daniel Hymer, Thomas Forrest, William Kennessesey, Adam Foutz, George Fisher, *privates*.

MARYLAND.—Edward Weed, Jeremiah Drakel, Thomas Gillen, *privates*.

VIRGINIA.—Roepe Mitchell, *sergeant*; Lewis Flemister, William Coram, William Pace, Joseph Timberlake, *privates*.

Fishkill Village.

The "Wharton House."

Enoch Crosby.

The "Spy Unmasked."

fields have crept like ivy upon some gray old tower; and there, tinted with all the glories of autumn, they seemed to hang in the soft morning sunlight like rich gobelins in the chamber of royalty.

Fishkill village lies pleasantly in the lap of a plain near the foot of the mountains, and is a place of much interest to the student of our history. Securely sheltered by high mountains from invasion from below, and surrounded by a fertile country, it was chosen as a place of safe depository for military stores; for the confinement of Tory prisoners and others captured by strategy or in partisan skirmishes upon the *Neutral Ground*, in West Chester; and, for a while, as the place of encampment of a portion of the Continental army, and the quiet deliberations of the state Legislature.¹ The barracks were about half a mile south of the village, extending along the line of the road, from the residence of Isaac Van Wyck, branches eastward from the turnpike.



THE WHARTON HOUSE.

Esq., to the foot of the mountains. The headquarters of the officers were at Mr. Van Wyck's, then the property of a Mr. Wharton. From this circumstance it is known as "The Wharton House." The burial-place of the soldiers is at the foot of the mountains, where a road



This vicinity is the scene of many of the most thrilling events portrayed by Cooper in his "*Spy; a Tale of the Neutral Ground*." In the Wharton House, Enoch Crosby, the alleged reality of the novelist's *fictitious* Harvey Birch, was subjected to a mock trial by the Committee of Safety, and then confined in irons in the old Dutch church in the village. Crosby engaged in the "secret service" of his country in the autumn of 1776, and eminent were his personal achievements in making revelations to his Whig friends of the movements and plans of the Tories. At that period, secret enemies were more to be feared than open foes; among these, in West Chester and the southern portions of Dutchess, Crosby mingled freely, for a long time, without incurring their distrust. While on one of his excursions, he solicited lodgings for the night at the house of a woman who proved to be a Tory. From her he learned that a company of Loyalists were forming in the neighborhood to march to

¹ The Marquis de Chastellux, who visited Fishkill in the autumn of 1780, says, in his interesting narrative, "This town, in which there are not more than fifty houses in the space of two miles, has been long the principal dépôt of the American army. It is there they have placed their magazines, their hospitals, their work-shops, &c.; but all these form a town of themselves, composed of handsome large barracks, built in the wood at the foot of the mountains; for the Americans, like the Romans in many respects, have hardly any other winter quarters than wooden towns or barricaded camps, which may be compared to the *hiemalia* of the Romans."—*Travels in North America*, i., 54.

The war-sword of Washington, carefully preserved in a glass case in the National Museum at Washington City, was manufactured by J. Bailey, in Fishkill, and bears his name. His shop was yet in existence when I was there, but used as a stable. It was demolished in 1849. A drawing of the sword, and of the staff which Franklin bequeathed to Washington, may be found in another part of this work.

² This picture is from a sketch from life by Captain H. L. Barnum, the author of a small, thin volume, entitled *The Spy Unmasked*, dedicated to James Fennimore Cooper, Esq. It contains the memoirs of Enoch Crosby, who, the author asserts, was the original of Mr. Cooper's "Harvey Birch." The narratives were taken from Crosby's own lips, in short-hand, by Captain Barnum. Attempts have been made to cast discredit upon the work; but Doctor White, of Fishkill, who kindly accompanied me to the localities in that vicinity, assured me that his father, an aged man still living, was well acquainted with Crosby, and says the narrative of Barnum is substantially correct. Enoch Crosby was a native of Harwich, Barnstable county, in Massachusetts, where he was born on the 4th of January, 1750. During his infancy his parents went to

Exploits of Enoch Crosby.

Incidents of his Life.

Ancient Dutch Church.

Fishkill Village.

New York and join the British army. He became excessively loyal, and, agreeing to en-

DUTCH CHURCH, FISHKILL.³

list with them, he obtained the unbounded confidence of the captain, who revealed to him all his plans. That night, when all was quiet, Crosby left his bed stealthily, hastened to White Plains, where the Committee of Safety resided,¹ communicated the secrets of the expedition to them, and was back to his lodgings, unobserved, before daylight. At Crosby's suggestion, a meeting of the company was held the following evening, and while in session, the house was surrounded by a band of Whigs, sent for the purpose by the Committee of Safety, and the inmates were all made prisoners. They were conveyed to Fishkill, and confined in manacles in the old stone church, one of the relics of the Revolution yet remaining. The Committee of Safety, who had come up to try them, were at the Wharton House. After an examination, the prisoners were all remanded to prison, Crosby among the

the State of New York, and settled in Southeast, in Dutchess (now Putnam) county. In the midst of the noble and picturesque scenery of that region his childhood was passed. He learned the trade of a shoemaker. When the Revolution broke out, he laid aside his lapstone and last, and shouldered a musket. He was then residing at Danbury, and was one of the hundred men before mentioned, who, in 1775, marched to Lake Champlain, and were engaged in the battles in that quarter until Quebec was stormed. After his return, Crosby remained quiet for a while, and then became engaged in the "secret service." He caused many Tory companies to fall into the hands of the Whigs, and on such occasions he was usually captured, suffered imprisonment, but was generally allowed to escape. At length his successful exits from durance excited the suspicion of the Tories, and Crosby, deeming it unsafe to mingle with them longer, joined the detachment of the Continental army under Heath, then stationed in the Highlands. When his term of service expired, he returned to Southeast, where he cultivated a small farm, until his death in 1835. Captain Barnum asserts that the *plan* of Cooper's *Spy* was conceived at the house of John Jay, at Bedford, in West Chester county. Mr. Jay was one of the Committee of Safety who employed Crosby, and was necessarily acquainted with his exploits. Crosby was a witness at a court in New York city in 1827, and was recognized by an old gentleman, who introduced him to the audience as the original of "Harvey Birch."* The fact became noised abroad. The *Spy*, dramatized, was then in course of performance at one of the theaters; Crosby was invited to attend; his acceptance was announced; and that evening a crowded audience greeted the old soldier. Our gifted countrywoman, Miss Anne C. Lynch, has written thus doubtfully

"ON A PICTURE OF HARVEY BIRCH.

"I know not if thy noble worth
My country's annals claim,
For in her brief, bright history,
I have not read thy name.

"I know not if thou e'er didst live,
Save in the vivid thought
Of him who chronicled thy life,
With silent suffering fraught.

"Yet in thy history I see
Full many a great soul's lot,
Who joins the martyr-army's ranks,
That the world knoweth not."

¹ The Committee of Safety then consisted of Messrs. Jay, Platt, Duer, and Sackett, distinguished patriots during the Revolution.

² This is from a pencil sketch by Miss Newlin, taken from the yard, looking southwest, the same point

* In a monthly historical work, published at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1823, by Jacob B. Moore, Esq., late librarian of the New York Historical Society, is a brief biographical sketch of David Gray, who was a "spy" of the "Neutral Ground." The writer says, "The incidents of his life correspond in many particulars with the character of Harvey Birch, in the popular novel of the 'Spy.'" This was written six years before the publication of "The Spy Unmasked."

Escape of Crosby.

His Exploits at Teller's Point.

A very old Man and rejected Lover.

Trinity Church.

rest. By apparent accident he was left alone with the committee a few minutes, and a plan of escape was devised. He effected it through a window at the northwest corner of the church, which was hidden by a willow. On reaching the ground, he divested himself of his loose manacles; and with the speed of a deer he rushed by the sentinels, and escaped unhurt to a swamp, followed by three or four bullets, fired at random in the gloom. He was made a prisoner, with Tories, twice afterward, but managed to escape.

Several British and Hessian soldiers were at one time prisoners in the old stone church. The former were captured by stratagem at Teller's Point, near the mouth of the Croton River; the latter were stragglers, who fell in with a party of Loyalists near Yonkers, on the Neutral Ground. The British soldiers were captured by Crosby and a few men who composed part of a detachment under Colonel Van Cortlandt, then stationed on the east side of the Hudson to watch operations upon the Neutral Ground. While they were near Teller's Point, a British sloop of war sailed up the river and cast anchor in the channel opposite. Crosby and six others proceeded to the Point, five of whom, with himself, concealed themselves in the bushes; the other, dressed in infantry uniform, paraded the beach. The officers on the vessel observed him, and eleven men were dispatched in a boat to capture him. When the Englishmen landed, the American took to his heels. Unsuspicious of danger, they followed, when Crosby and his five men, making a noise in the bushes as if half a regiment was there, rushed out and bade the enemy surrender. Deceived and alarmed, they complied without firing a shot. The next day they were prisoners in the stone church in Fishkill.

Before visiting the Wharton House, I called upon the Reverend Mr. Kip, the pastor of the old church. He kindly allowed me to examine the records of the society, which, until a late period, were made in the Dutch language. They extend back to 1730, at which time, and for many years afterward, the church at Fishkill and another at Poughkeepsie were united, with the title of "The Parish Church at Fishkill and Poughkeepsie." I could find no account of the building of the church, but there is reason to believe that it was erected about the year 1725. Mr. Kip showed me a silver tankard, belonging to the communion-service of the church, which was presented to the society by Samuel Verplanck, Esq., chiefly for the purpose of commemorating, by an inscription upon it, a resident Norwegian, who died at the extraordinary age of six score and eight years.¹

I passed half an hour at the Wharton House, and, returning to the village, sketched the old English church (now called Trinity) by the way. It stands upon the west side of the road, in the suburbs of the village, and in form is about the same as it was when it was used as an hospital for the

TRINITY CHURCH.²

of view from whence I made a drawing, less pleasing to myself than the one kindly furnished me by the fair artist. The church is built of rough-hewn stone, stuccoed on three sides.

¹ The following is a copy of the inscription: "Presented by Samuel Verplanck, Esq., to the First Reformed Dutch Church in the town of Fishkill, to commemorate Mr. Englebert Huff, by birth a Norwegian. in his lifetime attached to the life guards of the Prince of Orange, afterward King William III. of England. He resided for a number of years in this country, and died, with unblemished reputation, at Fishkill, 21st of March, 1765, aged 128 years."

It is related of Huff, that when he was a hundred and twenty years old he made love to a pretty girl of twenty. She already had an accepted lover of her own age, and of course rejected the suit of the Nestor. The old suitor was indignant at the refusal. He thought he had the best right to claim the heart and hand of the maiden, for he had a hundred years more experience than "the foolish boy," and knew better how to treat a wife than the interfering stripling.

² This picture is also from a pencil sketch by Miss Newlin.

Printing of the first Constitution of the State of New York.

Head-quarters of Baron Steuben.

Anecdote of the Baron.

sick, and as a meeting-place of the flying Legislature of New York, when it adjourned from White Plains to Fishkill. According to the records, the session here commenced on the 3d of September, 1776. A few years since, while digging a grave in the yard, the sexton discovered a skeleton, with bits of scarlet cloth and a brass button, the remains, doubtless, of a British soldier, who was buried in his uniform.

An interesting bibliographic fact, connected with Fishkill, was communicated to me by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. I have already noticed the harassing circumstances under which the first republican Constitution of the State of New York was elaborated, discussed, and adopted; the Legislature retiring before the approach of British bayonets, first to Harlem, then to Kingsbridge, Yonkers, White Plains, Fishkill, and Kingston. "The Constitution of the State of New York," says Mr. Verplanck, "was printed in 1777, and was the first, as well as the most important book, ever printed in the state. The people could find but one press in their domain with which to print this work of their representatives. It was done at Fishkill, by Samuel Loudon, who had been a Whig editor and printer in the city of New York, and who had retired with his press to Fishkill, where was the chief deposit of stores, hospitals, &c., of the northern army of the United States." Mr. Verplanck possesses a copy of this precious piece of American typography. They have become almost as scarce as the Sibylline Books, and quite as relatively valuable, for the principles therein embodied foreshadowed the destiny of the commonwealth. Unlike Tarquin the Proud, the possessor values it above all price.

I left the village toward noon, and, taking a more northerly route for the ferry, visited the residence of the late Judge Verplanck, situated in a beautiful, isolated spot, about a mile from the east bank of the Hudson, and two miles northeast of Fishkill landing. It is approached from the highway by a winding carriage track which traverses a broad, undulating lawn, shaded by venerable trees. The old mansion is of stone, a story and a half high, with dormer windows, and in the style of the best class of Dutch-built houses erected one hundred years ago. It was owned by Samuel Verplanck, Esq., during the Revolution. An addition, two stories high, has been erected at the north end. I sketched only the ancient edifice.



THE VERPLANCK HOUSE.

This house is remarkable, in connection with my subject, as the head-quarters of the Baron Steuben when the American army was encamped in the vicinity of Newburgh,¹ and also as the place wherein the celebrated *Society of the Cincinnati* was organized in 1783. The meeting for that purpose was held in the large square room on the north side of the passage.⁴ The room is carefully preserved in its original style. 1782-1783.

¹ See vol. i., page 287.

² I have a public document, printed there by Loudon, in 1776.

³ An anecdote illustrative of Steuben's generous character is related, the scene of which was at Newburgh, at the time of the disbanding of the army. Colonel Cochrane, whom I have mentioned in a former chapter, was standing in the street, penniless, when Steuben tried to comfort him by saying that better times would come. "For myself," said the brave officer, "I can stand it; but my wife and daughters are in the garret of that wretched tavern, and I have nowhere to carry them, nor even money to remove them." The baron's generous heart was touched, and, though poor himself, he hastened to the family of Cochrane, poured the whole contents of his purse upon the table, and left as suddenly as he had entered. As he was walking toward the wharf, a wounded negro soldier came up to him, bitterly lamenting that he had no means with which to get to New York. The baron borrowed a dollar, and handing it to the negro, hailed a sloop and put him on board. "God Almighty bless you, baron!" said the negro, as his benefactor walked away. Many similar acts hallow the memory of the Baron Steuben.

⁴ The following record of the proceedings at the final meeting of the convention I copied from the orig

"While contemplating a final separation of the officers of the army," says Doctor Thacher, "the tenderest feelings of the heart had their afflicting operation. It was at the suggestion of General Knox, and with the acquiescence of the commander-in-chief, that an expedient was devised by which a hope was entertained that their long-cherished friendship and social intercourse might be perpetuated, and that at future periods they might annually communicate, and revive a recollection of the bonds by which they were connected."¹ Pursuant to these suggestions, the officers held a meeting. A committee, consisting of Generals

inal manuscript in the possession of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City, and print it here as an interesting scrap in the history of the closing scenes of the Revolution.

"Cantonment of the American Army, 19th June, 1783.

"At a meeting of the general officers, and the gentlemen delegated by the respective regiments, as a convention for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, held by the request of the president, at which were present Major-general Baron de Steuben, president; Major-general Howe, Major-general Knox, Brigadier-general Paterson, Brigadier-general Hand, Brigadier-general Huntington, Brigadier-general Putnam, Colonel Webb, Lieutenant-colonel Huntington, Major Pettengill, Lieutenant Whiting, Colonel H. Jackson, Captain Shaw, Lieutenant-colonel Hull, Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and Colonel Cortlandt, General Baron de Steuben acquainted the convention that he had, agreeably to their request at the last meeting, transmitted to his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister plenipotentiary from the court of France, a copy of the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, with their vote respecting his excellency and the other characters therein mentioned, and that his excellency had returned an answer declaring his acceptance of the same, and expressing the grateful sense he entertains of the honor conferred on himself and the other gentlemen of the French nation by this act of the convention.

"Resolved, That the letter of the Chevalier de la Luzerne be recorded in the proceedings of this day, and deposited in the archives of the society, as a testimony of the high sense this convention entertain of the honor done to the society by his becoming a member thereof.

(Here follows the letter.)

"The baron having also communicated a letter from Major l'Enfant, inclosing a design for the medal and order containing the emblems of the institution,

"Resolved, That the bald eagle, carrying the emblems on its breast, be established as the order of the society, and that the ideas of Major l'Enfant respecting it and the manner of its being worn by the members, as expressed in his letter, hereto annexed, be adopted. That the order be of the same size, and in every other respect conformable to the said design, which for that purpose is certified by the Baron de Steuben, president of this convention, and to be deposited in the archives of the society, as the original from which all copies are to be made. Also that silver medals, not exceeding the size of a Spanish milled dollar, with the emblems, as designed by Major l'Enfant and certified by the president, be given to each and every member of the society, together with a diploma, on parchment, whereon shall be impressed the exact figures of the order and medal, as above mentioned, any thing in the original institution respecting gold medals to the contrary notwithstanding.

(Here follows Major l'Enfant's letter.)

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be transmitted by the president to Major l'Enfant for his care and ingenuity in preparing the aforementioned designs, and that he be acquainted that they cheerfully embrace his offer of assistance, and request a continuance of his attention in carrying the designs into execution, for which purpose the president is desired to correspond with him.

"Resolved, That his excellency the commander-in-chief be requested to officiate as president general, until the first general meeting, to be held in May next.

"That a treasurer general and a secretary general be balloted for, to officiate in like manner.

"The ballots being taken, Major-general M'Dougall was elected treasurer general, and Major-general Knox secretary general, who are hereby requested to accept said appointments.

"Resolved, That all the proceedings of this convention, including the institution of the society, be recorded from the original papers in his possession by Captain Shaw, who at the first meeting was requested to act as secretary, and that the same, signed by the president and secretary, together with the original papers, be given into the hands of Major-general Knox, secretary general to the society, and that Captain North, aid-de-camp to the Baron de Steuben, and acting secretary to him as president, sign the said records.

"The dissolution of a very considerable part of the army, since the last meeting of this convention, having rendered the attendance of some of its members impracticable, and the necessity for some temporary arrangements, previous to the first meeting of the general society, being so strikingly obvious, the convention found itself constrained to make those before mentioned, which they have done with the utmost diffidence of themselves, and relying entirely on the candor of their constituents to make allowance for the measure.

"The principal objects of its appointment being thus accomplished, the members of this convention think fit to dissolve the same, and it is hereby dissolved accordingly.

"STEUBEN, Major General, President."

¹ *Military Journal*, p. 317.

Plan and Name of the Society of the Cincinnati.	The Constitution.	Opposition of Judge Burke and others.
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Knox, Hand, and Huntington, and Captain Shaw, was appointed to revise the proposals for the institution. Another meeting was held on the 13th of May, at the quarters of Steuben (Verplanck's), when the committee reported. A plan, in the following words, was adopted,¹ and the society was duly organized :

"It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the colonies of North America from the domination of Great Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of eight years, to establish them free, independent, and sovereign states, connected by alliances, founded on reciprocal advantages, with some of the greatest princes and powers of the earth :

"To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and in many instances cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure so long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and in failure thereof, the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members."

"The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS, and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves the

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

"The following principles shall be immutable, and form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati :

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective states, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers, this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the society, toward those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.

"The general society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into state societies, and these again into such districts as shall be directed by the state society.

"The societies of the districts to meet as often as shall be agreed on by the state society ; those of the state on the 4th day of July annually, or oftener if they shall find it expedient ; and the general society on the first Monday in May annually, so long as they shall deem it necessary, and afterward at least once in every three years."

¹ This document, according to Colonel Timothy Pickering, was drawn up by Captain Shaw, who was the secretary of the committee.

² This clause gave considerable alarm to the more rigid Whigs, because of the recognition of the right of primogeniture in membership succession. Judge Ædanus Burke, of South Carolina, attacked it with much vehemence, as an incipient order of nobility, and an attempt to establish the pretensions of the military to rank above the mass of citizens. The objection was groundless, for no civil, military, political, or social prerogative was claimed. On the other hand, the King of Sweden (Gustavus Adolphus III.) declined permitting the few officers in the French army who were his subjects to wear the order of the Cincinnati, on the ground that the institution had a republican tendency not suited to his government. On this subject, Washington, in a letter to Rochambeau, written in August, 1784, said, "Considering how recently the King of Sweden has changed the form of the government of that country, it is not so much to be wondered at that his fears should get the better of his liberality as to any thing which might have the semblance of republicanism ; but when it is further considered how few of his nation had, or could have, a right to the order, I think he might have suffered his complaisance to have overcome them."—See Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, ix., 56.

Certificate of Membership of the Cincinnati.

The Design and Engraving.

Alteration of the Plate.

"At each meeting, the principles of the institution will be fully considered, and the best measures to promote them adopted.

"The state societies to have a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and assistant treasurer, to be chosen annually by a majority of votes, at the stated meeting.

"In order to obtain funds which may be respectable, and assist the unfortunate, each officer shall deliver to the treasurer of the state society one month's pay, which shall remain



SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.—MEMBERS' CERTIFICATE.¹

¹ This engraving is a fac simile of a certificate, about one fourth the size of the original, which is thirteen inches and a half in breadth, and twenty inches in length. The originals are printed on fine vellum. The plate was engraved in France by J. J. le Veau, from a drawing by Aug. le Belle. I am indebted to the late James G. Wilson, son of Ensign Wilson, named in the certificate, for the use of the original in making this copy. The former was engraved on copper; this is engraved on wood. The design represents American liberty as a strong man armed, bearing in one hand the Union flag, and in the other a naked sword. Beneath his feet are British flags, and a broken spear, shield, and chain. Hovering by his side is the eagle, our national emblem, from whose talons the lightning of destruction is flashing upon the British lion. Britannia, with the crown falling from her head, is hastening toward a boat to escape to a fleet, which denotes the departure of British power from our shores. Upon a cloud, on the right, is an angel blowing a trumpet, from which flutters a loose scroll. Upon the scroll are the sentences, *Palam nuntiata libertas*, * A.D. 1776. *Fœdus sociale cum Gallia*, An. D. 1778. *Pax: libertas parva*, An. D. 1783. "Independence declared, A.D. 1776. Treaty of alliance with France declared, A.D. 1778. Peace! independence obtained, A.D. 1783."

Upon the medallion on the right is a device representing Cincinnati at his plow, a ship on the sea, and a walled town in the distance. Over his head is a flying angel, holding a ribbon inscribed *Virtutis præmium*; "Reward of virtue." Below is a heart, with the words, *Esto perpetua*; "Be thou perpetual." Upon the rim is the legend, *Societas Cincinnatorum Instituta A.D. MDCCLXXXIII*; "Society of the Cincinnati, instituted 1783." The device upon the medallion on the left is Cincinnati with his family near his house. He is receiving a sword and shield from three senators; an army is seen in the distance. Upon the rim are the words, *Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam*; "He abandoned every thing to serve his country;" (referring to Cincinnati).

* There is a fact connected with this sentence worthy of notice. In the earlier impressions from the plate, taken previous to the year 1785, the sentence is *Palam nuntiata libertas*, not *libertas*. Some person, who doubtless supposed the original word to be incorrect, caused the letters *is* to be crowded into the space occupied by the final *s* in *libertas*. I have the authority of one of our most learned Latin critics, to whom the question was submitted, for saying that the original word was correct, and that the alteration renders the sentence ungrammatical and totally incorrect, thereby destroying its meaning. Do any of our historical antiquaries know by whose authority the alteration was made?

The Order of the Society.

The successive Presidents General.

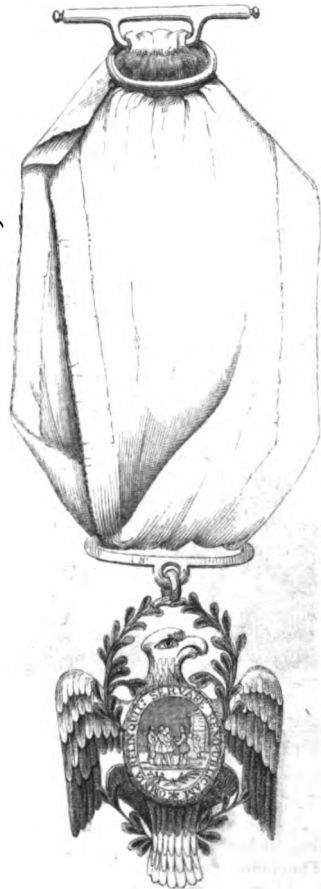
Departure for West Point.

forever to the use of the state society. The interest only of which, if necessary, to be appropriated to the relief of the unfortunate.

"The society shall have an *order*, by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the emblems, and be suspended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America with France."

I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Joseph Warren Scott, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, now (1850) the president of the society of that state, for the following information respecting the successive presidents general of the institution. General Washington was the first president general, and continued in office until his death, in December, 1799. In May, 1800, General Alexander Hamilton was elected as his successor. He was killed in a duel with Aaron Burr in 1804, and, at the next general meeting, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, was elected as his successor. He died in August, 1825. At a special meeting of the society, held at Philadelphia in November, 1826, Major-general Thomas Pinckney was elected president general.¹ At his death, Colonel Aaron Ogden, of New Jersey, was elected to fill his place. He held the office until his decease in April, 1838, when General Morgan Lewis, of New York, became his successor. General Lewis died on the 7th of May, 1844, in his ninetyeth year, and the venerable Major Popham, also of New York, was elected as his successor at the general meeting in November following. Major Popham died in the summer of 1848, and at the meeting in November of that year, General Dearborn, the present incumbent, was elected to supply the vacancy. Such is the brief history of a society over which the venerated Washington first presided.

I left the interesting mansion wherein the society was organized at noon, and reached Newburgh in time to dine and embark at half past one for West Point, eight miles below.

ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.²

¹ "At that meeting," says Colonel Scott, in a letter to me dated July 9, 1850, "delegates attended from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and South Carolina. Colonel Ogden and myself were delegates from New Jersey. At that meeting it was ascertained that all the officers of the society, but one, had departed this life. The survivor was Major Jackson, of Pennsylvania. These communications were given and received in sadness, and a respectful and affectionate notice was taken of those who had left us forever."

² This was drawn from an original in the possession of Edward Phalon, Esq., of New York. The engraving is the exact size of the original. The leaves of the sprigs of laurel are of gold, and green enamel; the head and tail of the eagle gold, and white enamel; and the sky in the center device blue enamel. The device and motto are the same as upon the medallion on the right of the certificate.

CHAPTER VI.

"What though no cloister gray nor ivied column
 Along these cliffs their somber ruins rear;
 What though no frowning tower nor temple solemn
 Of despots tell, and superstition here;
 What though that moldering fort's fast-crumbling walls
 Did ne'er inclose a baron's bannered halls,

"Its sinking arches once gave back as proud
 An echo to the war-blown clarion's peal—
 As gallant hearts its battlements did crowd
 As ever beat beneath a breast of steel,
 When herald's trump on knighthood's haughtiest day
 Called forth chivalric hosts to battle-fray."

C. F. HOFFMAN.

"Low sunk between the Alleghanian hills
 For many a league the sullen waters glide,
 And the deep murmur of the crowded tide
 With pleasing awe the wondering voyager fills.
 On the green summit of yon lofty cliff
 A peaceful runnel gurgles clear and slow,
 Then down the craggy steep-side dashing swift,
 Tumultuous falls in the white surge below."

MARGARETTA V. FAUGERES.¹

IN the midst of wild mountain scenery, picturesque but not magnificent when compared with the White Mountains of New Hampshire, the Adirondack and Catskill range in New York, or the Alleghanies in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, is a bold promontory called West Point, rising more than one hundred and fifty feet above the waters of the Hudson, its top a perfectly level and fertile plateau, and every rood hallowed by associations of the deepest interest. West Point! What a world of thrilling reminiscences has the utterance of that name brought to ten thousand memories in times past, now, alas! nearly all slumbering in the dreamless sleep of the dead! How does it awaken the generous emotions of patriotic reverence for the men, and things, and times of the Revolution, in the bosoms of the present generation! Nor is it by the associations alone that the traveler is moved with strong emotions when approaching West Point; the stranger, indifferent to our history and of all but the present, feels a glow of admira-

¹ Mrs. Faugeres was the grand-daughter of Brandt Schuyler, and daughter of Mrs. Anne Eliza Bleecker, one of the notable sufferers from the invasion of Burgoyne in 1777. Mrs. Bleecker was then living, with her husband, about eighteen miles from Albany. Mr. Bleecker went to that city to make arrangements for moving his family thither. While absent, Mrs. Bleecker heard of the approach of Burgoyne and his horde of savages, and, leading her eldest child by the hand, and bearing her youngest in her arms, she started on foot for Albany. After a wearisome journey of a day, and a night passed in a wretched garret, she started forward with her precious charge, and soon met her husband, with whom she returned to the city. Her babe died a few days afterward, and within a month her mother expired in her arms, at Red Hook, in Dutchess county. Her husband was afterward captured by a party of Tories. This event, and his sudden restoration when she thought him dead, so overpowered her, that her constitution sunk beneath the shocks, and she died in the autumn of 1783. Margaretta (afterward Mrs. Faugeres) was the "sweet sister" alluded to in the following lines, extracted from a poem written by Mrs. Bleecker on the death of her child:

Scenery around West Point.

The Military Establishment.

Wood's Monument.

Interesting Relics.

tion as he courses along the sinuous channel of the river or climbs the rough hills that embosom it. The inspiration of nature then takes possession of his heart and mind, and

"When he treads
The rock-encumbered crest, and feels the strange
And wild tumultuous throbbings of his heart,
Its every chord vibrating with the touch
Of the high power that reigns supreme o'er all,
He well may deem that lips of angel-forms
Have breathed to him the holy melody
That fills his o'erfraught heart."

BAYARD TAYLOR.

The high plain is reached by a carriage-way that winds up the bank from the landing; the visitor overlooking, in the passage, on the right, the little village of Camptown, which comprises the barracks of United States soldiers and a few dwellings of persons not immediately connected with the military works. On the left, near the summit, is "the Artillery Laboratory," and near by, upon a little hillock, is an obelisk erected to the memory of Lieutenant-colonel Wood.¹ On the edge of the cliff, overlooking the steam boat landing, is a spacious hotel, where I booked myself as a boarder for a day or two. A more delightful spot, particularly in summer, for a weary traveler or a professed loungeur, can not easily be found, than the broad piazza of that public dwelling presents. Breezy in the hottest weather, and always enlivened by pleasant company, the sojourner need not step from beneath its shadow to view a most wonderful variety of pleasing objects in nature and art. Upon the grassy plain before him are buildings of the military establishment—the Academic Halls, the Philosophical and Library buildings, the Observatory, the Chapel, the Hospital, the Barracks and Mess Hall of the cadets, and the beautifully shaded dwellings of the officers and professors that skirt the western side of the plateau at the base of the hills. On the parade, the cadets, in neat uniform, exhibit their various exercises, and an excellent band of music delights the ear. Lifting the eyes to the westward, the lofty summit of Mount Independence, crested by the gray ruins of Fort Putnam, and beyond it the loftier apex of Redoubt Hill, are seen. Turning a little northward, Old Cro' Nest and Butter Hill break the horizon nearly half way to the zenith; and directly north, over Martelaer's Rock or Constitution Island, through the magnificent cleft in the chain of hills through which the Hudson flows, is seen the bright waters of Newburgh Bay, the village glittering in the sunbeams, and the beautiful, cultivated slopes of Dutchess and Orange. The scenery at the eastward is better comprehended and more extensive as seen from Fort Putnam, whither we shall presently climb.

I passed the remainder of the afternoon among the celebrities clustered around the plain. I first visited the Artillery Laboratory, where are deposited several interesting trophies and relics of the Revolution. In the center of the court is a group of great interest, consisting of a large brass mortar, mounted, which was taken from the English when Wayne captured Stony Point; two small brass mortars, taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga, and a portion of the famous chain which the Americans stretched across the river at West Point to obstruct the passage of the vessels of the enemy. The large mortar

October 26,
1848.

"Rich in my children, on my arms I bore
My living treasures from the scalper's power.
When I sat down to rest beneath some shade,
On the soft grass how innocent she play'd,
While her sweet sister from the fragrant wild
Collects the flowers to please my precious child."

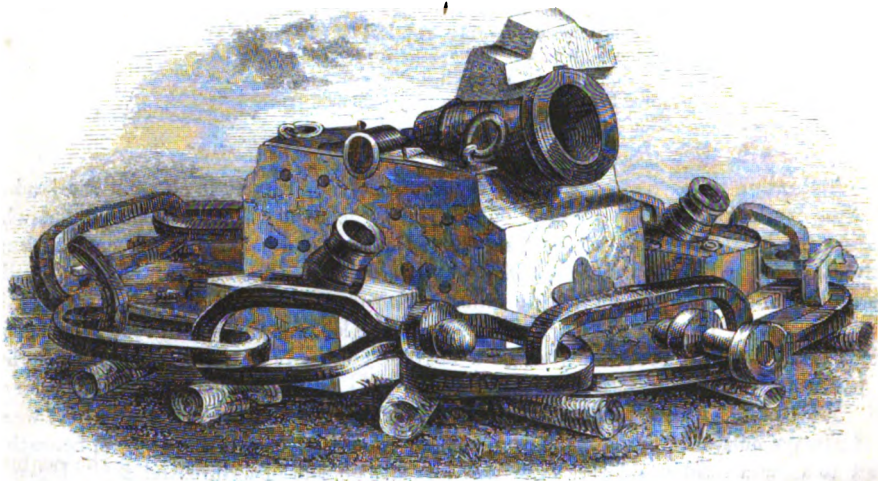
¹ The following is the inscription on this monument:

"To the memory of Lieutenant-colonel E. D. Wood, of the corps of engineers, who fell while leading a charge at the sortie of Fort Erie, Upper Canada, 17th of September, 1814, in the 31st year of his age. He was exemplary as a Christian, and distinguished as a soldier. A pupil of this institution,* he died an honor to his country. This memorial was erected by his friend and commander, Major-general JACOB BROWN."

* Military Academy at West Point.

Size of the Mortars and Chain.	Position of the Chain in the River.	Other Relics.	Kosciuszko's Monument.
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has a caliber of ten and a half inches; the smaller ones, of four inches and three quarters. The former is emblazoned with the English coat of arms, beneath which is engraved "*Aschaleh, fecit, 1741.*" There are twelve links, two clevises, and a portion of a link of the



GREAT CHAIN AND MORTARS.

great chain remaining. The links are made of iron bars, two and a half inches square, average in length a little over two feet, and weigh about one hundred and forty pounds each. The chain was stretched across the river at the narrowest point between the rocks just below the steam-boat landing, and Constitution Island opposite. It was fixed to huge blocks on each shore, and under the cover of batteries on both sides of the river. The remains of these are still visible. "It is buoyed up," says Doctor Thacher, writing in 1780, "by very large logs of about sixteen feet long, pointed at the ends, to lessen their opposition to the force of the current at flood and ebb tide. The logs are placed at short distances from each other, the chain carried over them, and made fast to each by staples. There are also a number of anchors dropped at proper distances, with cables made fast to the chain, to give it greater stability."¹ The history of this chain will be noted presently.

Near this group is a cannon, by the premature discharge of which, in 1817, a cadet named Lowe was killed. There is a beautiful monument erected to his memory in the cemetery of the institution. I observed several long French cannons, inscribed with various dates; and among others, two brass field-pieces, of British manufacture, bearing the monogram of the king, "G. R.," and the inscription "*W. Bowen, fecit, 1755.*" These were presented to General Greene by order of Congress, as an inscription among the military emblems avers.²

At the northeast corner of the plain, a little eastward of the hotel, are mounds denoting the ramparts of old Fort Clinton. Among these mounds stands the monument erected to the memory of Kosciuszko. It is made of white marble, and is a conspicuous object to travelers upon the river. On one side of the pedestal, in large letters, is the name Kosci-

¹ *Military Journal*, page 211.

² The inscription is as follows:

"Taken from the British army, and presented, by order of the United States in Congress assembled, to Major-general Greene, as a monument* of their high sense of the wisdom, fortitude, and military talents which distinguished his command in the Southern department, and of the eminent services which, amid complicated dangers and difficulties, he performed for his country. October y^e 18th, 1783."

* To the dishonor of our country, it must be said that these two brazen cannons form the only "monument" ever made to the memory of that great commander. Savannah, in Georgia, has a ward and a square bearing his name, and in the center of the latter is the foundation-stone of an intended monument to his memory. This and the corner-stone of a monument to Pulaski were laid by La Fayette in 1825. I shall again refer to the matter when noticing my visit at Savannah.

Kosciuszko's Garden.

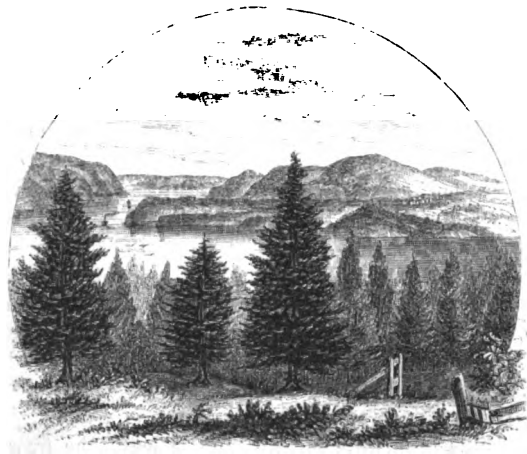
Other Localities.

Fort Arnold.

Fort Putnam.

USZKO; and on the other is the brief inscription, "*Erected by the Corps of Cadets, 1828.*" The monument was completed in 1829, at a cost of five thousand dollars. A drawing of it forms a portion of the vignette of the map printed on page 137. From this monument the view of the river and adjacent scenery, especially at the northward, is very fine, and should never be unobserved by the visitor.

Emerging from the remains of Fort Clinton, the path, traversing the margin of the cliff, passes the ruins of a battery, and descends, at a narrow gorge between huge rocks, to a flight of wooden steps. These terminate at the bottom upon a grassy terrace a few feet wide, over which hangs a shelving cliff covered with shrubbery. This is called Kosciuszko's Garden, from the circumstance of its having been a favorite resort of that officer while stationed there



VIEW FROM FORT CLINTON, LOOKING NORTH.



KOSCIUSZKO'S GARDEN.

as engineer for a time during the Revolution. In the center of the terrace is a marble basin, from the bottom of which bubbles up a tiny fountain of pure water. It is said that the remains of a fountain constructed by Kosciuszko was discovered in 1802, when it was removed, and the marble bowl which now receives the jet was placed there. It is a beautiful and romantic spot, shaded by a weeping willow and other trees, and having seats provided for those who wish to linger. Upon a smooth spot, high upon the rocks and half overgrown with moss, are slight indications of written characters. Tradition says it is the remains of the name of Kosciuszko, inscribed by his own hand; but I doubt the report, for he possessed too much common sense to be guilty of such folly as the mutilated benches around the fountain exhibit; his name was already upon the tablet of Polish history,

Thad. Kosciuszko

KOSCIUSZKO'S SIGNATURE.

and his then present deeds were marking it deep upon that of our war for independence.

The sun had gone down behind the hills when I ascended from the garden to the plain. The cadets were performing their evening parade, and, as the last rays left Bear Hill and the Sugar Loaf, the evening gun and the tattoo summoned them to quarters. During the twilight hour, I strolled down the road along the river bank, half a mile beyond the barracks, to Mr. Kingsley's Classical School, situated upon a commanding eminence above the road leading to Buttermilk Falls. Near his residence was a strong redoubt, called Fort Arnold, one of the outposts of West Point in the Revolution. I was informed that the remains are well preserved; but it was too dark to distinguish an artificial mound from a natural hillock, and I hastened back to my lodgings.

Unwilling to wait until the late hour of eight for breakfast the next morning, I arose at dawn, and before sunrise I stood among the ruins of Fort Putnam, on the pinnacle of Mount Independence, nearly five hundred feet above the river.

I had waked
From a long sleep of many changing dreams,
And now in the fresh forest air I stood

Nerved to another day of wandering.

The sky bent round
The awful domes of a most mighty temple,
Built by Omnipotent hands for nothing less
Than infinite worship. Here I stood in silence;
I had no words to tell the mingled thoughts
Of wonder and of joy that then came o'er me
Even with a whirlwind's rush."

JAMES G. PERCIVAL.

Around me were strewn mementoes of the Revolution. My feet pressed the russet turf upon the ramparts of a ruined fort. Eastward, behind which were glowing the splendors of approaching day, stretched a range of broken hills, on whose every pinnacle the vigilant patriots planted batteries and built watch-fires. At their feet, upon a fertile terrace almost a mile in breadth, was the "Beverly House," from which Arnold escaped to the Vulture; old Phillipstown, around which a portion of the Revolutionary army was cantoned in 1781,¹ and intermediate localities, all rich with local traditions and historic associations. On the left, over Constitution Island, arose the smoke of the furnaces and forges at Cold Spring, a thriving village at the river terminus of a mountain furrow that slopes down from the eastern hills. A little beyond, and beneath the frowning crags of Mount Taurus,² appeared "Under Cliff," the country seat of George P. Morris, Esq., lying like a pearl by the side of a sleeping giant, and just visible in the fading shadows of the mountains. Nowhere in our broad land is there a more romantic nook, or more appropriate spot for the residence of an American song-writer than this,

"Where Hudson's waves o'er silvery sands
Winds through the hills afar,
And Cro' Nest like a monarch stands
Crown'd with a single star."

MORRIS.

Hark! the sunrise gun on the plain below hath spoken! How eagerly its loud voice is caught up by echo and carried from hill to hill! The Sugar Loaf answers to Redoubt Mountain, and Anthony's Nose to Bear Mountain and the Dunderberg, and then there is only a soft whisper floating away over the waters of the Haverstraw. The reveille is beating; the shrill notes of the fife, and the stirring music of the cornet-players, come up and fill the soul with a martial spirit consonant with the place and its memories. Here, then, let us sit down upon the lip of this rock-fountain, within the ruins of the fort, and commune a while with the old chronicler.

The importance of fortifying the Hudson River at its narrow passes among the High-

¹ It was here that the general inoculation of the soldiers of the Continental army was performed by Doctors Cochrane, Thacher, Munson, and others, as mentioned on page 307, vol. i.

² This, in plain English and common parlance, is *Bull Hill*. I feel very much disposed to quarrel with my countrymen for their want of taste in giving names to localities. They have discarded the beautiful "heathenish" names of the Indian verbal geographies, and often substituted the most commonplace and inappropriate title that human ingenuity, directed earthward, could invent—Bull Hill! Crow's Nest! Butter Hill!! Ever blessed be the name and memory of JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE, whose genius has clothed these Highland cones, despite their vulgar names, with a degree of classic interest, by thus summoning there, with the herald voice of imagination,

"Ouphe and goblin! imp and sprite!
Elf of eve and starry fay!
Ye that love the moon's soft light,
Hither, hither wend your way.
Twine ye in a jocund ring;
Sing and trip it merrily;
Hand to hand and wing to wing,
Round the wild witch-hazel tree!"

THE CULPRIT FAY, CANTO XXXVI.*

* This beautiful poem was written *con amore*, during a brief ramble of the author among the Hudson Highlands.

Fortifications in the Highlands ordered.

Action of the New York Assembly.

Fort Constitution.

lands was suggested to the Continental Congress by the Provincial Assembly of New York at an early period of the war. On the 6th of October, 1775, the former directed the latter to proceed to make such fortifications as they

should deem best.¹ On the 18th of November, 1775, Congress resolved to appoint a

commander for the fortress, with the rank of colonel, and recommended the New York Assembly, or Convention, to empower him to raise a body of two hundred militia from the counties of Dutchess, Orange, and Ulster, and a

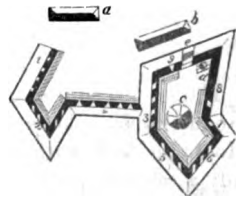
company of artillery from New York city, to garrison them. The Convention was also recommended to forward from Kingsbridge such ordnance as they should think proper.² That body had already taken action. On the 18th of August, a committee was appointed to superintend the erection of forts and bat-

INTERIOR OF FORT PUTNAM.³

teries in the vicinity of West Point.⁴ They employed Bernard Romans, an English engineer (who, at that time, held the same office in the British army), to construct the works; and Martelaer's Rock (now Constitution Island), opposite West Point, was the chosen spot for



the principal fortification. Romans commenced operations on the 29th of August, and on the 12th of October he applied to Congress for a commission, with the rank and pay of colonel. It was this application which caused the action of Congress on the 18th of November. In the mean while, Romans and his employers quarreled, and the commission was never granted; the work was soon afterward completed by others. The fort was named *Constitution*, and the island has since borne that title.⁵ The fort and its outworks were quite extensive, though the main fortress was built chiefly of perishable materials, on account of the apparent necessity for its speedy erection. The whole cost was about twenty-five thousand dollars. The remains of the fort and surrounding batteries are scattered over the island. Near the highest point on the western end are the

PLAN OF FORT CONSTITUTION.⁶

¹ *Journals of Congress*, i., 199.

² This little sketch is a view of the remains of the casemates, or vaults, of Fort Putnam. There were nine originally, but only six remain in a state of fair preservation. They were built of brick and covered with stone; were twelve feet wide and eighteen feet deep, with an arched roof twelve feet high. Each one had a fire-place, and they seem to have been used for the purposes of barracks, batteries, and magazines. In the center of the fort is a spring, that bubbles up in a rocky basin. The whole interior is very rough, it being the pinnacle of a bald, rocky elevation.

³ *Journals of Congress*, i., 223.

⁴ The committee consisted of Isaac Sears, John Berrien, Colonel Edward Fleming, Anthony Rutgers, and Christopher Miller. Fleming and Rutgers declined the appointment, and Captain Samuel Bayard and Captain William Bedlow were appointed in their places.

⁵ This island belonged to the widow of Captain Ogilvie, of the British army, and her children, during the Revolution, as appears by a correspondence between the New York Committee of Safety and Colonel Beverly Robinson. The committee supposed that the island belonged to Robinson, and applied to him for its purchase. In his reply, he mentioned the fact of its belonging to Mrs. Ogilvie, and added, "Was it mine, the public should be extremely welcome to it. The building of the fort there can be no disadvantage to the small quantity of arable land on the island." Robinson afterward chose the royal side of the political question, and held the commission of a colonel in the British army.

⁶ This plan of Fort Constitution is from Romans's report to the Committee of Safety of New York, on the 14th of September, 1775, and published in the *American Archives*, iii., 735.

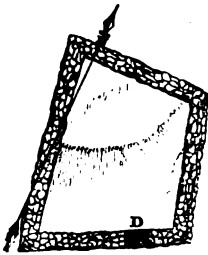
EXPLANATION.—a, guard-room and store-house; b, barracks; c, block-house and main guard; d, magazine; e, the gateway; 1, a battery of four four-pounders; 2, three twelve-pounders; 3, three twelve-pounders and one nine-pounder; 4, five eighteen-pounders; 5, four twelve-pounders; 6, three eighteen-pounders; 7 and 8, one each, nine and twelve-pounder; 9, one four-pounder.

New Forts in the Highlands proposed.

West Point selected.

Radière and other Engineers from France.

well-preserved remains of the magazine, the form of which is given in the annexed diagram. It is upon a high rock, accessible only on one side. The whole wall is quite perfect, except at the doorway, D, where a considerable portion has fallen down and blocked up the entrance.

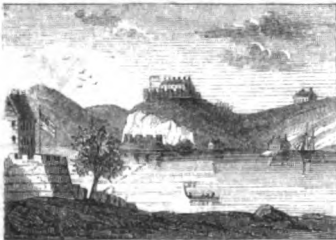


PLAN OF THE MAGAZINE.

After the capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, near the lower entrance to the Highlands, in 1777, and the abandonment of Fort Constitution by the Americans a few days afterward, public attention was directed to the importance of other and stronger fortifications in that vicinity. On the 5th of November, Congress appointed General Gates to command in the Highlands, or rather that post was connected with the Northern department. Gates was made president of the Board of War about that time, and never entered upon the prescribed duties in the Highlands. Anxious to have those passes strongly guarded, Washington requested General Putnam to bestow his most serious attention upon that important subject. He also wrote to Governor Clinton, at the same time, desiring him to take the immediate supervision of the work; but his legislative duties, then many and pressing, made it difficult for him to comply. Clinton expressed his willingness to devote as much time as possible to the matter, and also made many valuable suggestions respecting the proposed fortifications. He mentioned West Point as the most eligible site for a strong fort.

Duty calling General Putnam to Connecticut, and General Parsons not feeling himself authorized to progress with the works, but little was done until the arrival of General M'Dougal, who took command on the 20th of March following.^a In the mean while, several officers examined various localities in the neighborhood,^b and all were in favor of erecting a strong fort on West Point, except La Radière, a French engineer.¹ A committee of the New York Legislature, after surveying several sites, unanimously recommended West Point as the most eligible. Works were accordingly commenced there,

La Radiere

WEST POINT IN 1780.²

under the direction of Kosciuszko, who had been appointed to succeed Radière in the Highlands, his skill being quite equal, and his manners more acceptable to the people. Kosciuszko arrived on the 20th of March, and the works were pushed toward completion with much spirit. The principal redoubt, constructed chiefly of logs and earth, was completed before May, and named Fort Clinton. It was six hundred yards around within the walls. The embankments were twenty-one feet at base, and fourteen feet high. There were barracks and

¹ The American commissioners in France were instructed by Congress to procure some good engineers for the Continental army. Franklin and Deane contracted with four officers of this description, who had served in such capacity, under commissions, in the French army, namely, Duportail, Laumoy, Radière, and Gouvion. These officers came to the United States with the knowledge and approbation of the French government, and were the only ones engaged by the express authority of Congress. The Chevalier Duportail was appointed colonel of engineers, Laumoy and Radière lieutenant colonels, and Gouvion major. Duportail was afterward promoted to a brigadier, Laumoy and Radière to colonels, and Gouvion to a lieutenant colonel. Radière died in the service at the beginning of 1780. See *Journals of Congress*, iii., 224, 322, 403.

The Ch. Duportail

² This view is from a print published in the *New York Magazine* for 1790. It was taken from Constitution Island. On the left is seen a portion of old Fort Constitution. The great chain, four hundred and fifty yards in length, and covered by a strong battery, is seen stretched across the river, immediately below Fort Clinton, the structure on the high point. In the distance, on the left, two mountain summits are seen, crowned with fortifications. These were the North and Middle Redoubts. Upon the range of the Sugar Loaf Mountain, higher than these, and hidden, in the view, by Fort Clinton, was another redoubt, called the South Battery. The view on page 140 I sketched from the same spot whence this was taken.

huts for about six hundred men.¹ The cliff on which Fort Clinton was erected rises one hundred and eighty-eight feet above the river, and is more elevated than the plain in the

rear. The only accessible point from the river was at the house and dock, on the water's edge, seen in the engraving. That point is now a little above the steam-boat landing. This weak point was well defended by palisades.

To defend Fort Clinton, and more thoroughly to secure the river against the passage of an enemy's fleet, it was thought advisable to fortify the heights in the neighborhood. The foundation of a strong fort was accordingly laid on Mount Independence, and, when completed, it was named *Putnam*, in honor of the commander of the post. On eminences south of it.

Ports Webb, Wylls, and other redoubts were constructed; and at the close of 1779, West Point was the strongest military post in America. In addition to the batteries that stood menacingly upon the hill tops, the river was obstructed by an enormous iron chain, the form and size of which is noted on page 132. The iron of which this chain was constructed was wrought from ore of equal parts, from the Stirling and Long Mines, in Orange county. The chain was manufactured by Peter Townshend, of Chester, at the Stirling Iron Works, in the same county, which were situated about twenty-five miles back of West Point.² The general superintendent of the work, as engineer, was Captain Thomas Machin, who afterward assisted in the engineering operations at York-

NOTE.—This map exhibits all of the most important localities at West Point during the Revolution and at the present time. It will be seen that the Hudson River rail-road crosses the cove and Constitution Island and a little eastward of the ruins of the main fortress, on that side of the river. The island is owned by Henry W. Warner, Esq., and upon the eminence where the ravelins of the fort were spread is his beautiful country seat, called "Wood Crag." The kitchen part of his mansion is a portion of the barracks erected there in the autumn of 1775.

¹ Letter of General Putnam to the commander-in-chief, January, 1778. In this letter, Putnam gives, in a few words, a picture of the terrible privations which the soldiers in the Highlands were enduring, while those at Valley Forge were also suffering intensely. "Dubois's regiment," he says, "is unfit to be ordered on duty, there being not one blanket in the regiment. Very few have either a shoe or a shirt, and most of them have neither stockings, breeches, or overalls. Several companies of enlisted artificers are in the same situation, and unable to work in the field."

¹ The Stirling Works are still in operation. They are situated on the outlet of Stirling Pond, about five

The Chain weakened by Arnold.

Importance of West Point.

Establishment of the Military Academy there.

town, when Cornwallis was captured. The chain was completed about the middle of April, 1778, and on the 1st of May it was stretched across the river and secured.¹

When Benedict Arnold was arranging his plans to deliver West Point and its dependencies into the hands of the enemy, this chain became a special object of his attention; and it is related that, a few days before the discovery of his treason, he wrote a letter to André, in a disguised hand and manner, informing him that he had weakened the obstructions in the river by ordering a link of the chain to be taken out and carried to the smith, under a pretense that it needed repairs. He assured his employer that the link would not be returned to its place before the forts should be in possession of the enemy. Of the treason of Arnold I shall write presently.

West Point was considered the keystone of the country during the Revolution, and there a large quantity of powder, and other munitions of war and military stores, were collected. These considerations combined, made its possession a matter of great importance to the enemy, and hence it was selected by Arnold as the prize which his treason would give as a bribe. When peace returned, it was regarded as one of the most important military posts in the country, and the plateau upon the point was purchased by the United States government. Repairs were commenced on Fort Putnam in 1794, but little was done. Not being included in the government purchase, the owner of the land on which the fort stood felt at liberty to appropriate its material to his private use, and for years the work of demolition was carried on with a Vandal spirit exercised only by the ignorant or avaricious. It was not arrested until Congress purchased the Gridly Farm (see the map), on which the fort stood, in 1824, when the work had become almost a total ruin.

The Military Academy at West Point was established by an act of Congress, which became a law on the 16th of March, 1802. Such an institution, at that place, was proposed by Washington to Congress in 1793; and earlier than this, even before the war of the Revolution had closed, he suggested the establishment of a military school there.² But little progress was made in the matter until 1812, when, by an act of Congress, a corps of engineers and of professors were organized, and the school was endowed with the most attractive features of a literary institution, mingled with that of the military character. From that period until the present, the academy has been increasing in importance, in a military point of view. Over three thousand young men have been educated there, and, under the superintendence of Major Delafield, who was appointed commandant in 1838, it continues to flourish. The value of the instruction received there was made very manifest during the late war with Mexico; a large portion of the most skillful officers of our army, in that conflict, being graduates of this academy.

The bell is ringing for breakfast; let us close the record and descend to the plain.

miles southwest of the Sloatsburg station, on the Erie rail-way. They are owned by descendants of Peter Townshend, and have now been in operation about one hundred years, having been established in 1751, by Lord Stirling (the Revolutionary general) and others.

¹ Gordon and other early writers have promulgated the erroneous opinion that this chain was constructed in 1777, and was destroyed by the British fleet that passed up the Hudson and burned Kingston in October of that year. Misled by these authorities, I have published the same error in my *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-six*. Documentary evidence, which is far more reliable than the best tradition, shows that the chain was constructed in the spring of 1778. Colonel Timothy Pickering, accompanied by Captain Machin, arrived at the house of Mr. Townshend late on a Saturday night in March of that year, to engage him to make the chain. Townshend readily agreed to construct it; and in a violent snow-storm, amid the darkness of the night, the parties set out for the Stirling Iron Works. At daylight on Sunday morning the forges were in operation. New England teamsters carried the links, as fast as they were finished, to West Point, and in the space of six weeks the whole chain was completed. It weighed one hundred and eighty tons.

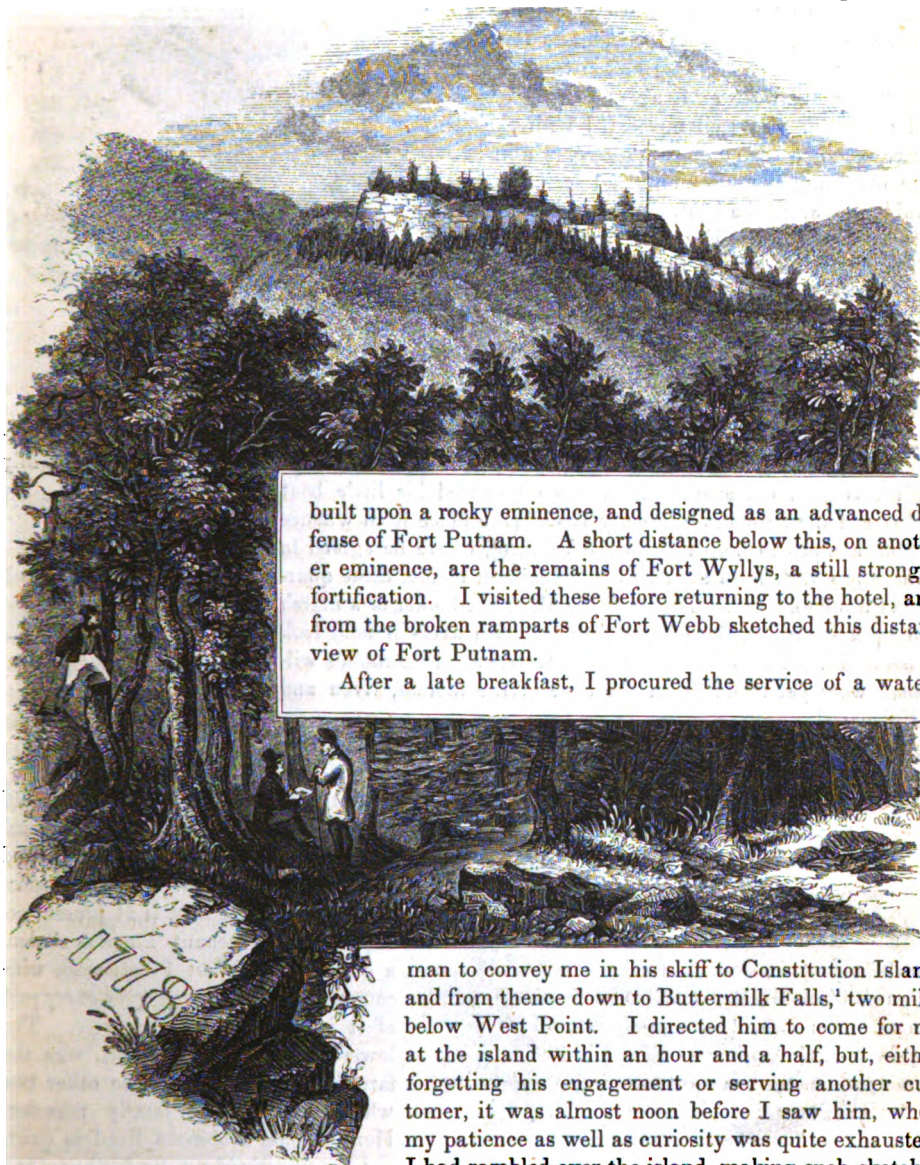
² In the spring of 1783, Washington communicated a request to all his principal officers, then in camp at Newburgh, and also to Governor Clinton, to give him their views in reference to a peace establishment, which must soon be organized. They complied, and, from their several letters, Washington compiled a communication to Congress, extending to twenty-five folio pages. In that communication, the commander-in-chief opposed the proposition of several officers to establish military academies at the different arsenals in the United States, and recommended the founding of one at West Point. For his proposed plan in outline, see *Washington's Life and Writings*, viii., p. 417, 418.

Forts Webb, Wyllys, and Putnam.

Visit to Constitution Island.

Remains of Fort Constitution.

The winding road from Fort Putnam to the plain is well wrought along the mountain side, but quite steep in many places. A little south of it, and near the upper road leading to the stone quarries and Mr. Kingsley's, are the ruins of Fort Webb, a strong redoubt,



built upon a rocky eminence, and designed as an advanced defense of Fort Putnam. A short distance below this, on another eminence, are the remains of Fort Wyllys, a still stronger fortification. I visited these before returning to the hotel, and from the broken ramparts of Fort Webb sketched this distant view of Fort Putnam.

After a late breakfast, I procured the service of a water-

RUINS OF FORT PUTNAM, AS SEEN FROM FORT WEBB.

man to convey me in his skiff to Constitution Island, and from thence down to Buttermilk Falls,¹ two miles below West Point. I directed him to come for me at the island within an hour and a half, but, either forgetting his engagement or serving another customer, it was almost noon before I saw him, when my patience as well as curiosity was quite exhausted. I had rambled over the island, making such sketches as I desired, and for nearly an hour I sat upon a smooth bowlder by the margin of the river, near the remains of the redoubt made to cover and defend the great chain at the island end. On the southeast side of a small marshy cove, clasping a rough rock, a good portion of the heavy walls of Fort Constitution remain. The outworks are traceable several rods back into the stunted forest. The sketch on the next page is from the upper edge of the cove, and includes, on the left, a view of the re-

¹ These falls derive their name from the milky appearance of the water as it rushes in a white foam over the rocks in a series of cascades.

Buttermilk Falls.

A venerable Boatman.

Beverly Dock and Robinson House.

Arnold's Willow.

mains of the redoubt across the river, the site of Fort Clinton, the chain, and Kosciuszko's monument, and, in the distance, Fort Hill, in the neighborhood of Ardenia and the Robinson House.

From Constitution Island we proceeded along under the high cliffs of West Point to Buttermilk Falls. There was a strong breeze from the south that tossed our little craft about like an egg-shell, and my cloak was well moistened with the spray before reaching the landing. There, in a little cottage, overhung by a huge cliff that seemed ready to tumble down, lived a boatman, named Havens, seventy-nine years old. For more than fifty years himself and wife have lived there under the rocks and within the chorus of the cascades. He was too young to remember the stirring scenes of the Revolution, but immediate subsequent events were fresh in his recollection. He was engaged in removing powder from Fort Clinton, at West Point, when

the Clermont, Fulton's experiment boat, with its bare paddles, went up the river, exciting the greatest wonder in its course. After I had passed a half hour pleasantly

with this good old couple, the veteran prepared his little boat and rowed me across to "Beverly Dock" (the place from whence Arnold escaped in his barge to the Vulture), where he agreed to await my return from a visit to the Robinson House, three quarters of a mile distant. The path lay along the border of a marsh and up a steep hill, the route which tradition avers Arnold took in his flight. Two of the old willow trees, called "Arnold's willows," were yet standing on the edge of the morass, riven and half decayed.

The Robinson House, formerly owned by Colonel Beverly Robinson, is situated upon a fertile plateau at the foot of Sugar Loaf

THE ROBINSON HOUSE.¹

VIEW FROM CONSTITUTION ISLAND.



ARNOLD'S WILLOW.

Mountain, one of the eastern ranges of the Highlands, which rises in conical form to an elevation of eight hundred feet above the plain. This mansion, spacious for the times, is at present occupied by Lieutenant Thomas Arden, a graduate of West Point, who, with commendable taste, preserves every part of it in its original character. The lowest building, on the left, was the farm-house, attached to the other two which formed the family mansion. Here Colonel Robinson lived in quiet, but not in retirement, for his house had

¹ This house, the property of Richard D. Arden, Esq. (father of the proprietor), is now called Beverly, the Christian name of Colonel Robinson. The dock built by Colonel R., and yet partially in existence, is Beverly Dock. The fine estate of Mr. Arden he has named Ardenia.

This view is from the lawn on the south side of the house. The highest part, on the right, was the portion occupied by Arnold. On the extreme right is an ancient cherry-tree, which doubtless bore fruit during the Revolution. This mansion was the country residence of Colonel Beverly Robinson, who married a daughter of Frederic Phillipse, the owner of an immense landed estate on the Hudson. Colonel Robinson was a son of John Robinson, who was president of the Council of Virginia on the retirement of Governor Gooch in 1734. He was a major in the British army under Wolfe at the storming of Quebec in 1759. He emi-

Arnold in Philadelphia.

His Extravagance.

Marriage with Miss Shippen.

Memoir of Beverly Robinson.

too wide a reputation for hospitality to be often without a guest beneath its roof. There Generals Putnam and Parsons made their head-quarters in 1778-9. Dr. Dwight, then a chaplain in the army, and residing there, speaks of it as a most delightful spot, "surrounded by valuable gardens, fields, and orchards, yielding every thing which will grow in this climate." But the event which gives the most historic importance to this place was the treason of Arnold, which we will here consider.

When the British evacuated Philadelphia in the spring of 1778, Arnold (whose leg, wounded at the battle of Stillwater the previous autumn, was not yet healed) was appointed by Washington military governor of the city, having in command a small detachment of troops. After remaining a month in Philadelphia, Arnold conceived the project of quitting the army and engaging in the naval service. He applied to Washington for advice in the matter, expressing his desire to be appointed to a command in the navy, and alleging the state of his wounds as a reason for desiring less active service than the army, yet a service more fitted to his genius than the inactive one he was then engaged in. Washington answered him with caution, and declined offering an opinion. As no further movement was made in the matter, it is probable that the idea originated with Arnold alone; and, as he could not engage the countenance of Washington, he abandoned it.

Fond of show, and feeling the importance of his station, Arnold now began to live in a style of splendor and extravagance which his income would not allow, and his pecuniary embarrassments, already becoming troublesome to him, were soon fearfully augmented. The future was all dark, for he saw no honorable means for delivering himself from the dilemma. No doubt, dreams of rich prizes filled his mind while contemplating a command in the navy, but these

grated to New York, and became very wealthy by his marriage. The mansion here delineated was his residence when the war of the Revolution broke out, and, loving quiet, he refrained from engaging in the exciting events of the day. He was opposed to the course of the ministry during the few years preceeding



Bev. Robinson

the war, joined heartily in carrying out the spirit of the non-importation agreements, but, opposed to any separation of the colonies from the parent country, he took sides with the Loyalists when the Declaration of Independence was promulgated. He removed to New York, and there raised a military corps called the Loyal American Regiment, of which he was commissioned the colonel. His son, Beverly, was commissioned its lieutenant colonel. It is supposed that he was Arnold's correspondent and confidant in his preliminary acts of treason, and that the intentions of the traitor were known to him before any intimation of them was made to Sir Henry Clinton. Robinson figures publicly in that affair, and his country mansion was the head-quarters of the recusant general while arranging the crowning acts of his treachery.

At the conclusion of the war, Colonel Robinson and a portion of his family went to England, where he remained until his death, which occurred at Thornbury in 1792, at the age of 69 years. His wife died in 1822, at the age of 94. Colonel Robinson and Washington were personal friends before the war, and it is asserted that, at the house of the former, the Virginian colonel, while on his way to Boston in 1756, to consult General Shirley on military affairs, saw and

"fell in love" with Miss Mary Phillipse, a sister of Mrs. Robinson. It is also said that Washington made a proposition of marriage to her, but she refused him, telling him frankly that she loved another. The favored suitor was Roger Morris, one of Washington's companions in arms in the battle of the Great Meadows, where Braddock was killed. Morris was that general's aid-de-camp. A portrait of this lady will be found in another part of this volume.

The miniature from which this likeness of Colonel Robinson was copied is in the possession of his grandson, Beverly Robinson, Esq., of New York. It was painted by Mr. Plott in 1785, when Colonel Robinson was sixty-two years old. The letter from which I copied his signature was written in 1786. The estate and family of Colonel Robinson are considered in a subsequent chapter in connection with a general notice of the Loyalists.

Arnold's Residence and Style of Living.

His fraudulent Dealings.

Charge of Malfeasance preferred against him.

being dissipated, he saw the web of difficulty gathering more closely and firmly around him. He had recently married Miss Margaret Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, one of the disaffected or Tory residents of Philadelphia. She was much younger than he, and he loved her with passionate fondness—a love deserved by her virtues and solidity of understanding. In addition to these advantages, she was beautiful in person and engaging in her manners. When the British troops entered Philadelphia, a few months previously, her friends had given them a cordial welcome; therefore the marriage of Arnold with a member of such a family excited great surprise, and some uneasiness on the part of the patriots. "But he was pledged to the republic by so many services rendered and benefits received, that, on reflection, the alliance gave umbrage to no one."¹

Arnold resided in the spacious mansion that once belonged to William Penn,² and there he lived in a style of luxury rivaled by no resident in Philadelphia. He kept a coach-and-four, servants in livery, and gave splendid banquets. Rather than retrench his expenses and live within his means, he chose to procure money by a system of fraud, and prostitution of his official power,³ which brought him into collision with the people, and with the president and Council of Pennsylvania. The latter preferred a series of charges against him, all implying a willful abuse of power and criminal acts. These were laid before Congress. A committee, to whom all such charges were referred, acquitted him of criminal designs. The whole subject was referred anew to a joint committee of Congress, and the Assembly and Council of Pennsylvania. After proceeding in their duties for a while, it was thought expedient to hand the whole matter over to Washington, to be submitted to a military tribunal. Four of the charges only were deemed cognizable by a court martial, and these were transmitted to Washington. Arnold had previously presented to Congress large claims against the government, on account of money which he alleged he had expended for the public service in Canada. A part of his claim was disallowed; and it was generally believed that he attempted to cheat the government by false financial statements.

Arnold was greatly irritated by the course pursued by Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly, and complained, probably not without cause (for party spirit was never more rife in the national Legislature than at that time), of injustice and partiality on the part of



BENEDICT ARNOLD.*

¹ *American Register*, 1817, ii., 31.

² A view of this mansion, which is still standing, will be found in another part of this work.

³ Under pretense of supplying the wants of the army, Arnold forbade the shop-keepers to sell or buy; he then put goods at the disposal of his agents, and caused them to be sold at enormous profits, the greater proportion of which he put into his own purse. "At one moment he prostituted his authority to enrich his accomplices; at the next, squabbled with them about the division of the prey." His transactions in this way involved the enormous amount of one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

⁴ Benedict Arnold was born in Norwich, Connecticut, on the 3d of January, 1740. He was a descendant of Benedict Arnold, one of the early governors of Rhode Island. He was bred an apothecary, under the brothers Lathrop of Norwich, who were so much pleased with him as a young man of genius and enterprise, that they gave him two thousand dollars to commence business with. From 1763 to 1767, he combined the business of druggist and bookseller in New Haven. Being in command of a volunteer company there when the war broke out, he marched to Cambridge, and thenceforth his career is identified with some of the bravest exploits of the Revolution, until his defection in 1780. In preceding chapters his course and character have been incidentally noticed, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. On going over to the enemy, he received the commission of brigadier general in the British army, together with the price of his treason. After the war he went to England, where he chiefly resided until his death. He was engaged in trade in St. John's, New Brunswick, from 1786 till 1793. He was fraudulent in his dealings, and became so unpopular, that in 1792 he was hung in effigy by a mob. He left St. John's for the West In-

Arnold ordered to be tried by a Court Martial.

His Trial, Verdict, and Punishment.

Its Effects.

the former, in throwing aside the report of their own committee, by which he had been acquitted, and listening to the proposals of men who, he said, were moved by personal enmity, and had practiced unworthy artifices to cause delay. After the lapse of three months, the Council of Pennsylvania were not ready for the trial, and requested it to be put off, with the plea that they had not collected all their evidence. Arnold considered this a subterfuge, and plainly told all parties so. He was anxious to have the matter settled, for he was unemployed; for on the 18th of March, 1779, after the committee of Congress had reported on the charges preferred by the Council of Pennsylvania, he had resigned his commission. He was vexed that Congress, instead of calling up and sanctioning the first report, should yield to the solicitations of his enemies for a military trial.¹

The day fixed for the trial was the 1st of June; the place, Washington's head-quarters at Middlebrook. The movements of the British prevented the trial being held, and it was deferred until the 20th of December,^a when the court assembled for the purpose, at Morristown.² The trial commenced, and continued, with slight interruptions, until the 26th of January,^b when the verdict was rendered. Arnold made an elaborate defense, in the course of which he magnified his services, asserted his entire innocence of the criminal charges made against him, cast reproach, by imputation, upon some of the purest men in the army, and solemnly proclaimed his patriotic attachment to his country. "The boastfulness and malignity of these declarations," says Sparks, "are obvious enough; but their consummate hypocrisy can be understood only by knowing the fact that, at the moment they were uttered, he had been eight months in secret correspondence with the enemy, and was prepared, if not resolved, when the first opportunity should offer, to desert and destroy his country."

Arnold was acquitted of two of the four charges; the other two were sustained in part. The court sentenced him to the mildest form of punishment, a simple reprimand by the commander-in-chief.³ Washington carried the sentence into execution with all possible delicacy; but Arnold's pride was too deeply wounded, or, it may be, his treasonable schemes were too far ripened, to allow him to take advantage of the favorable moment to regain the confidence of his countrymen and vindicate his character. He had expected from the court a triumphant vindication of his honor; he was prepared, in the event of an unfavorable verdict, to seek revenge at any hazard.

dies in 1794, but, finding a French fleet there, and fearing a detention by them, the allies of America, he sailed for England. He died in Gloucester Place, London, June 14th, 1801, at the age of sixty-one. His wife died at the same place, on the 14th of June, 1804, aged forty-three. Arnold had three children by his first wife, and four by his second, all boys.

¹ Sparks's *Life and Treason of Arnold*, 131, 133.

² Arnold continued to reside in Philadelphia after resigning his command. No longer afraid of his power, the people testified their detestation of his character by various indignities. One day he was assaulted in the streets by the populace. He complained to Congress, and asked a guard of twenty men to be placed around his residence. Congress declined to interfere, and this added another to the list of his alleged grievances. In the mean while, Arnold devised several schemes by which to relieve himself of his pecuniary embarrassments. He proposed to form a settlement in Western New York for the officers and soldiers who had served under him. He also conceived the idea of joining some of the Indian tribes, and uniting many of them in one, become a great and powerful chief among them.

³ Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, of West Chester county, recorded the following in his diary: "General Arnold being under arrest for improper conduct in Philadelphia while he commanded there, I was chosen one of the court martial, Major-general Howe, president. There were also in that court four officers who had been at Ticonderoga when Colonel Hazen was called on for trial, &c. We were for cashiering Arnold, but the majority overruled, and he was finally sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. Had all the court known Arnold's former conduct as well as myself, he would have been dismissed the service."

"When Arnold was brought before him," says M. de Marbois, "he kindly addressed him, saying, 'Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the luster of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment toward your fellow-citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country.'"

Arnold's Interview with Luzerne.

His Wife and Major André.

Sympathy of Schuyler and Livingston.

In manifest treason there was great danger, and, before proceeding to any overt acts of that nature, Arnold tried other schemes to accomplish his desire of obtaining money to meet the claims of his creditors and the daily demands of his extravagant style of living. He apparently acquiesced in the sentence of the court martial, and tried to get Congress to adjust his accounts by allowing his extravagant claims. This he could not accomplish, and he applied to M. de Luzerne, the French minister, who succeeded Gerard, for a loan, promising a faithful adherence to the king and country of the ambassador. Luzerne admired the military talents of Arnold, and treated him with great respect; but he refused the loan, and administered a kind though keen rebuke to the applicant for thus covertly seeking a bribe.¹ He talked kindly to Arnold, reasoned soundly, and counseled him wisely. But words had no weight without the added specific gravity of gold, and he left the French minister with mingled indignation, mortification, and shame. From that hour he doubtless resolved to sell the liberties of his country for a price.

Hitherto the intimacy and correspondence of Arnold with officers of the British army had been without definite aim, and apparently incidental. His marriage with the daughter of Mr. Shippen (who was afterward chief justice of Pennsylvania) was no doubt a link of the greatest importance in the chain of his treasonable operations. That family was disaffected to the American cause. Shippen's youngest daughter, then eighteen years of age, remarkable, as we have observed, for her beauty, gayety, and general attractions, had been admired and flattered by the British officers, and was a leading personage in the splendid *fête* called the *Mischianza*, which was given in honor of Sir William Howe when he was about leaving the army for Europe. She was intimate with Major André, and corresponded with him after the British army had retired to New York. This was the girl who, attracted by the station, equipage, and brilliant display of Arnold, gave him her hand; this was the girl he loved so passionately. From that moment he was peculiarly exposed to the influence of the enemies of his country, and they, no doubt, kept alive the feelings of discontent which disturbed him after his first rupture with the authorities of Pennsylvania. His wife may not have been his confidant; but through her intimacy with Major André his correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton was effected. Whether she was cognizant of the contents of the letters of her husband is not known; probably she was not.

West Point was an object of covetous desire to Sir Henry Clinton. Arnold knew that almost any amount of money and honors would be given to the man who should be instrumental in placing that post in the hands of the enemy. He resolved, therefore, to make this the subject of barter for British gold. Hitherto he had pleaded the bad state of his wounds in justification of comparative inaction; now they healed rapidly. Though he could not endure the fatigues of active service on horseback, he thought he might fulfill the duties of commander at West Point. Hitherto he was sullen and indifferent; now his patriotism was aroused afresh, and he was eager to rejoin his old companions in arms. He was ready to make the sacrifice of domestic ease for an opportunity to again serve his bleeding country. With language of such import he addressed his friends in Congress, particularly General Schuyler, and others who he knew had influence with Washington. He intimated to Schuyler his partiality for the post at West Point. He also prevailed upon Robert R. Livingston, then a member of Congress from New York, to write to Washington and suggest the expe-

¹ M. de Marbois, who was the secretary of the French legation, has preserved a vivid picture of this interview in his account of the treason of Arnold, an excellent translation of which may be found in the *American Register*, 1817. He says Luzerne listened to Arnold's discourse with pain, but he answered with frankness. "You desire of me a service," he said, "which it would be easy for me to render, but which would degrade us both. When the envoy of a foreign power gives, or, if you will, lends money, it is ordinarily to corrupt those who receive it, and to make them the creatures of the sovereign whom he serves; or, rather, he corrupts without persuading; he buys and does not secure. But the firm league entered into between the king and the United States is the work of justice and the wisest policy. It has for its basis a reciprocal interest and good will. In the mission with which I am charged, my true glory consists in fulfilling it without intrigue or cabal, without resorting to any secret practices, and by the force alone of the condition of the alliance."

Arnold's Visit to the American Camp.

Washington Deceived by him.

Obtains the Command at West Point.

diency of giving Arnold the command of that station. Livingston cheerfully complied, but his letter had no appearance of being suggested by Arnold himself. Scarcely had Livingston's letter reached the camp, before Arnold appeared there in person. Under pretense of having private business in Connecticut, he passed through the camp, to pay his respects to the commander-in-chief. He made no allusion to his desire for an appointment to the command of West Point, and pursued his journey. On his return, he again called upon Washington at his quarters, and then suggested that, on joining the army, the command of that post would be best suited to his feelings and the state of his health. Washington was a little surprised that the impetuous Arnold should be willing to take command where there was no prospect of active operations. His surprise, however, had no mixture of suspicion. Arnold visited and inspected all the fortifications, in company with General Robert Howe, and then returned to Philadelphia.

Having resolved to join the army, Arnold applied to Congress for arrearages of pay, to enable him to furnish himself with a horse and equipage. Whether his application was successful no record explains. He reached the camp on the last day of July, while the army was crossing the Hudson from the west side, at King's Ferry (Verplanck's Point).^{1780.} On the arrival of the French at Newport, Sir Henry Clinton made an effort to attack them before they could land and fortify themselves. The result we have already considered. This movement caused Washington, who was encamped between Haverstraw and Tappan, to cross the river, with the intention of attacking New York in the absence of Clinton. Arnold met Washington on horseback, just as the last division was crossing over, and asked if any place had been assigned to him. The commander-in-chief replied that he was to take command of the left wing, the post of honor. Arnold was disappointed, and perceiving it, Washington promised to meet him at his quarters, and have further conversation on the subject. He found Arnold's heart set upon the command of West Point. He was unable to account for this strange inconsistency with his previous ambition to serve in the most conspicuous place. Still he had no suspicion of wrong, and he complied with Arnold's request. The instructions which gave him command of "that post and its dependencies, in which all are included from Fishkill to King's Ferry," were dated at Peekskill on the 3d of August, 1780. Arnold repaired immediately to the Highlands, and established his quarters at Colonel Robinson's house. Sir Henry Clinton having abandoned his expedition against the French at Newport, the American army retraced its steps, and, crossing the Hudson, marched down to Tappan and encamped, where it remained for several weeks. General Greene commanded the right wing, and Lord Stirling the left; six battalions of light infantry, stationed in advance, were commanded by La Fayette.

Thus far Arnold's plans had worked admirably. He had now been in correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for eighteen months,² both parties always writing over fictitious names, and, for a great portion of the time, without a knowledge, on the part of the British commander, of the name and character of the person with whom he was in communication. Arnold corresponded with Clinton through the hands of Major André. Writing in a dis-

¹ Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, viii., 139.

² It is not positively known how early Arnold's correspondence with officers of the British army commenced, or at what precise period he first conceived the idea of betraying his country. The translator of the Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels in North America*, an English gentleman of distinction, and a resident here during our Revolution, says (i., page 97), "There is every reason to believe that Arnold's treachery took its date from his connection with Lieutenant *Hele*, killed afterward on board the *Formidable*, in the West Indies, and who was undoubtedly a very active and industrious spy at Philadelphia in the winter of 1778, whither he was sent for that purpose in a pretended flag of truce, which being wrecked in the Delaware, he was made prisoner by Congress, a subject of much discussion between them and the commander at New York. That the intended plot was known in England, and great hopes built upon it long before it was to take place, is certain. General Mathews and other officers, who returned in the autumn of 1780, being often heard to declare 'that it was all over with the rebels; that they were about to receive an irreparable blow, the news of which would soon arrive, &c., &c.' Their silence, from the moment in which they received an account of the failure of the plot and the discovery of the traitor, evidently pointed out the object of their allusions."

Correspondence of Arnold and André.

Proposed Plan of the British to gain Possession of West Point.

guised hand, he clothed his meaning in the ambiguous style of a commercial correspondence, and affixed to his letters the signature of GUSTAVUS. André signed his JOHN ANDERSON. He was an aid-de-camp of the commander-in-chief of the British forces, and was afterward the adjutant general of the British army. He enjoyed the unbounded confidence of Sir Henry Clinton, and to him, when the name and station of Arnold became known, was

I am in behalf of m: m — & hand Co.
 Sir your Obedt. Able Servant
 Mr John Anderson
 merchant Gustavus

FAC SIMILE OF ARNOLD'S DISGUISED HANDWRITING.

but we entreat you to favour
 a matter so interesting to the par
 ties concerned.
 John Anderson.

FAC SIMILE OF A PORTION OF ONE OF ANDRÉ'S LETTERS.¹

intrusted the delicate task of consummating the bargain with the traitor. Even while the name of Arnold was yet concealed, Clinton was confident that his secret correspondent was an officer of high rank in the American army; and before Arnold was tried by a court martial, the British general was convinced that he was the man. That trial lessened his value in the estimation of Clinton; but when Arnold obtained the command of West Point, the affair assumed greater magnitude and importance.

The general plan of operations agreed upon for placing West Point in possession of the enemy was, for Sir Henry Clinton to send a strong force up the Hudson at the moment when the combined French and American armies should make an expected movement against New York. This movement was really a part of Washington's plan for the autumn campaign, and Sir Henry Clinton was informed of it by Arnold. It was concluded that West Point and its dependencies would be the depositories of a great portion of the stores and ammunition of the allied armies. It was rumored that the French were to land on Long Island, and approach New York in that direction, while Washington was to march with the main army of the Americans to invade York Island at Kingsbridge. At this juncture, a flotilla under Rodney, bearing a strong land force, was to proceed up the Hudson to

¹ This is a portion of a concluding sentence of a letter from André to Colonel Sheldon, which will be mentioned presently.

André appointed to confer with Arnold.

An interview proposed by the Traitor.

Letter to Colonel Sheldon.

the Highlands, when Arnold, under pretense of a weak garrison, should surrender the post and its dependencies into the hands of the enemy. In this event, Washington must have retreated from Kingsbridge, and the French on Long Island would probably have fallen into the hands of the British. With a view to these operations, the British troops were so posted that they could be put in motion at the shortest notice; while vessels, properly manned, were kept in readiness on the Hudson River.

It was now necessary that Clinton should be certified of the identity of General Arnold and his hidden correspondent, in order that he might make himself secure against a counterplot. A personal conference was proposed, and Arnold insisted that the officer sent to confer with him should be Adjutant-general Major André.¹ Clinton, on his part, had already fixed upon André as the proper person to hold the conference. It must be borne in mind that André did not seek the service, though, when engaged in it, he used his best endeavors, as in duty bound, to carry out its objects.

As money was the grand lure that made Arnold a traitor, he felt it necessary to have an understanding respecting the reward which he was to obtain. Under date of August 30th, he wrote to André in the feigned hand and style alluded to, and said, referring to himself in the third person, "He is still of opinion that his first proposal is by no means unreasonable, and makes no doubt, when he has a conference with you, that you will close with it. He expects, when you meet, that you will be fully authorized from your house; that the risks and profits of the copartnership may be fully understood. *A speculation of this kind might be easily made with ready money.*" Clinton understood this hint, and André was authorized to negotiate on that point.

Arnold's first plan was to have the interview at his own quarters in the Highlands, André to be represented as a person devoted to the American interest, and possessing ample means for procuring intelligence from the enemy. This was a safe ground for Arnold to proceed upon, for the employment of secret agents to procure intelligence was well known.² He dispatched a letter to André informing him of this arrangement, and assuring him that if he could make his way safely to the American outposts above White Plains, he would find no obstructions thereafter. Colonel Sheldon was then in command of a detachment of cavalry stationed on the east side of the Hudson. His head-quarters, with a part of the detachment, was

Elisha Sheldon

at Salem, and those of his lieutenant (Colonel Jameson) and of Major Tallmadge, with the remainder of the corps, were at North Castle. Arnold gave Sheldon notice that he expected a person from New York, with whom he would have an interview at the colonel's quarters, to make important arrangements for receiving early intelligence from the enemy. He requested Sheldon, in the event of the stranger's arrival, to send information of the fact to his quarters at the Robinson House. Arnold's plan was not entirely agreeable to André, for he was not disposed to go within the American lines and assume the odious character of a spy. He accordingly wrote the following letter to Colonel Sheldon, signed JOHN ANDERSON, which, he knew, would be placed in Arnold's hands. It proposed a meeting at Dobbs's Ferry, upon the Neutral Ground. "I am told that my name is made known to you, and that I may hope your indulgence in permitting me to meet a friend near your outposts. I will endeavor to obtain permission to go out with a flag, which will be sent to Dobbs's Ferry on Monday next, the 11th instant, at twelve o'clock, when I shall be happy to meet Mr. G——. Should I not be allowed to go, the officer who is to command the escort—between whom and myself no distinction need be made—can speak in the affair.

September,
1780.

¹ Sir Henry Clinton's letter to Lord George Germain.

² In this connection it may be mentioned, that when Arnold was about to proceed to the Highlands, he went to La Fayette, and requested him to give him the names of spies which the marquis had in his employ in New York, suggesting that intelligence from them might often reach him more expeditiously by the way of West Point. La Fayette objected, saying that he was in honor bound not to reveal the names of spies to any person. The object which Arnold had in view became subsequently obvious.

Effect of André's Letter to Sheldon. Arnold's attempted interview with André. His Letter to Washington. Joshua H. Smith.

Let me entreat you, sir, to favor a matter so interesting to the parties concerned, and which is of so private a nature that the public on neither side can be injured by it." This letter puzzled Colonel Sheldon, for he had never heard the name of JOHN ANDERSON, nor had Arnold intimated any thing concerning an escort. He supposed, however, that it was from the person expected by Arnold. He therefore inclosed it to the general, telling him that he (Sheldon) was too unwell to go to Dobbs's Ferry, and expressing a hope that Arnold would meet Anderson there himself. André's letter puzzled Arnold too, for he found it difficult

to explain its meaning very plausibly to Colonel Sheldon. But the traitor contrived, with consummate skill, to prevent the mystery having any importance in the mind of that officer.

Arnold left his quarters on the 10th, went down the river in his barge to King's Ferry, and passed the night at the house of Joshua Hett Smith, near Haverstraw,¹ who afterward acted a conspicuous part in the work of treason, he being, as is supposed, the dupe of Arnold. Early in the morning the traitor proceeded toward Dobbs's Ferry, where André and Colonel Beverly Robinson had arrived. As Arnold approached that point, not having a flag, he was fired upon by the British gun-boats stationed near, and closely pursued. He escaped to the opposite side of the river, and the conference was necessarily postponed. Having gone down the river openly in his



MAP SHOWING THE SCENE OF ARNOLD'S TREASON.²

barge, Arnold deemed it necessary to make some explanation to General Washington, and accordingly he wrote a letter to him, in which, after mentioning several important matters connected with the command at West Point, he incidentally stated that he had come down the river to establish signals as near the enemy's lines as possible, by which he might receive information of any movements of a fleet or troops up the Hudson. This letter was

¹ This house is yet standing. A drawing of it is presented on page 152. It is about two miles and a half below Stony Point, on the right side of the road leading to Haverstraw.

There has ever been a difference of opinion concerning the true character of Smith; some supposing him to have been a Tory, and acting with a full knowledge of Arnold's instructions; others believing him to have been the traitor's dupe. Leake, in his *Life of John Lamb* (p. 256), says that Arnold often visited Smith to while away tedious hours; and that Colonel Lamb, while in command at West Point, was frequently invited to visit him, but invariably declined, notwithstanding Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Lamb were nearly related. Colonel Lamb said he knew Smith to be a Tory, and he would not visit his own father in a similar category.

² This map includes the Hudson River and its shores from Dobbs's Ferry to West Point, and exhibits a chart of the whole scene of Arnold's treason, and of the route, capture, and execution of the unfortunate André. The thin lines upon the map indicate the public roads. By a reference to it, in perusing the narrative, the reader will have a clear understanding of the matter.

Further arrangements for an interview.

Arnold's Correspondence with Beverly Robinson.

Washington on his Journey.

dated at "Dobbs's Ferry, September 11th," and on that night he returned to his quarters at the Robinson House.

It was now necessary to make arrangements for another interview. No time was to be lost; no precautionary measure was to be neglected. Arnold knew that Washington was preparing to go to Hartford, to hold a conference with the newly-arrived French officers, and that the proper time to consummate his plans would be during the absence of the commander-in-chief. As Washington would cross the Hudson at King's Ferry, it was very necessary, too, that no movement should be made until his departure that might excite his suspicions.

Two days after Arnold returned to his quarters, he found means to send a communication to Andr , which, as usual, was couched in commercial language. September 13,
1790. He cautioned Andr  not to reveal any thing to Colonel Sheldon. "I have no confidant," he said; "I have made one too many already, who has prevented some profitable speculation." He informed Andr  that a person would meet him on the west side of Dobbs's Ferry, on Wednesday, the 20th instant, and that he would conduct him to a place of safety, where the writer would meet him. "It will be necessary," he said, "for you to be in disguise. I can not be more explicit at present. Meet me, if possible. You may rest assured that, if there is no danger in passing your lines, you will be perfectly safe where I propose a meeting." Arnold also wrote to Major Tallmadge, at North Castle, instructing him, if a person by the name of John Anderson should arrive at his station, to send him without delay to head-quarters, escorted by two dragoons.

Sir Henry Clinton, who was as anxious as Arnold to press the matter forward, had sent Colonel Robinson up the river on board the Vulture, with orders to proceed as high as Teller's Point. Robinson and Arnold seem to have had some general correspondence previous to this time, and it is believed (as I have mentioned on a preceding page) that the former was made acquainted with the treasonable designs of the latter some time before the subject was brought explicitly before Sir Henry Clinton. As Arnold was occupying Colonel Robinson's confiscated mansion, a good opportunity was afforded him to write to the general without exciting suspicion, making the burden of his letters the subject of a restoration of his property. This medium of communication was now adopted to inform General Arnold that Robinson was on board the Vulture. Robinson wrote to General Putnam, pretending a belief that he was in the Highlands, and requesting an interview with him on the subject of his property. This letter was covered by one addressed to Arnold, requesting him to hand the inclosed to General Putnam, or, if that officer had gone away, to return it by the bearer. "In case General Putnam shall be absent," he said, "I am persuaded, from the humane and generous character you bear, that you will grant me the favor asked." These letters were sent, by a flag, to Verplanck's Point, the Vulture then lying about six miles below. On the very day that Washington commenced his journey to Hartford, Arnold had come down to the Point, a few hours before the arrival of the chief at the ferry on the opposite shore, and received and read Colonel Robinson's letter. September 18. He mentioned the contents to Colonel Lamb and others, with all the frankness of conscious integrity. The commander-in-chief and his suite crossed the river in Arnold's barge soon afterward, and the latter accompanied them to Peekskill. Arnold frankly laid the letter before Washing-

¹ Sparks (*American Biography*, vol. iii., from which a large portion of these details are drawn) says that two incidents occurred during this passage across the river, which, though almost unnoticed at the time, afterward, when the treachery was known, assumed some importance. The Vulture was in full view, and while Washington was looking at it through a glass, and speaking in a low tone to one of his officers, Arnold was observed to appear uneasy. Another incident was remembered. There was a daily expectation of the arrival of a French squadron on the coast, under Count de Guichen. La Fayette, alluding to the frequent communications by water between New York and the posts on the Hudson, said to Arnold, "General, since you have a correspondence with the enemy, you must ascertain, as soon as possible, what has become of Guichen." Arnold was disconcerted, and demanded what he meant; but immediately controlling himself, and the boat just then reaching the shore, nothing more was said. No doubt, for a moment, Arnold thought his plot was discovered.—Page 186.

Washington again deceived by Arnold's Duplicity.

Smith employed to bring André from the *Vulture*.

His Difficulties.

ton, and asked his advice. His reply was, that the civil authority alone could act in the matter, and he did not approve of a personal interview with Robinson. This frankness on the part of Arnold effectually prevented all suspicion, and Washington proceeded to Hartford, confident in the integrity of the commandant of West Point.

Arnold dared not, after receiving this opinion from Washington, so far disregard it as to meet Robinson, but it gave him an opportunity to use the name of the commander-in-chief in his reply, which he openly dispatched by an officer in a flag-boat to the *Vulture*. He informed Colonel Robinson that on the night of the 20th he should send a person on board of the *Vulture*, who would be furnished with a boat and a flag of truce; and in a postscript he added, "I expect General Washington to lodge here on Saturday next, and I will lay before him any matter you may wish to communicate." This was an ingenuous and safe way of informing the enemy at what time the commander-in-chief would return from Hartford.

Arnold's communication was sent to Sir Henry Clinton, and the next morning André proceeded to Dobbs's Ferry, positively instructed by his general not to change his dress, go within the American lines, receive papers, or in any other way act in the character of a spy. It was supposed that Arnold himself would visit the *Vulture*; but he had arranged a plan for effecting a meeting involving less personal hazard. Joshua Hett Smith, just mentioned, who lived about two miles below Stony Point, had been employed by General Robert Howe, when in command of West Point, to procure intelligence from New York. Smith occupied a very respectable station in society, and could command more valuable aid, in the business in question, than any other person. To him Arnold went with a proposition to assist him in his undertaking, without, as Smith alleged, revealing to him his real intentions. He flattered him with expressions of the highest confidence and regard, and informed him that he was expecting a person of consequence from New York with valuable intelligence from the enemy, and he wanted Smith's service in bringing him within the American lines. While at Smith's on this business, Arnold was joined by his wife with her infant child, who had come on from Philadelphia. There she remained all night, and the next morning her husband went with her, in his barge, to head-quarters.

Arnold made his arrangements with Smith to have his meeting with André (whom he had resolved should be brought on shore from the *Vulture*) take place at his house, in the event of the conference being protracted. Smith, accordingly, took his family to Fishkill to visit some friends, and returning, halted at the Robinson House, and arranged with Arnold a plan of operations. The general gave him the customary pass for a flag of truce, sent an order to Major Kierse, at Stony Point, to supply Smith with a boat whenever he should want one, and directed Smith to proceed to the *Vulture* the following night and bring on shore the person who was expected to be there. Smith failed in his endeavors to make the arrangements, and did not visit the *Vulture* at the time he was directed to. Samuel Colquhon, one of his tenants, to whom he applied for assistance as boatman, refused to go. Smith sent Colquhon to Arnold with a letter, informing him of his failure. The messenger,

September 21.

by riding all night, reached the Robinson House at dawn. Early in the forenoon, Arnold himself went down the river to Verplanck's Point, and thence to Smith's house. At Verplanck's, Colonel Livingston handed him a letter which he had just received for him from Captain Sutherland of the *Vulture*. It was a remonstrance against an alleged violation of the rules of war by a party on Teller's Point.¹ The letter was in the handwriting of André, though signed by Sutherland. Arnold at once perceived the main object of this secretaryship to be, to inform him that André was on board the *Vulture*.

Arnold now hastened to make arrangements to bring André ashore. He ordered a skiff

¹ A flag of truce was exhibited at Teller's Point, inviting, as was supposed, a pacific intercourse with the ship. A boat, with another flag, was sent off, but as soon as it approached the shore it was fired upon by several armed men who were concealed in the bushes. On account of this outrage, Captain Sutherland sent a letter of remonstrance to Colonel Livingston, "the commandant at Verplanck's Point." The letter was dated "morning of the 21st of September."

Refusal of the Colquhons to accompany Smith. Final Compliance. Landing of André and his first interview with Arnold.

to be sent to a certain place in Haverstraw Creek, and then proceeded to Smith's house. Every thing was made ready, except procuring two boatmen, and this was found a difficult matter. The voyage promised many perils, for American guard-boats were stationed at various places on the river. These, however, had been ordered not to interfere with Smith and his party. Samuel Colquhoun and his brother Joseph were again solicited to accompany Smith, but both positively refused at first to go; they yielded only when Arnold himself threatened them with punishment. At near midnight the three men pushed off from shore with muffled oars. It was a serene, starry night; not a ripple was upon the Hudson, not a leaf was stirred by the breeze. Silently the little boat approached the Vulture, and when near, the sentinel on deck hailed them. After making some explanations and receiving some rough words, Smith was allowed to go on board. In the cabin he found Beverly Robinson and Captain Sutherland. These officers and Major André were the only persons in the ship who were privy to the transactions in progress. Smith bore a sealed letter from Arnold to Beverly Robinson, in which the traitor said, "This will be delivered to you by Mr. Smith, who will conduct you to a place of safety. Neither Mr. Smith nor any other person shall be made acquainted with your proposals. If they (which I doubt not) are of such a nature that I can officially take notice of them, I shall do it with pleasure. I take it for granted that Colonel Robinson will not propose any thing that is not for the interest of the United States as well as himself." This language was a guard against evil consequences in the event of the letter falling into other hands. Smith had also two passes, signed by Arnold, which Robinson well understood to be intended to communicate the idea that the writer expected André to come on shore, and to secure the boat from detention by the water-guard.¹

Major André was introduced to Smith, and both descended into the boat. They landed at the foot of a great hill, called Long Clove Mountain, on the western shore of the Hudson, about two miles below Haverstraw. This place had been designated by Arnold for the meeting, and thither he had repaired from Smith's house. Arnold was concealed in the thick bushes, and to the same place Smith conducted André. They were left alone, and for the first time the conspirators heard each other's voice; for the first time Arnold's lips uttered audibly the words of treason. There, in the gloom of night, concealed from all human cognizance, they discussed their dark plans, and plotted the utter ruin of the patriot cause. When, at the twilight of an autumn day, I stood upon that spot, in the shadow of the high hills, and the night gathering its veil over the waters and the fields, a superstitious dread crept over me lest the sentence of *anathema, maranatha*, should make the spot as unstable as the earth whereon rested the tents of the rebellious Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

The hour of dawn approached, and the conference was yet in progress. Smith came, and warned them of the necessity for haste. There was much yet to do, and André reluctantly consented to mount the horse rode by Arnold's servant, and accompany the general to Smith's house, nearly four miles distant.² It was yet dark, and the voice of a sentinel, near

¹ These passes, which are still in existence, are as follows:

"Head-quarters, Robinson House, September 20, 1780.

"Permission is given to Joshua Smith, Esquire, a gentleman, Mr. John Anderson, who is with him, and his two servants, to pass and repass the guards near King's Ferry at all times.

"B. ARNOLD, *M. Gen'l.*"

"Head-quarters, Robinson House, September 21, 1780.

"Permission is granted to Joshua Smith, Esq., to go to Dobbs's Ferry with three Men and a Boy with a Flag to carry some Letters of a private Nature for Gentlemen in New York, and to Return immediately.

"B. ARNOLD, *M. Gen'l.*"

"N.B.—He has permission to go at such hours and times as the tide and his business suits.

"B. A."

² The fact that Arnold had provided a spare horse (for there was no necessity for a servant to accompany him to the place of meeting), is evidence that he expected a longer conference than the remainder of the night would afford. Furthermore, convicted as Arnold is of innate wickedness, it may not be unjust to suppose that he was prepared, after getting André within the American lines, to perform any act of dishonor to extort a high price for his treason, or to shield himself from harm if circumstances should demand it.

Arrival of the Conspirators at Smith's House. The Vulture fired upon. Plan of Operations arranged. Colonel Livingston.

the village of Haverstraw, gave Andr  the first intimation that he was within the American lines. He felt his danger, but it was too late to recede. His uniform was effectually concealed by a long blue surtout, yet the real danger that environed him, he being within the enemy's lines without a flag or pass, made him exceedingly uneasy. They arrived at Smith's house at dawn, and at that moment they heard a cannonade in the direction of the Vulture. Colonel Livingston had been informed that the vessel lay so near the shore as to be within cannon shot. Accordingly, during the night, he sent a party with cannon from Verplanck's Point, and at dawn, from Teller's



SMITH'S HOUSE.¹

Point, they opened a fire upon the Vulture, of such severity that the vessel hoisted her anchors and dropped farther down the river.² This movement Andr  beheld with anxiety ; but, when the firing ceased, his spirits revived. During that morning the whole plot was arranged, and the day for its consummation fixed. Andr  was to return to New York, and the British troops, already embarked under the pretext of an expedition to the Chesapeake, were to be ready to ascend the river at a moment's warning. Arnold was to weaken the various posts at West Point by dispersing the garrison. When the British should appear, he was to send out detachments among the mountain gorges, under pretense of meeting the enemy, as they approached, at a distance from the works. As we have noticed, a link from the great chain at Constitution Island was to be removed. The river would be left free for the passage of vessels, and the garrison, so scattered, could not act in force ; thus the enemy could take possession with very little resistance. All the

¹ This view is from the slope in front of the house. The main building is of stone ; the wings are wood. The piazza in front of the main building, and the balustrades upon the top, are the only modern additions ; otherwise the house appears the same as when Arnold and Andr  were there. It stands upon a slope of *Treason Hill*, a few rods west of the road leading from Stony Point to Haverstraw, and about half way between the two places. It was in a room in the second story that the conspirators remained during the day of their arrival. The present owner of the house and grounds is Mr. William C. Houseman.

² Colonel Livingston, on perceiving the position of the Vulture, conceived a plan for destroying her. He asked Arnold for two pieces of heavy cannon for the purpose, but the general eluded the proposal on frivolous pretenses, so that Livingston's detachment could bring only one four-pounder to bear upon her. He had obtained some ammunition from Colonel Lamb, from West Point, who sent it rather grudgingly, and with an expressed wish that there might not be a wanton waste of it. "Firing at a ship with a four-pounder," he said, "is, in my opinion, a waste of powder." Little did he think what an important bearing that cannonade was to have upon the destinies of America. It was that which drove the Vulture from her moorings, and was one of the causes of the fatal detention of Andr  at Smith's house. The Vulture was so much injured that, had she not got off with the flood, she must have struck. Colonel Livingston saw Arnold pass Verplanck's in his barge when he escaped to the Vulture ; and he afterward declared that he had such suspicion of him that, had his guard-boats been near, he would have gone after him instantly, and demanded his destination and errand.

HENRY LIVINGSTON, who commanded at Stony Point at the time of Arnold's treason, was born at the Livingston Manor, in Columbia county, New York, January 19th, 1752. He married in Canada at an early age, and while residing there became familiar with the French language. He was among the first who took up arms against Great Britain. He accompanied Montgomery to St. John's, Montreal, and Quebec. He assisted in the capture of the fort at Chambly, and otherwise distinguished himself in that campaign. He was a lieutenant colonel in the army at Stillwater, and was present at the capture of Burgoyne. At the close of the war he was made a brigadier general, and throughout a long life maintained the highest confidence and respect of his countrymen. The Marquis de Chastellux, who breakfasted with him at Verplanck's Point on one occasion, says of him, in his *Journal* (i., 94), "This is a very amiable and well-informed young man." He died at his residence, Columbia county, May 26th, 1823, at the age of seventy-one years.

The Papers taken from André's Boot.

" Artillery Orders."

Forces at West Point.

Villefranche's Estimate.

plans being arranged, Arnold supplied André with papers explanatory of the military condition of West Point and its dependencies.¹ These he requested him to place between his

¹ These documents, with five of the passes given by Arnold on this occasion, are in the possession of a lineal descendant of Governor George Clinton. They were in my custody a few weeks, when I had the opportunity of comparing the following copies, previously made, with the originals, and found them correct. These manuscripts, though somewhat worn, are quite perfect. Those written upon one side of the paper only have been pasted upon thicker paper for preservation. They are documents of great interest, and ought to be in the possession of either our state or the Federal government. The following are true copies of the several papers :

" West Point, September 5th, 1780.

" *Artillery Orders.*—The following disposition of the corps is to take place in Case of an alarm :

" Capt. Dannills with his Comp'y at Fort Putnam, and to detach an Officer with 12 men to Wyllys's Redoubt, a Non Commissioned Officer with 3 men to Webb's Redoubt, and the like number to Redoubt No. 4.

" Capt. Thomas and Company to repair to Fort Arnold.

" Captain Simmons and Company to remain at the North and South Redoubts, at the East side of the River, until further Orders.

" Lieutenant Barber, with 20 men of Capt. Jackson's Company, will repair to Constitution Island ; the remainder of the Company, with Lieut. Mason's, will repair to Arnold.

" Capt. Lieut. George and Lieut. Blake, with 20 men of Captain Treadwell's Company, will Repair to Redoubt No. 1 and 2 ; the remainder of the Company will be sent to Fort Arnold.

" Late Jones's Company, with Lieut. Fisk, to repair to the South Battery.

" The Chain Battery, Sherburn's Redoubt, and the Brass Field pieces, will be manned from Fort Arnold as Ocation may require.

" The Commissary and Conductor of Military stores will in turn wait upon the Commanding Officer of Artillery for Orders.

" The artificers in the garrison (agreeable to former Orders) will repair to Fort Arnold, and there receive further Orders from the Command'g Officer of Artillery.

" S. BAUMAN, Major Comm't Artillery."

This document gave the British full information of what would be the disposition of the Americans on the occasion ; and as Sir Henry Clinton and many of his officers were acquainted with the ground, they would know at what particular points to make their attacks. This and the following document are in Arnold's handwriting :

" *Estimate of Forces at Wst Point and its Dependencies, September 13, 1780.*

" A brigade of Massachusetts Militia, and two regiments of Rank and File New Hampshire, Inclusive of 166 Batteaux Men at Verplanck's and Stony Points	992
" On command and Extra Service at Fishkills, New Windsor, &c., &c., who may be called in occasionally	852
" 3 regiments of Connecticut Militia, under the com'd of Colonel Wells, on the lines near N. Castle	488
" A detachment of New York levies on the lines	115
	Militia, 2447
" Colonel Lamb's Regiment	167
" Colonel Livingston's, at Verplank and Stoney Pts.	80
	Continent : 247
" Colonel Sheldon's Dragoons, on the lines, about one half mounted	142
" Batteaux Men and Artificers	250
	Total, 3086."

The following document is in the handwriting of Villefranche, a French engineer :

" *Estimate of the Number of Men necessary to Man the Works at West Point and in the Vicinity.*

" Fort Arnold	620	Redoubt No. 2	150	Redoubt No. 7	78
— Putnam	450	ditto 3	120	North Redoubt	120
— Wyllys	140	ditto 4	100	South Redoubt	130
— Webb	140	ditto 5	139		
Redoubt No. 1	150	ditto 6	110		
				Total, 2438	

Villefranche. Engineer

" N.B.—The Artillery Men are not Included in the above Estimate."

II.

L

Return of the Ordnance in the different Forts at West Point.

Arnold's Description of the Works.

stockings and feet, and in the event of accident, to destroy them. He then gave him a pass, a fac simile of which is printed on the next page, and bidding André adieu, Arnold went

The following table is in the handwriting of Bauman, Major Commandant of Artillery :

"RETURN OF THE ORDNANCE IN THE DIFFERENT FORTS, BATTERIES, &C., AT WEST POINT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, SEPT. 5, 1780.

	Metal	Garrison Carriages.			Traveling Carriages.			Stocked Carriages.			Traveling Carriages.			Garrison Carriages.			Traveling Carriages.			Mortars.			Howitzers.		Total
		Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	
Calibers		24	18		12	9		6			4	3	0	5 1/2	4	8									
Fort Arnold.....	Brass	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
	Iron	1	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Fort Putnam	Brass	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
	Iron	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Constitution Island	Iron	..	..	..	4	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
South Battery	Iron	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Chain Battery	Iron	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Lantern Battery	Iron	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Webb's Redoubt	Iron	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sherman's Redoubt	Iron	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Megg's Redoubt	Iron	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
South Redoubt	Iron	..	..	..	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
North Redoubt	Iron	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Wylls's Redoubt	Iron	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Rocky Hill, No. 4	Iron	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
" No. 1	Iron	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
" No. 2	Iron	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Verplanck's Point	Brass	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Stony Point	Iron	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total		1	18	3	14	5	9	14	5	2	1	3	6	5	11	2	1								100

N.B.—The following ordnance not distributed :

No. 6 iron 12 pounder.

4 " 9 "

1 " 6 "

1 " 4 "

2 " 3 "

14

3 brass 24 pounders.

7 " 12 "

1 " 8-inch howitzer.

11

Bauman Major Comd.
J. M. Kelley

* The following description of the works at West Point and its dependencies is in the handwriting of Arnold, endorsed "Remarks on Works at West Point, a copy to be transmitted to his Excellency General Washington. Sep'r. 1780."

"Fort Arnold is built of Dry Fascines and Wood, is in a ruinous condition, incomplete, and subject to take Fire from Shells or Carcasses.

"Fort Putnam, Stone, Wanting great repairs, the wall on the East side broke down, and rebuilding from the Foundation; at the West and South side have been a Chevaux-de-Frise, on the West side broke in many Places. The East side open; two Bomb Proofs and Provision Magazine in the Fort, and Slight Wooden Barrack.—A commanding piece of ground 500 yards West, between the Fort and No. 4—or Rocky Hill.

Arnold's Pass.

Smith's Refusal to take André back to the Vulture.

His insufficient Excuse.

up the river, in his own barge, to head-quarters, fully believing that no obstacle now interposed to frustrate his wicked scheme. André passed the remainder of the day alone, and

*Head Quarters Robinsons
Horn Sep. 22^d 1780*

*Permit M^r. John Anderson to pass the
Guns to the White Plains, or below
at the Chimes. He being on Public
Business by my Direction*

as soon as evening came, he applied to Smith to take him back to the Vulture. Smith positively refused to go, and pleaded illness from ague as an excuse. If he quaked, it was probably not from ague, but from fear, wrought by the firing upon the Vulture; for he offered to ride half

the night with André, on horseback, if he would take a land route. Having no other means of reaching the vessel, André was obliged to yield to the force of circumstances. He con-

B. Arnold M^g Genl

"Fort Webb, built of Fascines and Wood, a slight Work, very dry, and liable to be set on fire, as the approaches are very easy, without defenses, save a slight Abattis.

"Fort Wyllys, built of stone 5 feet high, the Work above plank filled with Earth, the stone work 15 feet, the Earth 9 feet thick.—No Bomb Proofs, the Batteries without the Fort.

"Redoubt No. 1. On the South side wood 9 feet thick, the Wt. North and East sides 4 feet thick, no cannon in the works, a slight and single Abattis, no ditch or Pickett. Cannon on two Batteries. No Bomb Proofs.

"Redoubt No. 2. The same as No. 1. No Bomb Proofs.

"Redoubt No. 3, a slight Wood Work 3 Feet thick, very Dry, no Bomb Proofs, a single Abattis, the work easily set on fire—no cannon.

"Redoubt No. 4, a Wooden work about 10 feet high and fore or five feet thick, the West side faced with a stone wall 8 feet high and four thick. No Bomb Proof, two six pounders, a slight Abattis, a commanding piece of ground 500 yards Wt.

"The North Redoubt, on the East side, built of stone 4 feet high; above the Stone, wood filled in with Earth, Very Dry, no Ditch, a Bomb Proof, three Batteries without the Fort, a poor Abattis, a Rising piece of ground 500 yards So., the approaches Under Cover to within 20 yards.—The Work easily fired with Faggots dipt in Pitch, &c.

"South Redoubt, much the same as the North, a Commanding piece of ground 500 yards due East—3 Batteries without the Fort."

The "Artillery Orders" of September 5, 1780; the estimate of forces at West Point; estimate of men to man the works, by Villefranche; the "Return" of Bauman; the description of the works at West Point and vicinity, and a copy of a council of war held at Washington's quarters, September 6, 1780, are the papers which were taken from André's stocking. The latter document, which set forth the weakness, wants, and gloomy prospects of the American army, was a statement made by Washington to the council. It is too long for insertion here. Preserved among these papers are five passes, signed by Arnold, a memo-

André's Exchange of Coats. He and Smith cross the Hudson. Smith's Letter to his Brother. Ambiguous Memorandum.

sented to cross King's Ferry to Verplanck's Point, and make his way back to New York by land. He had been prevailed upon by Arnold, in the event of his taking a land route (which had been talked of), to exchange his military coat for a citizen's dress. This act, and the receiving of papers from Arnold, were contrary to the express orders of Sir Henry Clinton, but André was obliged to be governed by the unforeseen circumstances in which he was placed. Smith agreed to attend him on the way as far as the lower outposts of the American lines.

September, 1780. A little before sunset, on the evening of the 22d, accompanied by a negro servant, they crossed King's Ferry. At dusk, they passed through the works at Verplanck's Point, and turned their faces toward White Plains. While they are pursuing their route toward the Neutral Ground, let us consider events at the Robinson House, and then resume our own journey. We shall overtake the travelers presently, when the concluding portion of the narrative of Arnold's treason will be given.

randum, which, from its ambiguity, is unintelligible,* and the following letter from Joshua Smith to his brother Thomas, after his arrest on suspicion of being an accomplice with Arnold :

"Robinson House, Sept. 25th, 1780.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I am here a prisoner, and am therefore unable to attend in person. I would be obliged to you if you would deliver to Captain Cairns, of Lee's Dragoons, a British uniform Coat, which you will find in one of the drawers in the room above stairs.† I would be happy to see you. Remember me to your family.

"I am affectionately yours,

Joshua H. Smith

* Copy of the memorandum :

"Hennicut
Elijah Hunter
Mr. I. Johnson, B. R——r
Mr. J. Stewart, to the care of Joshua Smith, Esq., to be left at Head Q'rs.
Isaac Adams, 5 . , 5 . , 5."

† This was Major André's coat, which that officer exchanged with Smith for a citizen's dress-coat, as mentioned in the text.

Arnold's Composure in Presence of his Aids.

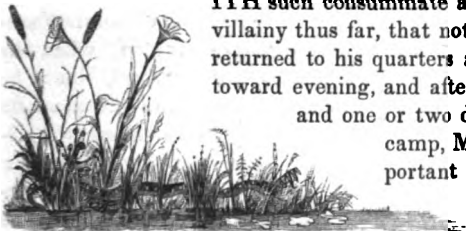
Washington's Return from Hartford.

His Approach to Arnold's Quarters.

CHAPTER VII.

"Here onward swept thy waves,
When tones, now silent, mingled with their sound,
And the wide shore was vocal with the song
Of hunter chief or lover's gentle strain.
Those pass'd away—forgotten as they pass'd;
But holier recollections dwell with thee.
Here hath immortal Freedom built her proud
And solemn monuments. The mighty dust
Of heroes in her cause of glory fallen,
Hath mingled with the soil, and hallow'd it.
Thy waters in their brilliant path have seen
The desperate strife that won a rescued world,
The deeds of men who live in grateful hearts,
And hymn'd their requiem."

ELIZABETH F. ELLET.



ITH such consummate art had General Arnold managed his scheme of villainy thus far, that not a suspicion of his defection was abroad. He returned to his quarters at the Robinson House, as we have observed, toward evening, and after passing a half hour with his wife and child, and one or two domestics, he conversed freely with his aids-de-camp, Majors Varick¹ and Franks, concerning the important information he was expecting to receive from

New York, through a distinguished channel which he had just opened. This was on the 22d; the 24th was the day fixed upon for the ascent of the river by the British, and the surrender of West Point into the hands of the enemy. Yet, with all this guilt upon his soul, Arnold was composed, and the day on which his treason was to be consummated, no change was observed in his usual deportment.

Washington returned from Hartford on the 24th, by the upper route, through Dutchess county to Fishkill, and thence along the Highland road by Philipstown.

Soon after leaving Fishkill, he met Luzerne, the French minister, with his suite, on his way to visit Rochambeau. That gentleman induced the commander-in-chief to turn back and pass the night with him at Fishkill.

Washington and his suite were in the saddle before dawn, for he was anxious to reach Arnold's quarters by

Genl. J. Franks
Richd Varick

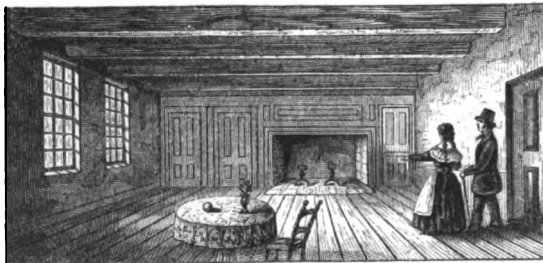
SIGNATURES OF ARNOLD'S AIDS.

¹ Richard Varick, who, before the close of the war, was promoted to colonel, was a sterling patriot. He admired Arnold as a soldier; and when that officer's defection became known, Varick was almost insane for a day or two, so utterly contrary to the whole life of Arnold appeared the fact. Varick became one of Washington's military family near the close of the war, as his recording secretary. He was mayor of the city of New York from 1791 to 1801. On the death of John Jay, he was elected president of the American Bible Society, which office he held until his death, which occurred at Jersey City, July 30th, 1831, at the age of seventy-nine years.

Washington's Delay in reaching Arnold's Quarters. Announcement of André's Arrest. Flight of Arnold. His Wife and Son.

breakfast time, and they had eighteen miles to ride. The men, with the baggage, started earlier, and conveyed a notice to Arnold of Washington's intention to breakfast with him. When opposite West Point, the commander-in-chief turned his horse down a lane toward the river. La Fayette, perceiving it, said, "General, you are going in a wrong direction; you know Mrs. Arnold is waiting breakfast for us, and that road will take us out of the way." Washington answered, good-naturedly, "Ah, I know you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold, and wish to get where she is as soon as possible. You may go and take your breakfast with her, and tell her not to wait for me, for I must ride down and examine the redoubts on this side of the river,¹ and will be there in a short time." The officers, however, did not leave him, except two aids-de-camp, who rode on, at the general's request, to make known the cause of the delay.

Breakfast was waiting when the officers arrived, and as soon as it was ascertained that the commander-in-chief and the other gentlemen would not be there, Arnold, his family, and the aids-de-camp sat down to breakfast. Arnold appeared somewhat moody. The enemy had not appeared according to arrangements, and Washington had returned at least two days sooner than he anticipated. While they were at table, Lieutenant Allen came with a letter for Arnold. The general broke the seal hastily, for he knew by the superscription that it was from Colonel Jameson, stationed at one of the outposts below. The letter was, indeed, from that officer; but, instead of conveying the expected intelligence that the enemy were moving up the river, it informed him that *Major André, of the British army, was a prisoner in his custody!*² Arnold's presence of mind did not forsake him, and, although agitated, his emotion was not sufficiently manifest to excite the suspicion of those around him. He informed the aids-de-camp that his immediate attendance was required at West Point, and desired them to say



THE BREAKFAST ROOM.³

chamber, and sent for her.⁴ There was no time to be lost, for another messenger might speedily arrive with evidence of his treason. In brief and hurried words he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps forever, for his life depended on reaching the enemy's lines without detection. Horror-stricken, the poor young creature, but one year a mother and not two a bride, swooned and sunk senseless upon the floor. Arnold dared not call for assistance, but kissing, with lips blasted by words of guilt and treason, his boy, then sweetly sleeping in angel innocence and purity,⁵ he rushed from the room, mounted a horse belonging

to General Washington, when he arrived, that he was unexpectedly called over the river, and would soon return. He ordered a horse to be made ready, and then leaving the table, he went up to Mrs. Arnold's

¹ These redoubts were upon the point, near the rail-way tunnel above Garrison's Landing.

² This letter was written on the 23d, two days before. The circumstances of the arrest of André will be considered in another chapter.

³ This is a view of the room in the Robinson House in which Arnold was at breakfast when he received Colonel Jameson's letter announcing the arrest of André. It is preserved in its original style, which is quite antique. The ceiling is low; the heavy beams are bare; the fire-place surrounded with neat panel-work, without a mantel-shelf. The door on the right opens into a small room which Arnold used as an office; the windows on the left open upon the garden and lawn on the south, from whence I made the sketch of the house printed on page 140.

⁴ This chamber is also preserved in its original character. Even the panel-work over the fire-place has been left unpainted since the Revolution, in order to preserve some inscriptions made upon it with a knife. There is carved in bold letters, "G. WALLIS, Lieut. VI. Mass. Reg't."

⁵ This was the only child of Arnold by his second wife, born in the United States. His name was James Robertson. He entered the British army, and rose to the rank of colonel of engineers. He was stationed at Bermuda from 1816 to 1818, and from the last-named year until 1823 was at Halifax, and the command-

Arnold's Passage to the Vulture. Treatment of his Oarsmen. Washington's visit to West Point. Discovery of the Treason.

to one of the aids of Washington, and hastened toward the river, not by the winding road that led to the "Beverly Dock," but along a by-way down a steep hill, which is yet called *Arnold's Path*. At the dock he entered his barge, and directed the six oarsmen to push out into the middle of the stream, and pull for Teller's Point.¹

Arnold's oarsmen, unconscious of the nature of the general's errand, had their muscles strengthened by a promise of two gallons of rum, and the barge glided with unusual speed. He told them he was going on board the Vulture with a flag, and was obliged to make all possible haste, as he wished to return in time to meet General Washington at his quarters. When he passed Verplanck's Point, he displayed a white handkerchief, which, as a signal of amity, answered for both Colonel Livingston at the Point, and Captain Sutherland of the Vulture, which lay in sight a few miles below. They reached the Vulture without interruption, and, after having introduced himself to Captain Sutherland, Arnold sent for the coxswain, and informed him that he and his oarsmen were prisoners. They indignantly asserted their freedom to depart, alleging truly, as they supposed, that they had come on board under the protection of a flag. Arnold coolly replied that they must remain on board. Captain Sutherland would not interfere with Arnold's commands, but, despising his meanness, he gave the coxswain a parole to go on shore and get such things as he wanted. This was done, and, when the Vulture arrived in New York, Sir Henry Clinton set them all at liberty. In this transaction, the inherent meanness of Arnold's spirit was conspicuous, and made the British officers regard him with scorn as a reptile unworthy of that esteem which a high-souled traitor—a traitor because of great personal wrongs—might claim.

Washington arrived at Robinson's house shortly after Arnold had left. Informed that he had gone to West Point, the commander-in-chief took a hasty breakfast, and concluded not to wait, but go directly over and meet Arnold there. Hamilton remained behind, and it was arranged that the general and his suite should return to dinner. While crossing the river in a barge, Washington expressed his expectation that they would be greeted with a salute, as General Arnold was at the Point; but, to his surprise, all was silent when they approached the landing-place. Colonel Lamb, the commanding officer, who came strolling down a winding path, was much confused when he saw the barge touch the shore. He apologized to Washington for the apparent neglect of courtesy, alleging his entire ignorance of his intended visit. The general was surprised, and said, "Sir, is not General Arnold here?" "No, sir," replied Colonel Lamb, "he has not been here these two days, nor have I heard from him within that time." This awakened the suspicions of Washington. He proceeded, however, to inspect the several works at West Point, and at about noon returned to the Beverly Dock, from whence he had departed.

While ascending from the river, Hamilton was seen approaching with hurried step and anxious countenance. He conversed with Washington in a low tone, and returned with him into the house, where he laid several papers, the damning evidence of Arnold's guilt, before him. These consisted of the documents given in a preceding chapter, which Arnold had placed in André's hands. They were accompanied by a letter from Colonel Jameson, and one from André himself. Jameson, uninformed of the return of Washington from Hartford, had dispatched a messenger thither, with the papers, to the commander-in-chief. After rid-

ing officer of engineers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. While thus in command, he was at St. John's, and, on going into the house built by his father, in King Street (which is still standing), wept like a child. His wife was a Miss Goodrich, of the Isle of Wight. He is a small man, his eyes of remarkable sharpness, and in features bears a striking resemblance to his father. A gentleman who has been in service with him, and is intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him in terms of high commendation, and relates that he expressed a desire to visit the United States. Since the accession of Queen Victoria, he has been one of her majesty's aids-de-camp. In 1841, he was transferred from the engineer's corps, and is now (1846) a major general, and a knight of the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order.—See Sabine's *Biographical Sketches of American Loyalists*.

¹ The coxswain on the occasion was James Larvey. The aged Beverly Garrison, whom I saw at Fort Montgomery, knew him well. He said Larvey always declared that, had he been aware of Arnold's intention, he would have steered to Verplanck's Point, even if the traitor had threatened to blow his brains out.

Washington's presence of Mind. Condition of Mrs. Arnold. Attempts to "head" the Traitor. His Letters from the Vulture.

ing almost to Danbury, the messenger heard of the return of Washington by the upper road, and, hastening back, took the nearest route to West Point through Lower Salem, where Andr  was in custody. He thus became the bearer of Andr 's letter to Washington.¹ He arrived at the Robinson House four hours after the departure of Arnold, and placed the papers in the hands of Hamilton.

Washington called in Knox and La Fayette for counsel. "Whom can we trust now?" said the chief, with calmness, while the deepest feeling of sorrow was evidently at work in his bosom. The condition of Mrs. Arnold, who was quite frantic with grief and distress in another room, awakened his liveliest sympathies. He believed her innocent of all previous knowledge of her husband's treasonable designs, and this gave keenness to the pang which her sorrows created.² Yet he maintained his self-possession, and calmly said, when dinner was announced, "Come, gentlemen, since Mrs. Arnold is unwell, and the general is absent, let us sit down without ceremony."

As soon as the contents of the papers were made known, Washington dispatched Hamilton on horseback to Verplanck's Point, that preparations might be made there to stop the traitor. But Arnold had got nearly six hours' the start of him, the tide was ebbing, and the six strong oarsmen, prompted by expected reward, had pulled with vigor. When Hamilton arrived at the Point, a flag of truce was approaching from the Vulture to that post. The bearer brought a letter from Arnold to Washington, which Hamilton forwarded to the commander-in-chief, and then wrote to General Greene at Tappan, advising him to take precautionary measures to prevent any movement of the enemy in carrying out the traitor's projects. The failure of the plot was not known to Sir Henry Clinton until the arrival of the Vulture at New York the next morning, and then he had no disposition to venture an attack upon the Americans in the Highlands, now thoroughly awake to the danger that had threatened.

Arnold's letter to Washington was written to secure protection for his wife and child. "I have no favor to ask for myself," he said; "I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but, from the known humanity of your excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my countrymen may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me. She is as good and innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong." In this letter Arnold avowed his love for his country, and declared that that sentiment actuated him in his present

¹ This letter of Andr 's is a model of frankness, and exhibits the highest regard for truth and honor. After revealing his name and character, and relating the circumstances under which he was lured within the American lines without his knowledge or consent, and mentioning his capture, he says, "Thus, as I have had the honor to relate, was I betrayed (being adjutant general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise within your posts." He disavowed any intention of being a spy, and asked, as a favor, that he should not be branded as such, he "being involuntarily an impostor." He further requested the privilege of sending an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend, for linen; and concluded by intimating that there were several American prisoners who were taken at Charleston for whom he might be exchanged.

² "She, for a considerable time," says Hamilton, in a vivid description of the scene, "entirely lost herself. The general went up to see her. She upbraided him with being in a plot to murder her child. One moment she raved; another, she melted into tears. Sometimes she pressed her infant to her bosom, and lamented its fate, occasioned by the imprudence of its father, in a manner that would have pierced insensibility itself. All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother, showed themselves in her appearance and conduct. We have every reason to believe that she was entirely unacquainted with the plan, and that the first knowledge of it was when Arnold went to tell her he must banish himself from his country and from her forever. She instantly fell into convulsions, and he left her in that situation."

Mr. Leake, the biographer of Colonel John Lamb, basing his opinion upon information received from Arnold's sister Hannah, in 1801, regards this scene as only a trick to deceive, and believes that Arnold's wife was the chief instrument in bringing about the defection of her husband. Hannah Arnold averred that the traitor's wife received a pension from the Queen of England during her life.—See *Life of John Lamb*, by Isaac Q. Leake, p. 270. I can not but regard the inference of Mr. Leake as untenable. It was certainly consoling to the feelings of Hannah Arnold to believe that the influence of another, and not his own base principles, was the source of the defection and disgrace of her brother.

Beverly Robinson's Letter to Washington.

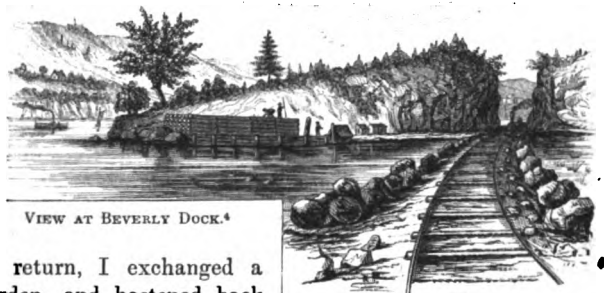
The Army at Tappan put in Motion.

André ordered to West Point

conduct. "In short," says Sparks, "the malignant spirit, impudence, and blunted moral feeling shown in this letter were consistent with his character. Attachment to his wife was the only redeeming quality which seemed not to be extinguished."¹

Washington also received a letter from Beverly Robinson, dated on board the *Vulture*, demanding, in mild terms, the release of André, claiming it as equitable, he being on shore with a flag of truce at the request of General Arnold. Robinson attempted to influence the mind of the chief by referring to their former friendship, but the letter had not the least effect upon Washington's firmness of purpose. He was ignorant of the extent of defection, and his thoughts and efforts were first directed to measures of security. He had a most delicate task to perform. He might suspect the innocent, and give his confidence to the unworthy. He resolved, as the least dangerous course, to confide unreservedly in all his officers, and this resolution, promptly acted upon, had a very salutary effect.²

Washington sent orders to General Greene, directing him to put the left wing of the army, near Tappan, in motion as soon as possible, and march toward King's Ferry. It was midnight when the express reached Greene's quarters; before dawn the whole division was upon the march. The commander-in-chief also dispatched a letter to Colonel Jameson, directing him to send André to Robinson's house under a strong guard. This messenger also reached his destination at Lower Salem, at midnight. André was aroused, and, although the rain was falling fast, and the night was exceedingly dark, a guard, under Major Tallmadge, set off with the prisoner immediately. They rode all night, and arrived at Robinson's house at dawn on the 26th. André was taken over to West Point the same evening, and on the morning of the 28th was conveyed, under a strong escort of cavalry, to Tappan, where he was tried and convicted as a spy. This event will be noticed in connection with the details of his capture. For the present, my tour leads me to the consideration of other important transactions within cannon-echo of the *Sugar Loaf*, at whose base we are standing, and up whose steep sides I was desirous of climbing, to view the prospect so glowingly depicted by the pen of Dr. Dwight;³ but recollecting that the venerable boatman was awaiting my return, I exchanged a hasty adieu with Lieutenant Arden, and hastened back to the Beverly Dock by way of *Arnold's Path*. There I found the old waterman quietly

September,
1780.VIEW AT BEVERLY DOCK.⁴

¹ Inclosed in the letter to Washington was one for Mrs. Arnold, who, when thus made acquainted of her husband's safety, became more quiet. She was treated with great tenderness by Washington, and was soon afterward sent to New York under an escort, and joined her husband. Her affection survived his honor, and through all his subsequent career she exemplified the character of a true woman's love, which often "Clings like ivy to a worthless thing."

² The position of Colonel Livingston at Verplanck's Point, with some circumstances that appeared suspicious, made him liable to be distrusted, for it might fairly be presumed that he was directly or indirectly concerned in Arnold's movements. By a brief letter, Washington ordered Livingston to come to headquarters immediately. Conscious of his integrity, that officer promptly obeyed, but he expected his conduct would be subjected to a strict investigation. Washington made no inquiries. He told him that he had more explicit orders to give than he could well communicate by letter, and that was the object of calling him to the Highlands. "It is a source of gratification to me," said the commander-in-chief, "that the post was in the hands of an officer so devoted as yourself to the cause of your country." Washington's confidence was not misplaced, for there was not a purer patriot in that war than Henry Livingston.

³ Dwight's *Travels in New England*.

⁴ This view is taken from the Hudson River rail-road, looking north. The dock, covered with cord wood, is seen near the point on the left. It is at the termination of a marsh, near the point of a bold, rocky promontory, through which is a deep rock cutting for the road. The distant hills on the extreme left are on the

Buttermilk Falls.

Ride to Fort Montgomery.

Mrs. Rose.

A speculating Daughter.

fishing, and apparently unconscious that two hours had elapsed since we parted. He locked his oars, and in a few minutes we were at the foot of Buttermilk Falls. I clambered up the steep, rough road under the cliff, to the village, dined at a late hour upon cold mutton and stale bread, and in a light wagon, procured with difficulty for the occasion, set off, with a boy driver, for Fort Montgomery, about four miles below. For half the distance the road (which is the old military one of the Revolution) was smooth; the residue of the way was as rough as rocks and gulleys could make it. On every side huge bowlders, many of them ten feet in diameter, lie scattered over the bare flat rocks, like fruit shaken from a tree in autumn. They become more numerous toward the base of the steep mountain range on the west, where they lie in vast masses, like mighty pebbles rolled up by the waves upon the shore. Here the geologist has a wonderful page spread out for his contemplation.

Within a short distance of Fort Montgomery, we turned up a rough mountain road to visit an old lady named Rebecca Rose, eighty years of age, who lived close by Fort Montgomery at the time it was taken by the enemy. I found her upon a bed of sickness, too feeble then to converse, but at a subsequent visit she was well and communicative. She was a child only seven or eight years old, and has no distinct recollection of events at the taking of the forts, except her care and anxiety in concealing her rag babies in a sap trough, while her parents were hiding their property in the woods. Her father was a tanner and shoemaker, in the employ of the garrison at the two forts. The British tried to frighten him into the performance of the duty of a guide for them, by twice hauling him up to an apple-tree with a halter around his neck. He resolutely defied them, and they passed on. From the cottage of Mrs. Rose, among the hills, is one of the most magnificent views of rock and forest, cliff and river, imaginable; overlooking Forts Montgomery and Clinton, the Race flanked by Anthony's Nose and the Dunderberg, and the fertile hills of West Chester in the distance.

Near Mrs. Rose lived an old soldier who was wounded at the siege of Fort Montgomery. I found him living with his daughter, a little plump widow of fifty, in a cottage beside a clear stream that comes leaping down from the hills. He was a private in Captain De Vere's company, Colonel Dubois's regiment, and was bayoneted in the thigh when the enemy made their way over the ramparts of Fort Montgomery and fought the garrison hand to hand. Although nearly ninety years old, he was vigorous and talked sensibly. I asked the privilege of sketching his portrait, which he readily granted, and I was about unlocking my port-folio for the purpose, when his daughter, resting upon a broom handle, and assuming the shrewd look of a speculator, inquired, "What'll ye give?" "For what?" I inquired. "For daddy's likeness," she answered. Unacquainted with the market value of such commodities, and being doubtful as to the present sample possessing much intrinsic worth, I made the indefinite offer of "What is right." "No, no," she said, tuning her voice to a higher key, and beginning to sweep the floor vigorously, "you sha'n't look at him till you tell me what you'll give. We've been cheated enough a'ready. Two scamps come along here last week, and told my darter they'd make a likeness on her for their breakfasts, and they on'y giv her a nasty piece of black paper, that had a nose no more like sis's than that tea-pot spout. No, *sir*; give me a half a dollar, or clear out quick!" The more fortunate silhouettists had evidently ruined my prospects for a gratuitous sitting of the old soldier; and feeling very doubtful whether the demanded half dollar, if paid, would add a mite to his comforts, I respectfully declined giving the price. The filial regard of the dear woman was terribly shocked, and she called me a cheat and other hard names. I shook hands with the old "Continentaler" as I rose to depart, and turning quietly to the dame, who was yet sweeping around the room in a towering passion, invited her to sit for her portrait! This produced a climax; she seized the broom by the brush; I saved my head by closing the door between us. I walked off unscathed and much amused, in the midst of a perfect

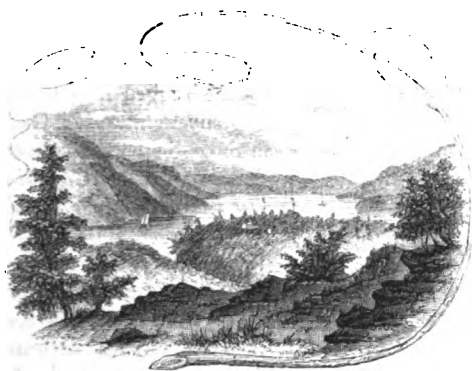
west side of the Hudson; and through the gorge formed for the road may be seen the military edifices of West Point.

Sites of Forts Clinton and Montgomery.

Lake Sinnipink.

Beverly Garrison.

shower of grape-shot from her tongue-battery, compelled to content myself with a pen and ink sketch of the hornet instead of the one I had asked for.

VIEW NEAR FORT MONTGOMERY.²

We descended the hills, and proceeded to the site of Fort Montgomery, a rough promontory on the north side of Poploap's, or Poplopen's, Kill.¹ It terminates in a steep cliff at the mouth of the stream, and was an admirable situation for a strong fortress to command the river. Almost the entire line of the fortifications may be traced upon the brow of the cliff, which is rocky, and bare of every thing but stunted grass and dwarf cedars. More than half way down to the water's edge are the remains of the two-gun-battery which was placed there to cover the chain and *chevaux de frise* which were stretched across

the river from the upper side of Poplopen's Kill to Anthony's Nose.

We crossed to the southern side of the stream, and clambered up a winding and romantic pathway among cedars, chestnuts, and sassafras, to the high table land whereon stood Fort Clinton, within rifle shot of Fort Montgomery. A fine mansion, belonging to Mrs. Pell, with cultivated grounds around it, occupy the area within the ravelins of the old fort. The banks of the fortress have been leveled, its fossé filled up, and not a vestige of it remains. About a quarter of a mile west of Mrs. Pell's is Lake Sinnipink, a small sheet of crystal water, surrounded by the primitive forest, and as wild in its accompaniments as when the Indian cast his bait in its deep waters. From its western rim rises the highest peak of Bear Mountain to an altitude of more than a thousand feet. The lake itself is one hundred and twenty-three feet above the river.

Near the north end of Lake Sinnipink, on the river slope of the hills, stands the cottage of the aged Beverly Garrison, a hale old man of eighty-seven years. He was a stout lad of fourteen when the forts were taken. His father, who worked a great deal for Beverly Robinson, and admired him, named this boy in honor of that gentleman. When the British approached the

LAKE SINNIPINK, OR BLOODY POND.³

¹ This *kill*, or *creek*, is the dividing line between the towns of Monroe and Cornwall, in Orange county. Its correct orthography is uncertain. Upon a map of the State of New York made in 1779 it is called *Coplap's Kill*; in the British plan of the engagements there, of which the map given on page 166 is a copy, it is spelled *Poploap's*; Romans, who was engaged in the construction of the forts, wrote it *Pooploop's*.

² This view is from an eminence near the mountain road, about three quarters of a mile in the rear of Fort Montgomery. In the distance, the cultivated slopes of West Chester, between Peekskill and Verplanck's Point, are seen. On the left is the high, rocky promontory called Anthony's Nose; on the right is the Dunderberg, with a portion of Beveridge's Island; the buildings in the center of the picture, owned by Mrs. Pelham, denote the site of Fort Clinton; toward the right is seen the deep ravine through which flows Poplopen's Creek, and on the extreme right, partly hidden by the tree in the foreground, and fronting the river, is the site of Fort Montgomery. The scenery from this point of view is indeed magnificent. This picture is from a pencil sketch by Tice, who accompanied me to the spot.

³ This view is from the outlet of the lake, within a few rods of the spot where a large number of the Americans and British were slain in a preliminary skirmish on the afternoon when the forts were taken. The bodies were thrown into the lake, and from that circumstance it was afterward called Bloody Pond.

forts, Beverly and his father, who was wagon-master at Fort Montgomery, were ordered to take a large iron cannon to the outworks on the neck of the promontory. While thus engaged, they were made prisoners; but Beverly, being a boy, was allowed his liberty. He told me that he was standing on the ramparts of Fort Montgomery on the morning when Arnold passed by, in his barge, fleeing to the Vulture, and that he recognized the general, as well as Larvey, his coxswain. He also informed me that a Tory, named Brom Springster, piloted the enemy over the Dunderberg to the forts. Brom afterward became a prisoner to the patriots, Americans retreated from the fort, as the enemy scaled the ramparts, her husband dropped his match and fled. Molly caught it up, touched off the piece, and then scampered off. It was the last gun fired by the Americans in the fort. Mrs. Rose (just mentioned) remembers her as *Dirty Kate*, living between Fort Montgomery and Buttermilk Falls, at the close of the war, where she died a horrible death from the effects of a syphilitic disease. I shall have occasion to refer to this bold camp-follower, whom Washington honored with a lieutenant's commission for her bravery on the field of Monmouth, nearly nine months afterward, when reviewing the events of that battle.



Be ll Garrison

but his life was spared on condition that he should pilot Wayne on his expedition over the same rugged hills to attack Stony Point. Mr. Garrison remembered the famous Irish woman called *Captain Molly*, the wife of a cannonier, who worked a field-piece at the battle of Monmouth, on the death of her husband. She generally dressed in the petticoats of her sex, with an artilleryman's coat over. She was in Fort Clinton, with her husband, when it was attacked. When the

Here, by the clear spring which bubbles up near the cottage of the old patriot, and in the shadow of Bear Mountain, behind which the sun is declining, let us glance at the Revolutionary history of this region.

Forts Clinton and Montgomery were included in the Highland fortifications ordered to be constructed in 1775-6. These, like Fort Constitution, were commenced by Bernard Romans, assisted by skillful French engineers, and were finally completed under the superintendence of Captain Thomas Machin. Fort Montgomery was of sufficient size to accommodate eight hundred men; Fort Clinton was only about half as large. They were built of stones and earth, and were completed in the spring of 1776. Pursuant to a recommendation of Romans, made the previous autumn, preparations were made to place obstructions in the river from the mouth of Poplopen's, or Peploap's Kill, to Anthony's Nose, opposite. These obstructions, which were not completed until the autumn of 1777, just before the forts were attacked, consisted of *chevaux de frise*, a boom, and an iron chain.¹ The latter, eighteen hundred feet in length, was buoyed up by heavy spars, connected by iron links, and also by large rafts of timber. It was believed that these obstructions, covered by the guns of the fort, and accompanied by several armed vessels, would be sufficient to effectually prevent the enemy from ascending the river. The result, however, was otherwise.

¹ Generals Knox and Greene visited Fort Montgomery in the spring of 1777, in company with Generals Wayne, M'Dougal, and Clinton. They made a joint report to Washington, in which they recommended the completion of the obstructions substantially as they were afterward done. The boom and the *chevaux de frise* so obstructed the current of the river (here very strong), that the water was raised two or three feet above them, and pressed upon them heavily. Twice the chain was parted by this pressure: first, a swivel, which came from Ticonderoga, was broken; and the second time a clevis, which was made at Poughkeepsie, gave way.

Condition of the British Forces. Putnam's Intended Expedition. Sir Henry Clinton's Stratagem. Landing of British Troops.

When Burgoyne found himself environed with difficulties at Saratoga, and perceived the rapid augmentation of the American army under Gates, he dispatched messengers to Sir Henry Clinton, then commanding at New York in the absence of General Howe,¹ urging him to make a diversion in his favor, and join him, if possible, with a force sufficient to scatter the half-disciplined provincials. Clinton was eager to comply; but a re-enforcement of troops from Europe, expected for several weeks, was still delayed. This force, amounting to almost two thousand men, under General Robertson, arrived at the beginning of October. Having sailed in Dutch bottoms, they were three months on the voyage. The first battle of Stillwater had now been fought, and the second was nigh at hand. Putnam was in the Highlands, with fifteen hundred men; his head-quarters were at Peekskill. Washington had drawn upon Putnam, toward the close of September, for twenty-five hundred troops, to aid in defending Philadelphia and the works on the Delaware, then menaced by the enemy.² Their places were supplied by militia of New York and Connecticut; but, apprehending no hostile movement up the Hudson, Putnam had discharged about one thousand of them, leaving his effective force only fifteen hundred strong. Forts Clinton and Montgomery, commanded by the brothers James and George Clinton, were feebly garrisoned; in both fortresses there were not more than six hundred men, chiefly militia from Dutchess and Ulster. There was a fortification near Peekskill, called Fort Independence, which was also feebly garrisoned; in fact, the Highland posts were almost defenseless against a respectable demonstration on the part of the enemy.

On the arrival of re-enforcements, Sir Henry Clinton prepared for an expedition up the Hudson, partly for the purpose of destroying American stores at Peekskill, but chiefly to make a diversion in favor of Burgoyne. On Saturday evening, the 4th of October, he proceeded up the river in flat boats and transports, with about five thousand men, and landed at Tarrytown, nearly thirty miles from New York.³ This was a feint to deceive General Putnam into the belief that Peekskill was his destination. To strengthen this belief, and to divert Putnam's attention from the Highland forts, Clinton proceeded on Sunday, with three thousand troops, to Verplanck's Point, eight miles below Peekskill, where he debarked. General Putnam fell back, on his approach, to the high ground in the rear of Peekskill, and sent a messenger to Governor Clinton, desiring him to send to his aid as many troops as he could spare from the forts. The militia in the vicinity rallied around Putnam, and he had about two thousand men, on the afternoon of the 5th, to dispute the progress of the enemy up the Hudson, either by land or water. Sir Henry Clinton perceived that his stratagem was successful, and the next morning, under cover of a fog, he passed two thousand of his troops over to Stony Point, whence they made their way among the tangled defiles and lofty crags of the Dunderberg to Forts Clinton and Montgomery, twelve miles distant. The transports were anchored near Stony Point, and the corps of Loyalists, under Colonels Bayard and Fanning, remained at Verplanck's Point. A detachment was left near Stony Point, to guard the pass and preserve a communication with the fleet. Three frigates, the Tartar, Preston, and Mercury, proceeded up the river to a position between what is now known as Caldwell's Landing and Fort Independence, and within cannon-shot of the latter.

Governor Clinton received advices on Sunday night of the arrival of the enemy's ships and transports at Tarrytown, and, on Monday morning, a scouting party of one hundred

¹ General Howe was on an expedition southward, and, with the British fleet, was coasting near the Capes of the Delaware and Virginia, preparatory to an effort to take possession of Philadelphia.

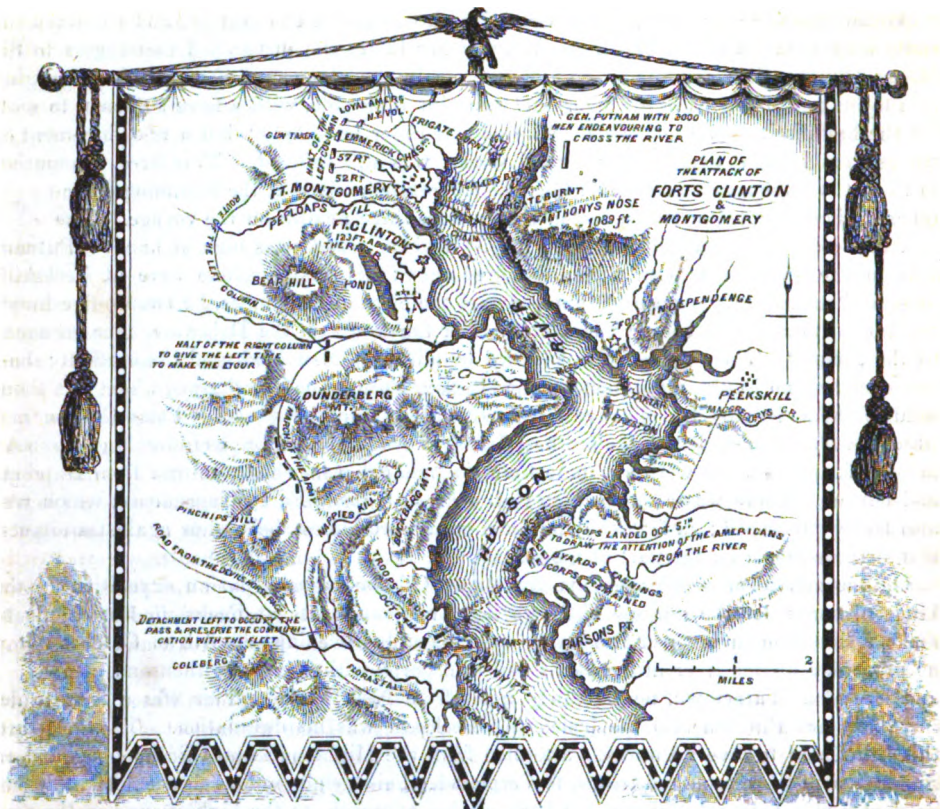
² When this requisition was made, Putnam was preparing a plan for attacking the enemy at four different points: Staten Island, Long Island, Paulus's Hook, and New York. He relied upon the militia of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, to accomplish his designs. Fortunately, Washington made his requisition in time to prevent what must have proved a disastrous expedition.

³ Colonel Luddington was posted at Tarrytown with about five hundred militia. Clinton sent a flag with a peremptory summons for them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. While parleying with the flag, the enemy endeavored to surround the militia, which Luddington perceiving, he ordered a retreat. The British then returned to their shipping.

Governor Clinton informed of the Landing of the British.

A reconnoitering Party.

Skirmish near Doodletown



men, under Major Logan, which he had sent to the Dunderberg to watch the motions of the enemy, returned with information that about forty boats, filled with troops, had landed near Stony Point. Another party of thirty men was sent out upon the mountain road leading from Fort Clinton to Haverstraw; and at a place called Doodletown, three miles south from the fort, they fell in with the advanced

guard of the approaching British. The Americans were ordered to surrender, but refused, when the enemy fired upon them. They returned the fire with spirit, and retreated to the fort without losing a man. The design of the enemy was now apparent. It was past noon, and no intelligence had been received from Putnam. Clinton had dispatched a messenger to that officer, requesting him to send him a strong



¹ This view is from Peekskill landing, looking up the river. On the left is the Dunderberg, or Thunder Mountain, over which the troops marched to Forts Clinton and Montgomery. The dark spot on the brink

Treachery of a Messenger. Putnam deceived. Skirmish near Fort Montgomery. Forts ordered to be Surrendered.

re-enforcement to defend the forts. The messenger, whose name was Waterbury, treacherously delayed his journey, and the next day deserted to the enemy. In the mean while, Putnam, astonished at hearing nothing further from the enemy, rode to reconnoiter, and did not return to his head-quarters, near Continental Village, until after the firing was heard on the other side of the river. Colonel Humphreys, who was alone at head-quarters when the firing began, urged Colonel Wylls, the senior officer in camp, to send all the men not on duty to Fort Montgomery.¹ He immediately complied, but it was too late. It was twilight before they reached the river, and the enemy had then accomplished their purpose.

The British army, piloted by a Tory, traversed the Dunderberg in a single column, and at its northern base separated into two divisions. One division, under Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, consisting of nine hundred men, was destined for the attack on Fort Montgomery; the other, under the immediate command of Sir Henry Clinton, and consisting of an equal number, was to storm Fort Clinton. There was a large body of Hessians in each division. Governor Clinton, on hearing of the attack upon his scouts near Doodletown, sent out a detachment of more than one hundred men, under Colonels Bruyn and M'Claghrey,² with a brass field-piece and sixty men, to an advantageous post on the road to Orange furnace. As the enemy approached, another detachment of one hundred men was sent to the same point, but they were pressed back by the bayonets of a superior force, and retreated to a twelve-pounder in the rear, leaving their guns (which they spiked) in possession of the assailants. With the second cannon they did great execution, until it bursted, when they retreated to Fort Montgomery, followed by Emerick's corps of chasseurs, a corps of Loyalists and New York volunteers, and the fifty-second and fifty-seventh British regiments, under Campbell. The pursued kept up a galling fire with small-arms while on their retreat, and slew many of the enemy.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean while, made his way toward Fort Clinton with much difficulty, for upon a narrow pass between the Sennepink Lake at the foot of Bear Mountain and the high river bank was a strong *abatis*.³ This was overcome after much hard fighting, and at about four o'clock both forts were invested by the enemy. Sir Henry Clinton sent a flag, with a summons for both garrisons to surrender prisoners of war within five minutes, or they would all be put to the sword. Lieutenant-colonel Livingston was sent by Governor Clinton to receive the flag, and to inform the enemy that the Americans were determined to defend the forts to the last extremity. The action was immediately renewed

of the river, upon the extreme left, shows the place of the coffer-dam made by the deluded seekers after Captain Kidd's treasure. At the water's edge, on the right, is seen the grading of the Hudson River railroad, in course of construction when the sketch was made. The dark mountain on the right is Anthony's Nose. Intermediately, and projecting far into the river, is a high, sandy bluff, on which stood Fort Independence. Further on is Beveridge's Island; and in the extreme distance, behind the flag-staff, is seen Bear Mountain. Between the point of Fort Independence and the rock cutting of the rail-road is the mouth of the Peek's Kill, or Peek's Creek. The *Plan* of the attack here given is copied from the narrative of Stedman, a British officer, and appears to be mainly correct. The reader may correct the slight errors by the text.

¹ See Humphreys's *Life of Putnam*. This detachment seems to have been mistaken by Stedman for the whole army under Putnam, for on his map, at the top, he says, "General Putnam with 2000 men endeavoring to cross the river."

² In connection with a notice of Colonel M'Claghrey, who was made a prisoner at the capture of the fort, Mr. Eager, in his *History of Orange County*, makes a slight error. He says he was taken to New York, and confined in the Hospital. In the room above him, he affirms, was Colonel Ethan Allen, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the British since the autumn of 1775. The floor between them was full of wide cracks, through one of which M'Claghrey, who had heard of the capture of Burgoyne, passed a scrap of paper to Allen, on which he had written the information. Allen immediately went to his window, and called out to some British officers passing in the street, "Burgoyne has marched to Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle." "For this and other offenses, we believe," says Mr. Eager, "Allen was sent to England in chains." Quite the contrary. He was sent to England in irons two years before, and had returned to New York, where he was admitted to his parole. In January, 1777, he was ordered to reside on Long Island; and in August following he was sent to the provost jail, where he remained until exchanged in May, 1778.

³ These *abatis* were placed on the margin of the outlet of Lake Sennepink, near its center, the place from which the view on page 163 was sketched.

Attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery.

Flight of the Americans.

Destruction of Vessels and the *Chevaux de frise*.

with great vigor on both sides. The British vessels under Commodore (afterward Admiral) Hotham approached within cannon shot of the forts, and opened a desultory fire upon them, and on some American vessels lying above the *chevaux de frise*.¹ At the same time, Count Grabowski, a brave Pole, and Lord Rawdon, led the grenadiers to the charge on Fort Montgomery. The battle continued until twilight, when the superior number of the assailants obliged the patriots at both forts to give way, and attempt a scattered retreat or escape. It was a cloudy evening, and the darkness came on suddenly. This favored the Americans in their flight, and a large proportion of those who escaped the slaughter of the battle made their way to the neighboring mountains in safety. The brothers who commanded the forts escaped. General James Clinton was severely wounded in the thigh by a bayonet, but escaped to the mountains, and reached his residence in Orange county, sixteen miles distant, the next day, where he was joined by his brother George, and about two hundred of the survivors of the battle. Lieutenant-colonels Livingston, Bruyn, and Claghery, and Majors Hamilton and Logan, were made prisoners. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about three hundred; that of the British about one hundred and forty in killed and wounded, among whom were Colonel Campbell and Count Grabowski.²

Above the boom the Americans had two frigates, two galleys, and an armed sloop. On the fall of the forts, the crews of these vessels spread their sails, and, slipping their cables, attempted to escape up the river, but the wind was adverse, and they were obliged to abandon them. They set them on fire when they left, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. "The flames suddenly broke forth, and, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain, and the long train of ruddy light which shone upon the water for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; while the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores, as the flames gradually reached the loaded cannons. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which left all again in darkness."³ Early in the morn-

October 7,
1777.

ing, the obstructions in the river, which had cost the Americans a quarter of a million of dollars, Continental money, were destroyed by the British fleet. Fort Constitution, opposite West Point, was abandoned, and the enemy had a clear passage up the Hudson. Vaughan and Wallace marauding expedition, and, as we have before noticed, burned Kingston, or Esopus. It was deemed too late to assist Burgoyne by a junction with him, for on that very day the second battle of Stillwater, so disastrous to that commander, was fought; ten days afterward he and his whole army were captives. Yet the fall of the Highland forts was a serious blow to the Americans, for quite a large quantity of ordnance and ammunition was collected there.⁴

John Vaughan
J. S. Wallace

¹ An account in the *Annual Register* for 1778 says that the British galleys approached so near the forts that the men could touch the walls with their oars! Both forts were upon a precipice more than one hundred feet above the water, rather beyond the reach of oars of ordinary length.

² Count Grabowski fell at the foot of the ramparts of Fort Montgomery, pierced by three bullets. He gave his sword to a grenadier, with a request that he would convey it to Lord Rawdon, with the assurance of the owner that he died as a brave soldier ought to.—*Stedman*, i., 362. A pile of stones still marks the burial-place of the count.

³ *Stedman*, i., 364.

⁴ The Americans lost 67 cannons in the forts, and over 30 in the vessels, making a total of more than 100 pieces. Also, 54 casks, 11 half barrels, and 12,236 pounds of loose powder, exclusive of what was in the vessels. There were also 1852 cannon cartridges, and 57,396 for muskets. Also, 9530 round cannon shot, 886 double-headed, 2483 grape and case, and 36 cwt. of langridge; 1279 pounds of musket balls, 116 pounds of buck shot, and 5400 flints. In addition to these were stores of various kinds, such as gun-carriages, port-fires, tools, &c., in great plenty.

Evening Voyage in a Fisherman's Shallop.

Anthony's Nose.

Peekskill.

Situation of the Village.

It was almost sunset when I left the ruins of Fort Montgomery to seek for a waterman to carry me to Peekskill, on the east side of the river, four miles distant. The regular ferryman was absent on duty, and after considerable search, I procured, with difficulty, the services of a fisherman to bear me to the distant village. We embarked at twilight—a glorious Indian summer twilight—the river as calm as a lake of the valley.

"The Dunderberg sat silently beneath
The snowy clouds, that form'd a vapory wreath
Above its peak. The Hudson swept along
Its mighty waters—oh! had I a pen
Endued with master gifts and genius, then
Might I aspire to tell its praise in song."

THOMAS MACKELLAR.

The boat was a scaly affair, and the piscatory odor was not very agreeable; nevertheless, I had no alternative, and, turning my eyes and nose toward the glowing heavens, I tried to imagine myself in a rose-scented caique in the Golden Horn. I had half succeeded, when three or four loud explosions, that shook the broad mountains and awoke an hundred echoes, broke the charm, and notified me that I was in a fisherman's shallop, and a little too near for safety to St. Anthony's Nose,¹ where the constructors of the Hudson River rail-road, then working day and night, were blasting an orifice through that nasal feature of the Highlands. We sheered off toward the Dunderberg, and, shooting across Peekskill Bay, with the tide flowing strongly down its eastern rim, I landed in time for a warm supper at the "Atlantic."

Early on the morning of the 27th I made the sketch from Peekskill landing October,
1848. printed on page 166, and then walked up to the village on the slopes and hills, by a steep winding way that overlooks a deep ravine, wherein several iron founderies are nestled. The town is romantically situated among the hills, and from some of its more prominent points of view there are magnificent prospects of the river and Highland scenery in the vicinity. Here, spreading out south and east for miles around, was the ancient manor of Cortlandt,² stretching along and far above the whole eastern shore of Haverstraw Bay, and extending back to the Connecticut line. The manor house, near the mouth of the Croton River, is yet standing. Within Peekskill village, opposite the West Chester County Bank, is the old Bird-sall residence, a part of which, as seen in the picture upon the next page, is a grocery store. This building was erected by Daniel Birdsall, one of the founders of the village. His store was the first one erected there.³ The owner and occupant, when I visited it, was a son of

¹ This is a high rocky promontory, rising to an altitude of twelve hundred and eighty feet above the level of the river, and situated directly opposite Fort Montgomery. The origin of its name is uncertain. The late proprietor of the land, General Pierre Van Cortlandt, says, that before the Revolution, as Captain Anthony Hogans, the possessor of a remarkable nose, was sailing near the place, in his vessel, his mate looked rather quizzically first at the hill, and then at the captain's nose. The captain comprehended the silent allusion, and said, "Does that look like my nose? If it does, call it Anthony's Nose, if you please." The story got abroad on shore, and it has since borne that name. Washington Irving, in his *authentic* history of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker, gives it an earlier origin. He says that while the fiery-nosed Anthony Van Corlear, the trumpeter of one of the Dutch governors, was standing one morning upon the deck of an exploring vessel, while passing this promontory, a ray of the sun, darting over the peak, struck the broad side of the trumpeter's nose, and, glancing off into the water, killed a sturgeon! What else could the hill be called, under the circumstances, but *Anthony's Nose*?

² The Courtlands, or Van Courtlands, are descended from a noble Russian family. The orthography, in the Dutch language, is properly *korte-landt*, meaning *short land*, a term expressing the peculiar form of the ancient duchy of Courland in Russia. This domain constituted a portion of Livonia, but was conquered by the Teutonic knights in 1561, and subsequently became a fief of Poland. It remained a short time independent, under its own dukes, after the fall of that power, but in 1795 it was united to Russia. The dukes of Courland were represented in 1610 by the Right Honorable Steven Van Cortlandt, then residing at Cortlandt, in South Holland. He was the father of Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt, the first lord of the manor, of that name, on the Hudson.

³ The first settlement at Peekskill commenced one mile north of the present village, near the head waters of the creek. The name is derived from John Peek, one of the early Dutch navigators, who, mistaking the creek for the course of the river, ran his yacht ashore where the first settlement was commenced. The settlement of the present village was commenced in 1764.—Bolton's *History of West Chester*, i., 63.

The Birdsall House.

An Octogenarian.

Oak Hill.

Van Cortlandt House.

Philip Van Cortlandt.

the first owner, and was then eighty years of age. His lady, many years his junior, kindly showed me the different apartments made memorable by the presence and occupancy of distinguished men in the Revolution. It was occupied by Washington when the head-quarters of the army were there; and the rooms are pointed out which were used by the chief and La Fayette as sleeping apartments. Chairs, a table, and an old clock which has told the hours for more than eighty years, are still there; and in the parlor where Whitefield once preached, I sat and sketched one of the pieces of this venerable furniture. This old mansion, projecting into and marring the regularity of the street, is an eyesore to the villagers, and when the present owner shall depart, no doubt this relic will be removed by the desecrating hand of improvement.



THE BIRDSALL HOUSE.

On leaving the Birdsall House, I proceeded to visit another octogenarian named Sparks, whose boyhood and long life have been passed in Peekskill. I found him sitting in the sun, upon his stoop, reading a newspaper without glasses, and his little grandson, a fair-haired child, playing at his feet. For an hour I sat and listened to his tales of the olden times, and of scenes his eyes had witnessed. He had often seen Washington and his suite at the Birdsall House, and well remembers Putnam, Heath, M'Dougall, and other officers whose quarters were at Peekskill. He never became a soldier, and saw only one battle during the war. That occurred near the Van Cortlandt House, two miles east of Peekskill, between some American pickets at the foot of Gallows Hill, and a picket guard of the enemy at the base of the eminences opposite. They were too near each other to keep quiet, and a skirmish at length ensued. "They made a great smoke and noise," said Mr. Sparks, "but nobody was hurt except by fright." Pointing to a huge oak standing near the Peekskill Academy on Oak Hill, and in full view of our resting-place, he related the circumstance of the execution of a British spy, named Daniel Strang, upon that tree. He was a Tory, and was found lurking about the American army at Peekskill with enlisting orders sewed up in his clothes. I left the vigorous old man to enjoy the warm sunlight and his newspaper alone, and procuring a conveyance, rode out to Van Cortlandt's house; the church-yard, where rest the remains of one of André's captors; Gallows Hill, famous as the camping-ground of Putnam for a short period during the Revolution, and to Continental Village, the scene of one of Tryon's marauding expeditions.

Van Cortlandt's house is situated in the midst of one of the fine estates of that family.¹ It is a brick mansion, and was erected in 1773. It stands in the center of a pleasant lawn, shaded by locust trees, on the north side of the post-road. It was occupied by Washington, for a brief space, as head-quarters; and there the Van Cortlandt family resided in safety,

¹ General Philip Van Cortlandt was the last possessor of the manor house, near Croton, by entail. He was born in the city of New York on the 1st of September, 1749, and was reared at the manor house. At nineteen, he commenced business as a land surveyor, but when the Revolution broke out, agreeing in sentiment with his father, Honorable Pierre Van Cortlandt, he joined the Republican army. His Tory relatives tried to dissuade him from his purpose, and Governor Tryon forwarded him a major's commission in the Cortlandt militia. He tore it in pieces, and accepted a lieutenant colonel's commission in the Continental army. He was appointed a colonel in 1776, and in that capacity served at the battles of Stillwater. He also served against the Indians on the New York frontier in 1778, and in 1779-80 was a member of the court martial convened for the trial of Arnold. He commanded a regiment of militia under La Fayette in 1780, and for his gallant conduct at the siege of Yorktown he was promoted to a brigadier's command. The seven hundred British and Hessian prisoners of war were intrusted to his care on their march to Fredericktown. He was for sixteen years a member of Congress, but in 1811 declined a re-election. General Van Cortlandt accompanied La Fayette in his tour through the United States in 1824. He died at the manor house, at Croton, November 21st, 1831, at the age of eighty-two. With him expired the property entail.

P. Van Cortlandt

The Cortlandt Manor House.

Paulding's Monument, and St. Peter's Church.

Gallows Hill.

while desolation was rife around them. When I visited the mansion, General Pierre Van Cortlandt, the late owner (brother of General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the manor house), had been dead but a few months. Many of the family portraits were yet there, some of them more than one hundred years old. They have since been removed to the old manor house at Croton. The mansion which we are considering was occupied for a while by General M'Dougall's advanced guard, when the British took possession of Peekskill in March, 1777, an event that will be noticed presently. The old oak tree is standing in a field a little eastward of the house, which was used for the purpose of a military whipping-post during the encampment there. It is green and vigorous, and so regular are its branches, that, when in full foliage, its form, above the trunk, is a perfect sphere.

October,
1848.

Upon a knoll, a little eastward of Van Cortlandt's house, is an ancient wooden church, erected in 1767 for worship, according to the rituals of the Church of England. Within

its grave-yard, which spreads over the knoll westward, is the monument erected to the memory of John Paulding, one of the captors of André, by the corporation of the city of New York. The monument is constructed of West Chester marble, in the most simple form, consisting of a pedestal surmounted by a cone. It is massive, and so constructed as to last for ages. The base of the pedestal covers a square of seven feet, and is surrounded by a strong iron railing. The height is about thirteen feet. One side of the monument exhibits a representation, in low relief, of the face of the medal voted by Con-

PAULDING'S MONUMENT, AND ST. PETER'S CHURCH.¹

gress to each of the captors of André; the other side exhibits the reverse of the medal. The main inscription is upon the western panel of the pedestal.²

From the old church-yard I rode to the summit of Gallows Hill, a lofty ridge on the north, and bared of trees by the hand of cultivation. It is famous as a portion of the camp-ground of the division of the American army under Putnam in 1777, and also as the place where a spy was executed, from which circumstance the hill derives its name. Leaving my vehicle at the gate of a farm-house by the road side, I crossed the fields to the place designated by tradition as the spot where the old chestnut-tree stood, near which the spy was hanged. It is about one hundred rods west of the road, on the southeastern slope of the hill, and is marked by a huge boulder lying upon the surface, by the side of which is the decayed trunk

¹ The site of this church and the grave-yard was a gift of Andrew Johnson, of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. The parish was called St. Peter's; and this and the parish of St. Philip, in the Highlands, were endowed with two hundred acres of land by Colonel Beverly Robinson.

² The following are the inscriptions:

NORTH SIDE.—"Here repose the mortal remains of JOHN PAULDING, who died on the 18th day of February, 1818, in the 60th year of his age."

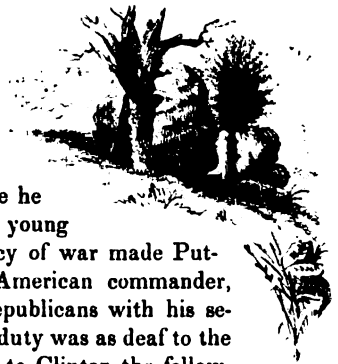
WEST SIDE.—"On the morning of the 23d of September, 1780, accompanied by two young farmers of the county of West Chester (whose names will one day be recorded on their own deserved monuments), he intercepted the British spy, André. Poor himself, he disdained to acquire wealth by the sacrifice of his country. Rejecting the temptation of great rewards, he conveyed his prisoner to the American camp; and, by this act of noble self-denial, the treason of Arnold was detected; the designs of the enemy baffled; West Point and the American Army saved; and these United States, now by the grace of God Free and Independent, rescued from most imminent peril."

SOUTH SIDE.—"The Corporation of the city of New York erected this tomb as a memorial sacred to PUBLIC GRATITUDE."

The monument was erected in 1827; the cone was placed on the pedestal on the 22d of November of that year, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, who were addressed by William Paulding, then Mayor of New York. A copy of the medal presented to the captors of André may be found on page 205.

Execution place of a Spy. Putnam's laconic Letter. View from Gallows Hill. Relative importance of Peekskill.

of a chestnut, as seen in the picture,¹ said to be a sprout of the memorable tree. The name of the spy was Edmund Palmer. He was an athletic young man, connected by nature and affection with some of the most respectable families in West Chester, and had a wife and children. He was arrested on suspicion, and enlisting papers, signed by Governor Tryon, were found upon his person. It was also ascertained that he was a lieutenant in a Tory company. These and other unfavorable circumstances made it clear that he was a spy, and on that charge he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be hung. His young wife pleaded for his life, but the dictates of the stern policy of war made Putnam inexorable. Sir Henry Clinton sent a flag to the American commander, claiming Palmer as a British officer, and menacing the Republicans with his severest wrath if he was not delivered up. Putnam's sense of duty was as deaf to the menaces of the one as to the tears of the other, and he sent to Clinton the following laconic reply :



"Head-quarters, 7th August, 1777.

"SIR,—Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy, lurking within our lines. He has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy ; and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"P.S.—He has been accordingly executed."

From the top of Gallows Hill there is a glorious prospect of the surrounding country, particularly southward, in which direction the eye takes in glimpses of Peekskill village, the river and its rocky shores on the west, and the fertile estates of West Chester as far as the high grounds of Tarrytown. On the southeast of the ridge is the beautiful undulating Peekskill Hollow, and on the north, between it and the rough turrets of the Highland towers, is scooped the Canopus Valley, deep and rich, wherein is nestled Continental Village, the scene of one of Tryon's desolating expeditions. We are upon historic ground ; let us open the chronicle for a few moments.

In view of the relative position of the belligerent armies at the opening of 1777, Peekskill was regarded by the commander-in-chief as a very important post. Believing that the chief design of the next campaign would be, on the part of the enemy, to accomplish a junction of the forces under Sir William Howe at New York and an army preparing in Canada for invasion, Washington wrote, in a letter to General Schuyler, as follows : "Under these considerations, I can not help thinking much too large a part of our force is directed to Ticonderoga. Peekskill appears to me a much more proper place, where, if the troops are drawn together, they will be advantageously situated to give support to any of the Eastern or Middle States. Should the enemy's design be to penetrate the country up the North River, they will be well posted to oppose them ; should they attempt to penetrate into New England, they will be well stationed to cover it ; if they move westward, the Eastern and Southern troops can easily form a junction ; and besides, it will oblige the enemy to have a much stronger garrison at New York."² With these views, the commander-in-chief determined to collect a respectable force at Peekskill. This was done as speedily as possible, and General Heath, of Massachusetts, was placed in command. This officer was obliged to return to his state, and the command devolved upon General M'Dougall.³

¹ Near this boulder a gallows, rudely constructed of logs, was erected, on which the spy was hung. It remained there for several years afterward, an object of superstitious dread to the country people who were obliged to pass it in the night.

² Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 359.

³ Alexander M'Dougall was the son of a Scotchman from the Lowlands, who came to America about twenty years before the Revolution broke out, and commenced business in the city of New York. The date of his birth is not known. He became a zealous Whig during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, and when the war broke out he joined the army. In August, 1776, he was

Alex M'Dougall

Stratagem of Sir William Howe. Invasion of Peekskill. Destruction of Stores. Destruction of Continental Village.

Cattle and military stores, in large quantities, were collected at Peekskill and in the vicinity; and the post, not being very strongly manned, attracted the attention of the enemy. Sir William Howe projected a scheme to capture or destroy them. Stratagem was a part of his plan. He caused a conversation on the subject to be held in the hearing of an American officer who had been captured at Fort Washington, in which it was arranged that an excursion was to be made into the country by three divisions: one to go up the Sound and land at Mamaroneck, another to march up the center road by Kingsbridge, and a third to go up the Hudson and land at Tarrytown. The officer was soon afterward released, and escorted with a flag to the American lines. The object was to have him report the conversation, and thus draw off General M'Dougall's attention from the real point of attack. M'Dougall had only two hundred and fifty effective men, too few to attempt opposition. He immediately commenced sending his stores to Forts Clinton and Montgomery for safety, but before he had accomplished his design, ten sail of British vessels appeared off Tarrytown, and two went up to Haverstraw Bay, at a point twelve miles below Peekskill. March 23,
1777. The next day the whole fleet anchored in Peekskill Bay; and at one o'clock, five hundred men, in eight flat-boats, under the command of Colonel Bird, landed at Lent's Cove, on the south side of the bay. They had four pieces of light artillery, drawn by the sailors. General M'Dougall retreated to Gallows Hill and vicinity, giving directions for destroying such stores as could not be removed. At the same time, he sent a dispatch to Lieutenant-colonel Willett, at Fort Constitution, to leave a subaltern's command there, and hasten to his assistance. The British held possession of the town until next day, March 24. when a detachment advanced toward the Highlands. These were attacked by Colonel Willett, and a smart skirmish ensued. The detachment retreated back to the main body of the enemy, and in the evening, favored by the light of the moon, they all embarked and sailed down the river. Their object, the destruction of the stores, was partially accomplished, but not by their own hands. They had nine of their number killed in the skirmish with Willett, and four at the verge of the creek, while attempting to burn some boats. The Americans had one man killed by a cannon shot.¹ Two or three houses were burned, and about forty sheep, furnished by the Tories, were carried off.

Near the banks of Canopus Creek, and overlooked by Gallows Hill, is Continental Village. It is about three miles from Peekskill, at the main entrance to the Highland passes northward. There, in 1777, were constructed barracks sufficient to accommodate two thousand men. A large number of cattle, and a great quantity of military stores under the charge of Major Campbell, were collected there. Two small redoubts were erected on the high ground, for the double purpose of protecting the public property and guarding the mountain road. Hither, on the morning of the 9th of October, three days after the capture 1777. of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, General Tryon was detached with Emerick's chasseurs and other Germans, with a three-pounder, to destroy the settlement. He accomplished the object most effectually. The barracks, and nearly every house in the little village, together with the public stores, were consumed, and many of the cattle were slaughtered. The inhabitants fled to the hills, while the few troops that were left when Putnam and the main force retired to Fishkill on the fall of the mountain fortresses, were compelled to fly for safety. In a few hours the smiling little valley was a scene of utter desolation.² Gen-

appointed a brigadier, and in October, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of major general. He commanded in the action near White Plains, and was in the battle at Germantown in the autumn of 1777. In 1781 he was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress, and was afterward a member of the New York State Senate. He died in June, 1786.

¹ General M'Dougall's MS. Letter of March 29, 1777, quoted by Sparks.

² The feelings of Tryon toward the Republicans may be learned from a letter of his, written a few weeks after this transaction, in reply to one of remonstrance on the part of General Parsons. "I have," he says, "the candor enough to assure you, as much as I abhor every principle of inhumanity or ungenerous conduct, I should, were I in more authority, burn every committee-man's house within my reach, as I deem those agents the wicked instruments of the continued calamities of this country; and in order sooner to purge this country of them, I am willing to give twenty-five dollars for every acting committee-man who shall be delivered up to the king's troops."

Peekskill possessed by the Americans.

The Soldier's Spring.

Verplanck's Point.

Hudson and the Indians.

eral Parsons' marched down from Fishkill with two thousand men a few days afterward, and took possession of Peekskill. From that time it was the scene of no stirring military events, other than those incident to the brief encampment of regiments or divisions of the American army.

Sam H. Parsons

After sketching the only prominent object on the site of poor Palmer's gallows, I resumed the reins, and, when part way down the northern slope of the ridge, turned up a green lane near the Soldier's Spring² to the farm-house of Mr. Lent, to inquire for an aged couple of that name. Informed that they lived at a little village called Oregon, a mile and a half distant, I returned to Peekskill Hollow, and proceeded thither. My journey was fruitless of information. They were, indeed, a venerable pair; one aged eighty-four, and the other eighty-three years.

After dinner at Peekskill, I rode down to Verplanck's Point, eight miles below.³ It was a lovely afternoon; a fine road amid ever-varying scenery, and every rock, and knoll, and estuary of the river clustered over with historic associations, made the journey of an hour one of great pleasure and interest. Verplanck's Point is the termination of a peninsula of gently rolling land, gradually ascending from the neck toward the shore, where it ends in a bluff, from thirty to fifty feet high. Here, during the memorable season of land and town speculation, when the water-lot mania emulated that of the tulip and the South Sea games, a large village was mapped out, and one or two fine mansions were erected. The bubble burst, and many fertile acres there, where corn and potatoes once yielded a profit to the cultivator, are scarred and made barren by intersecting streets, not depopulated, but unpopulated, save by the beetle and grasshopper. On the brow of

In allusion to this and kindred expeditions, Trumbull makes Malcom say,

"Behold, like whelps of Britain's lion,
Our warriors, Clinton, Vaughan, and Tryon,
March forth with patriotic joy
To ravish, plunder, and destroy.
Great gen'ra's, foremost in their nation,
The journeymen of Desolation!
Like Sampson's foxes, each assails,
Let loose with fire-brands in their tails,
And spreads destruction more forlorn
Than they among Philistines' corn."

M'FINGAL, CANTO IV.

¹ SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS was a native of Connecticut, and one of a committee of correspondence in that state before the commencement of the war. He was appointed a brigadier general by Congress in August, 1776, and served his country faithfully during the contest. Under his direction, the successful expedition of Colonel Meigs against the enemy at Sag Harbor, on Long Island, in 1777, was sent out. He was appointed a commissioner to negotiate with the Western Indians in 1785. In 1787, he was appointed one of the judges of the Northwestern Territory. He was drowned in the Ohio, in December, 1789.

² This is a little fountain bubbling up by the road side, and named *The Soldier's Spring*, from the circumstance that an American soldier, while retreating before the enemy, stooped at the fountain to quench his thirst. While so doing, a cannon ball, that struck the hills above him, glanced obliquely, hit and shattered his thigh, and left him dying beside the clear waters. He was conveyed in a wagon that passed soon afterward, to Fishkill, where he expired.

³ This was the point off which Henry Hudson's vessel, the *Half Moon*, came first to anchor after leaving the mouth of the river. The Highland Indians, filled with wonder, came flocking to the ship in boats, but their curiosity ended in a tragedy. One of them, overcome by acquisitiveness, crawled up the rudder, entered the cabin window, and stole a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel. The mate saw the thief pulling his bark for land, and shot at and killed him. The ship's boat was sent for the stolen articles, and when one of the natives, who had leaped into the water, caught hold of the side of the shallop, his hand was cut off by a sword, and he was drowned. This was the first blood shed by these voyagers. Intelligence of this spread over the country, and the Indians hated the white man, afterward, intensely.

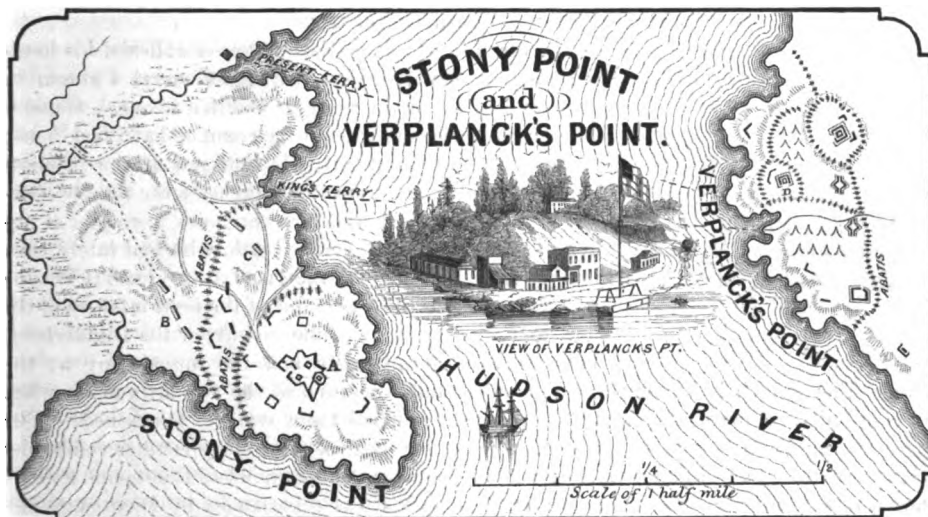
The exceedingly tortuous creek which traverses the marsh southward of Verplanck's Point was called, by the Indians, Meahagh, and this was the name which they gave to the peninsula. It was purchased of the Indians by Stephanus Van Cortlandt in 1683. From him it passed into the possession of his son Johannes, whose only daughter and heiress, Gertrude, married Philip Verplanck, from whom it acquired its present appellation.

Fortifications at Verplanck's Point.

Capture of Fort Fayette.

Surrender of the Garrison.

the Point, near the western extremity, and overlooking the water, a small fortification, called Fort Fayette, was erected. It was an eligible site for a fort; and, in connection with the fortress on the rocky promontory opposite, was capable of being made a formidable defense at this, the lower gate of the Hudson Highlands. These two promontories make the river



quite narrow, and, if well fortified, might defy the passage of any number of hostile vessels.' The site of Fort Fayette is distinctly traceable in the orchard upon the high grounds in the rear of Mr. Bleakly's store upon the wharf. The mounds and fossé of the main fort, as it was enlarged and strengthened by the British, and also the embankments of the smaller out-works, are quite prominent in many places.

The small forts at Verplanck's and Stony Points were captured by the enemy commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person, on the 1st of June, 1779. The garrison of Stony Point consisted of only about forty men, and that at Verplanck's of seventy men, commanded by Captain Armstrong. As these forts secured a free communication between the troops of New England and those of the central and southern portions of the confederacy, Clinton determined to dislodge the Americans therefrom. Accordingly, on the 30th of May, he sailed up the river with a strong force, accompanied by General Vaughan; the flotilla was commanded by Admiral Collier. They landed in two divisions on the morning of the 31st, the one under Vaughan, on the east side, eight miles below Verplanck's, and the other under Clinton, on the west side, a little above Haverstraw. The garrison at Stony Point retired to the Highlands on the approach of the enemy, and the fort changed masters without bloodshed. The next morning, the guns of the captured fortress, and the cannons and mortars dragged up during the night, were pointed toward Fort Fayette opposite, and a heavy cannonade was opened upon it. Unable to make a respectable resistance to this assault, and attacked in the rear by Vaughan's division, the little garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war.¹ The loss of these forts was greatly lamented by Washington,

¹ This map shows the relative position of Verplanck's and Stony Points, and of the forts in the time of the Revolution. A represents the position and form of the fort on Stony Point; B, General Wayne's right column, and C his left column, when he stormed the ramparts and fort; and D shows the site of Fort Fayette, on the east side of the river.

² The following were the terms of capitulation:

"On the glacis of Fort Fayette, June 1st, 1779.

"His excellency Sir Henry Clinton and Commodore Sir George Collier grant to the garrison of Fort La Fayette terms of safety to the persons and property (contained in the fort) of the garrison, they surrendering themselves prisoners of war. The officers shall be permitted to wear their side-arms.

"JOHN ANDRÉ, *Aid-de-camp*."

Disposition of the American Troops on the Hudson.

Preparations for attacking Stony Point.

The Negro Spy.

and his first care was to make an effort to recover them, for West Point was now in danger. The main body of the American army was moved from Middlebrook toward the Highlands, and Washington established his quarters at Smith's Clove, far in the rear of Haverstraw.¹ Sir Henry Clinton gave orders for the immediate strengthening of the forts, and to guard the detachments left for the purpose, he descended the river with his army only as far as Phillipsburgh, now Yonkers.

REAR VIEW AT STONY POINT.²

On the 23d of June, Washington established his headquarters at New Windsor, leaving General Putnam in command of the main army at Smith's Clove. General McDougall was transferred to the command at West Point; the garrisons at Constitution Island, and at the redoubts opposite West Point, were strengthened; the road to Fishkill was well guarded, and three brigades were placed under the command of General Heath, who had lately been ordered from Boston. On the 1st of July, General Wayne was appointed to the command of the light infantry of the line, and was stationed in the vicinity of the Dunderberg, between Fort Montgomery and the main army at the Clove. The British had now greatly enlarged and strengthened the two forts in question, well supplied them with ammunition and stores, and had them strongly garrisoned. The force at Stony Point consisted of the seventeenth regiment of foot, the grenadier companies of the seventy-first, and some artillery; the whole under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Johnson of the seventh. The garrison at Verplanck's was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and was quite equal in force to that at Stony Point. Several small British vessels of war were anchored in the bay within close cannon shot of the forts. Such was the situation of the two armies, when the attack of the Americans under Wayne and Howe upon Stony Point and Verplanck's Point was planned and executed by order of Washington.

On the morning of the 15th of July, all the Massachusetts light infantry were^{1779.} marched to the quarters of Wayne at Sandy Beach, fourteen miles from Stony Point. At meridian on that exceedingly sultry day, the whole body moved through narrow defiles, over rough crags, and across deep morasses, in single file, and at eight in the evening rendezvoused a mile and a half below Stony Point. There they remained until General Wayne and several officers returned from reconnoitering the works of the enemy, when they were formed into column, and moved silently forward under the guidance of a negro slave belonging to a Captain Lamb who resided in the neighborhood.³

The position of the fortress was such that it seemed almost impregnable. Situated upon a huge rocky bluff, an island at high water, and always inaccessible dry-shod, except across

¹ Smith's Clove extends northward from the Ramapo Valley, not far from Turner's station on the Erie rail-road.

² This sketch presents a rear view of the old embankments of the fort, and of the light-house, which is seen by all travelers upon the river, just before entering the Highlands. The beacon stands exactly in the center of the fort, upon the site of the magazine. There was a covered way toward the water on the north side of the hill, and about twenty yards in the rear are some prominent remains of the ravelins which extended across the point.

³ Mr. Ten Eyck, the old ferryman at Stony Point, informed me that he knew this negro well. His name was Pompey, and for his services on that night his master gave him a horse to ride, and never exacted any labor from him afterward. Pompey's master was a warm Whig, and himself was a shrewd negro. Soon after the enemy took possession of the Point, Pompey ventured to go to the fort with strawberries to sell. He was kindly received; and as the season advanced, and berries and cherries became plentiful, he carried on an extensive traffic with the garrison, and became a favorite with the officers, who had no suspicion that he was regularly reporting every thing to his Whig master. Finally, Pompey informed them that his master would not allow him to come with fruit in the daytime, for it was hoeing-corn season. Unwilling to lose their supply of luxuries, the officers gave Pompey the countersign regularly, so that he could pass the sentinels in the evening. He thus possessed a knowledge of the countersign on the night of the attack, and made good use of it. That countersign was, "The fort's our own," and this was the watch-word of the Americans when they scaled the ramparts.

Condition of Stony Point.

Wayne's Proposition to Storm it.

Biography of Wayne.

His Monument.

a narrow causeway in the rear, it was strongly defended by outworks and a double row of *abatis*. Upon three sides of the rock were the waters of the Hudson, and on the fourth was a morass, deep and dangerous. But Wayne was not easily deterred by obstacles; and tradition avers, that while conversing with Washington on the subject of this expedition, he remarked, with emphasis, "General, I'll storm hell if *you* will only plan it." He possessed the true fire of the flint, and was always governed by the maxim, "Where there's a will there's a way." He resolved to storm the fort at all hazards, and only waited for the ebbing of the tide, and the deep first slumber of the garrison, to move toward the fortress.



GENERAL WAYNE.*

* ANTHONY WAYNE was born in the township of Eastown, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the 1st of January, 1745. He was educated in Philadelphia, and having studied mathematics with care, he opened a surveyor's office in his native town. He was sent to Nova Scotia in 1765, to locate a grant of land from the crown to several gentlemen in Pennsylvania. They made Wayne superintendent of the settlement. This post he held until 1767, when he returned home, married a young lady in Philadelphia, and resumed his profession as surveyor. In 1773, he was appointed a representative to the general Assembly of his state. He quitted the council for the field in 1775, where he was appointed a colonel in the Continental army, and went to Canada with General Thomas. At the close of the campaign there in 1776, he was promoted to brigadier general. He was with the commander-in-chief at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, in all of which engagements he was distinguished for his valor. The capture of Stony Point raised him to the highest mark in the admiration of his countrymen. In 1781, he went with the Pennsylvania line to the South, and in Virginia co-operated with La Fayette. After the capture of Cornwallis, he was sent to conduct the war in Georgia, and was very successful. As a reward for his services, the Legislature of Georgia made

him a present of a valuable farm. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution. In 1792 he succeeded St. Clair in the command of the army to be employed against the Western Indians, and gained a great victory over them in the battle of the Miamis, August 1794. He concluded a treaty with the Indians in August, 1795. While engaged in the public service, and returning home from the West, he was seized with the gout, and died in a hut at Presque Isle, in December, 1796, aged fifty-one years. He was buried, at his own request, under the flag-staff of the fort, on the shore of Lake Erie, from whence his remains were conveyed in 1809, by his son, Colonel Isaac Wayne, to Radnor church-yard, in Delaware county. The venerable church, near which the body of the hero lies, was erected in 1717. The Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati caused a handsome monument of white marble to be erected over his remains, upon which are the following inscriptions:

NORTH FRONT.—"Major-general ANTHONY WAYNE was born at Waynesborough,* in Chester county, State of Pennsylvania, A.D. 1745. After a life of honor and usefulness, he died in December, 1796, at a military post on the shore of Lake Erie, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States. His military achievements are consecrated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen. His remains are here interred."

SOUTH FRONT.—"In honor of the distinguished military services of Major-general ANTHONY WAYNE, and as an affectionate tribute of respect to his memory, this stone was erected by his companions in arms, the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4, A.D. 1809, thirty-fourth anniversary of the independence of the United States of America; an event which constitutes the most appropriate eulogium of an American soldier and patriot."



WAYNE'S MONUMENT.

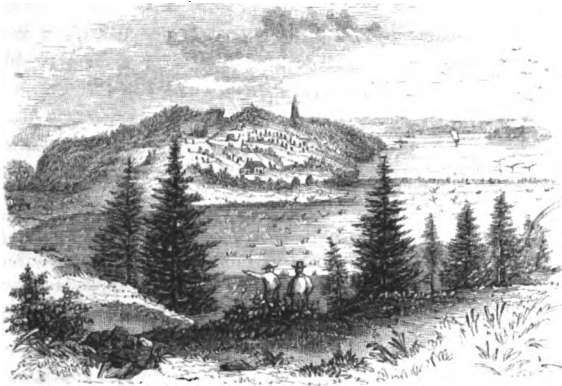
* This is an error. His birth-place was about a mile and a quarter south of the Paoli tavern.

Approach of the Americans to Stony Point.

Capture of Sentinels.

Storming of the Fort.

It was half past eleven o'clock at night when the Americans commenced their silent march toward the fort. All the dogs in the neighborhood had been killed the day before, that their barking might not give notice of strangers near.

VIEW OF STONY POINT FROM THE SOUTHWEST.¹

The negro, with two strong men disguised as farmers, advanced alone. The countersign was given to the first sentinel, on the high ground west of the morass, and while he was conversing with Pompey, the men seized and gagged him. The silence of the sentinel at the causeway was secured in the same manner, and as soon as the tide ebbed sufficiently, the whole of Wayne's little army, except a detachment of three hundred men under General Muhlenburg, who remained in the rear as a reserve, crossed the morass to the foot of the western declivity of the

promontory, unobserved by the enemy. The troops were now divided into two columns; the van of the right, consisting of one hundred and fifty volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel De Fleury, and that of the left, of one hundred volunteers, under Major Stewart, each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. An *avant-guard* of twenty picked men for each company, under Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, preceded them, to remove the *abatis* and other obstructions. These vans composed the forlorn hope on that memorable night.

At a little past midnight the advanced parties moved silently to the charge, one company on the southern, and the other toward the northern portion of the height. They were followed by the two main divisions; the right, composed of the regiments of Febiger and Meigs, being led by General Wayne in person. The left was composed of Colonel Butler's regiment, and two companies under Major Murfey. The Americans were undiscovered until within pistol shot of the pickets upon the heights, when a skirmish ensued between the sentinels and the advanced guards. The pickets fired several shots, but the Americans, true to orders, relied entirely upon the bayonet, and pressed forward with vigor. The garrison was aroused from their slumbers, and instantly the deep silence of the night was broken by the roll of the drum, the loud cry *To arms! to arms!* the rattle of musketry from the ramparts and behind the *abatis*, and the roar of cannon, charged with the deadly grape-shot, from the embrasures.² In the face of this terrible storm, the Americans forced their way, at

¹ This view shows a large portion of the morass, and the place where the assaulting party divided and prepared for an attack upon the fort, which was situated where the light-house is seen. The place of the causeway is on the left, denoted by the cattle. When I made this sketch it was quite high water, and the morass, there about one hundred feet wide, was almost covered. There was another place near the river shore, on the right, where the Point was accessible at times. It is distinguished in the sketch by the narrow strip of land extending nearly across the mouth of the morass. Upon this the enemy had dug pits and placed sharpened stakes within them, so that, had the Americans attempted to reach the Point by that way many would have been impaled. The position of the Americans in the attack, and of the outworks and the *abatis*, will be better understood by a reference to the map on a preceding page.

² Mr. Headley, in his *Washington and his Generals*, i., 326, has the following paragraph: "The water around them was driven into spray by the grape-shot and balls that fell in an incessant shower, while the hissing, bursting shells, traversing the air in every direction, added inconceivable terror to the scene." From a personal examination of the ground, I know that not a single shot, unless accidentally interrupted in its progress, could have touched the waters of the morass from the elevated works; and in none of the official accounts of the assault and defense have I seen any mention of a bomb-shell being thrown. Indeed there was nothing against which to hurl those murderous missiles except the innocent hills in the rear, for the assailants were at the verge of the works before the garrison was aroused. Historic truth is greatly

Wayne wounded.

His Bravery.

Surrender of the Fort.

Wayne's laconic Dispatch.

the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where each arrived at the same time.' At the inner *abatis*, Wayne was struck upon the head by a musket ball, which brought him upon his knees. His two brave aids, Fishbow and Archer, raised him to his feet, and carried him gallantly through the works. Believing himself mortally wounded, the general exclaimed, as he arose, "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" But the wound was not very severe, and he was able to join in the loud huzzas that arose when the two columns met as victors within the fort. Colonel De Fleury first entered the works, and struck the British standard with his own hands. The garrison surrendered at discretion as prisoners of war, and that brilliant achievement was rendered the more glorious for the clemency which the victors exercised toward the vanquished. Not a life was taken after the flag was struck and the garrison had pleaded for quarters. Wayne had but fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded; the British had sixty-three killed;² and Johnson, the commander, with five hundred and forty-three officers and men, were made prisoners. The ships of the enemy lying in the river in front of Stony Point slipped their cables and moved down to a place of security. Before daylight, Wayne sent to the commander-in-chief the brief but comprehensive reply, of which a fac simile is here given:

Stony Point 16th July 1779
 2 O'clock A.M.
 Dear Genl!
 The fort & Garrison
 with Col. Johnston are ours
 our Officers
 & men behaved like men
 who are determined to be
 free yours most sincerely
 Anty Wayne
 Genl Washington

injured by thus allowing the imagination to put its high-wrought creations in the place of facts, and a coloring of justice is thereby given to the sweeping assertion of Byron, who said, "All history is but a splendid fiction." The fanciful rhetorician should always be subservient to the plain historian when recording facts.

¹ Wayne's official dispatch, dated at Stony Point, July 17, 1779.

² This is the number given in the American account. Colonel Johnson, in his official dispatch, says he had only twenty killed.

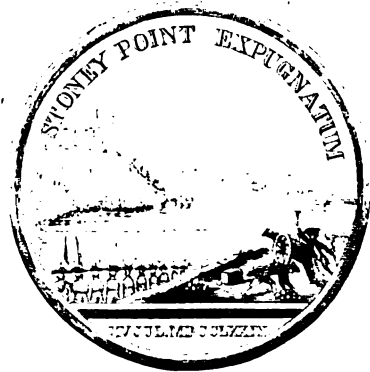
Fort Fayette Cannonaded.

Relieved by Sir Henry Clinton.

Galley with Ordnance sunk at Caldwell's.

At dawn the next morning the cannons of the captured fort were turned upon the enemy's works at Verplanck's Point under Colonel Webster, and a desultory bombardment was kept up during the day. Major-general Robert Howe had been sent to attack Fort Fayette, but on account of delays, and some misconceptions of Washington's orders, he did not make the attack in time to dislodge the garrison. News of Webster's critical situation and the capture of Stony Point was speedily communicated to Sir Henry Clinton, and he immediately sent relief to the menaced garrison at Verplanck's. Howe withdrew, and the enterprise was abandoned.

Washington, clearly perceiving the danger of attempting to retain the post at Stony Point



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED BY CONGRESS TO GENERAL WAYNE.¹

with so few troops as could be employed in the service, concluded to order an evacuation, and a destruction of the works after the ordnance and stores should be removed. This was accordingly done on the night of the eighteenth. All that was originally intended July, 1779.

was accomplished, namely, the destruction of the works and the seizure of the artillery and stores. A large portion of the heavy ordnance was placed upon a galley to be conveyed to West Point. As soon as the vessel moved, a cannonade from Verplanck's and the British shipping was commenced upon it. A heavy shot from the Vulture struck it below water-mark, and the galley went down at the point just above Caldwell's Landing, where speculation recently made credulity seek for treasures in a sunken vessel alleged to have belonged to the famous Captain Kidd. If, as asserted, a cannon was drawn up from a vessel lying at the bottom of the river there, it was doubtless one of the pieces taken from Stony Point, and the "ship's timbers" there discovered are the remains of the old galley. The "treasures," if secured, would be of little worth in these "piping times of peace."

The British repossessed themselves of Stony Point on the 20th, but they had little of value left them but the eligible site for a fortification.

The storming and capture of Stony Point, regarded as an exhibition of skill and indomitable courage, was one of the most brilliant events of the war. General Wayne, the leader

¹ This is a representation of the medal, the size of the original. On one side is a device representing an Indian queen crowned, a quiver on her back, and wearing a short apron of feathers. A mantle hangs from her waist behind, the upper end of which appears as if passed through the girdle of her apron, and hangs gracefully by her left side. With her right hand she is presenting a wreath to General Wayne; in her left she is holding up a mural crown toward his head. At her feet, on the left, an alligator is lying. The American shield is resting against the animal. Over the figure is the legend "ANTONIO WAYNE DUCI EXERCITUS," and beneath, "COMITIA AMERICANA;" "The American Congress to General Anthony Wayne." On the reverse is a fort on the top of a hill; the British flag flying; troops in single file advancing up the hill, and a large number lying at the bottom. Artillery are seen in the foreground, and six vessels in the river. The inscription is, "STONY POINT EXPUGNATUM, XV. JUL. MDCCCLXXIX.;" "Stony Point captured, July 15, 1779."

Medal awarded to Wayne.

His Popularity.

Medal awarded to Colonel De Fleury.

of the enterprise, was every where greeted with rapturous applause.¹ Congress testified their grateful sense of his services by a vote of thanks "for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct." It was also resolved that a medal of gold, emblematical of this action, should be struck, and presented to General Wayne. Thanks were also presented by Congress to Lieutenant-colonel De Fleury² and Major Stewart, and a medal of silver was ordered to be struck

MEDAL AWARDED TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DE FLEURY.³

and presented to each. The conduct of Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox was warmly applauded, and brevets of captain was given to each, and to Mr. Archer, the volunteer aid of Wayne, who was the bearer of the general's letter to Washington on the occasion. Pursuant to the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, and in fulfillment of promises made by Wayne before the assault, with the concurrence of Washington, Congress resolved, "That the value of the military stores taken at Stony Point be ascertained and divided among the gallant

¹ General Charles Lee, who was not on the most friendly terms with Wayne, wrote to him, saying, "I do most seriously declare that your assault of Stony Point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, throughout the whole course of the war, on either side, but that it is the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history; the assault of Schveidnitz, by Marshal Laudon, I think inferior to it." Dr. Rush wrote, saying, "Our streets rang for many days with nothing but the name of General Wayne. You are remembered constantly next to our good and great Washington, over our claret and Madeira. You have established the national character of our country; you have taught our enemies that bravery, humanity, and magnanimity are the national virtues of the Americans."

² De Fleury was descended from Hercule Andre de Fleury, a French nobleman, who was the preceptor of the grandson of Louis XIV. during the latter years of the life of that monarch. He was afterward made cardinal and prime minister. The subject of our sketch came to America soon after the news of the revolt reached France. Washington received him kindly, obtained for him a commission, and he proved to be a brave and worthy soldier. Educated as an engineer, his talents were brought into requisition here. In that capacity he was acting at the time of the engagement at Fort Mifflin, on the Delaware. He was at the battle of Brandywine, and for his gallantry there Congress gave him a horse. He returned to France soon after the capture of Stony Point.

³ This is a representation of the medal, the size of the original. The device is a helmeted soldier, standing against the ruins of a fort. His right hand is extended, holding a sword upright; the staff of a stand of colors is grasped by his left; the colors are under his feet, and he is trampling upon them. The legend is, "VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM ET PRÆMIUM. D. D. FLEURY EQUITO GALLO PRIMO MUROS RESP. AMERIC. D. D.;" "A memorial and reward of valor and daring. The American Republic has bestowed (this medal) on Colonel D. de Fleury, a native of France, the first over the walls (of the enemy)." On the reverse are two water batteries, three guns each; a fort on a hill, with a flag flying; a river in front, and six vessels before the fort. The legend is, "AGGERES PALUDES HOSTES VICTI;" "Mountains, morasses, fens, overcome." Exergue, "STONY PT. EXPUGN., XV. JUL., MDCCXXIX.;" "Stony Point stormed, 15th of July, 1779."

This identical silver medal was found by a boy while digging in a garden at Princeton, New Jersey, toward the close of April, 1850, and was deposited in the bank at that place for the inspection of the curious. How the medal came there is uncertain. De Fleury returned to France before the medal was struck, and it probably was never in his possession. Congress was afterward in session at Princeton, and the medal may have been lost by the secretary, in whose custody it properly belonged until delivered to the recipient of the honor.

Promised Rewards for the bravest Men.

Division of the Spoils among the Troops.

Medal awarded to Major Stewart.

troops by whom it was reduced, in such manner and proportions as the commander-in-chief shall prescribe."¹

MEDAL AWARDED TO MAJOR STEWART.²

¹ See *Journals of Congress*, v., 226, 227. The following rewards were promised: To the first man who entered the enemy's works, five hundred dollars; to the second, four hundred; to the third, three hundred; to the fourth, two hundred; to the fifth, one hundred: being fifteen hundred dollars in the aggregate. The ordnance and other stores were estimated at one hundred and fifty-eight thousand six hundred and forty dollars in value, which amount was divided among the troops in proportion of officers and privates.—*Sparks's Washington*, vi., 540.

² This represents the medal the size of the original. The device is America personified by an Indian queen, who is presenting a palm branch to Major Stewart. A quiver is at her back; her left hand is resting on the American shield, and at her feet is an alligator crouching. The legend is, "JOANNI STEWART COHORTIS PRÆFECTO, COMITIA AMERICANA;" "The American Congress to Major John Stewart." On the reverse is a fortress on an eminence. In the foreground an officer is cheering on his men, who are following him over *abatis* with charged bayonets, the enemy flying. Troops in single file are ascending to the fort on one side; others are advancing from the shore; ships are in sight. The inscription is, "STONEY POINT OPPUGNATUM XV. JUL. MDCCCLXXIX.;" "Stony Point attacked 15th of July, 1779."

I believe there is no biography of Major Stewart extant. Professor Wyatt, in his *Memoirs of American Generals, Commodores, &c.*, says he was killed by a fall from his horse, near Charleston, South Carolina.

King's Ferry.

Jolly old Waterman.

Stony Point.

Evening walk toward Haverstraw.

CHAPTER VIII.

"From Cain to Catiline, the world hath known
 Her traitors—vaunted votaries of crime—
 Caligula and Nero sat alone
 Upon the pinnacle of vice sublime;
 But they were moved by hate, or wish to climb
 The rugged steep of Fame, in letters bold
 To write their names upon the scroll of Time;
 Therefore their crimes some virtue did enfold—
 But Arnold! thine had none—'twas all for sordid gold!"

ESTELLE ANNA LEWIS.



THE localities more immediately associated with the brief career of André during his hapless connection with Arnold, now commands our attention, for toward Haverstraw I next journeyed. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when I crossed the ferry at Verplanck's Point in a small row-boat. This was the old King's Ferry of the Revolution, where the good Washington so often crossed, and where battalion after battalion of troops, royal, French, and American, at various times spanned the Hudson with their long lines of flat-boats, for it was the main crossing-place of armies moving

between the Eastern and Middle States. It was here, too, that a portion of the forces of Burgoyne crossed the Hudson when on their march from Massachusetts to Virginia. The landing-place on the Stony Point side, in former times, was in the cove at the opening of the marsh, on the north of the promontory; now the western terminus of the ferry is a little above, at the cottage of Mr. Tenyck, the jolly old ferryman, who has plied the oar there, almost without inter-
 that healthful beverage. While the veteran and two of his neighbors were enjoying the aqua vitæ, I sketched the old King's Ferry sign-board, with its device, which was nailed to a sapling near, and then, accompanied by the old man and his companions, started for a ramble over the rough site of the fort on Stony Point. Upon its ancient mounds I sat and listened for an hour to the adventurous tales of the octogenarian, until the long shadows of the mountains warned me that the day was fast waning, when I hastened to make the drawings upon pages 176 and 178. At sunset, accompanied by one of the men as bearer of my light baggage, I started on foot for the neighborhood of Haverstraw. The road passes through a truly romantic region, made so by nature, history, and tradition. I stopped often to view the beautiful river prospect on the southeast, while the outlines of the distant shores were imperceptibly fading as the twilight came on. At dusk we passed an acre of ground, lying by the roadside on the right, which was given



THE FERRYMAN.

mission, ever since 1784. He was sitting upon his doorstep when his son moored the boat at its rock-fastening; and, as we ascended the bank, the old man held up a bottle of whisky, and proffered a draught as a pledge of welcome to the "millionth man" that had crossed his ferry. Preferring milk to whisky, I sat down under the rich-leaved branches of a maple, and regaled myself with



"God's Acre."

Benson's Tavern.

Interview with a Builder of Stony Point Fort.

View from Smith's House

many years ago for a neighborhood burial-place. Its numerous white slabs proclaimed an already populous city of the dead, and ere long another generous hand should donate an acre near for the same purpose.

"I like that ancient Saxon phrase which calls
The burial-ground *God's Acre*! It is just;
It consecrates each grave within its walls,
And breathes a benison o'er the sleeping dust.
God's Acre! Yes, that blessed name imparts
Comfort to those who in the grave have sown
The seed that they had garner'd in their hearts,
Their bread of life, alas! no more their own."

LONGFELLOW.

It was quite dark when we reached the tavern of Mr. Benson, near Sampsonville, about three miles below Stony Point. Haverstraw was two miles distant, and, wearied with the rambles of the day, I halted at Benson's until morning. After an early breakfast I proceeded to the foot of Torn Mountain, a little northwest of Haverstraw, to visit a man named Allison, who was eighty-eight years old. I had been informed of his vigor of body and mind, and was much disappointed on finding him in bed, feeble and sinking from the effects of a fall. Our conversation was brief, but his short communications were interesting. He was a young man of eighteen when the fort at Stony Point was built, and assisted in carrying material for its construction from the main. In company with many others in the neighborhood not allowed to join in Wayne's expedition, he hung upon the rear of the little army on that eventful night; and when the shout of victory arose from the fort, his voice was among the loudest in the echo that was sent back by the yeomanry gathered upon the neighboring hills. He gave me a minute account of the movements of the Americans before crossing the morass, and told me of a black walnut-tree still standing by the roadside between Haverstraw and Stony Point, under which the negro, Pompey, took charge, as pilot, of Wayne's assaulting force. I had intended, on leaving Mr. Allison, to go down near the river bank, where Arnold and Andr  met; but the hour was approaching at which I had promised myself to return to Verplanck's Point, so I postponed my visit to this interesting spot until a subsequent date.

On my return toward Stony Point, I tarried at and sketched Smith's House, delineated on page 152. It is in the present possession of William C. Houseman, whose good taste has adorned the grounds around it with fine shrubbery. It is located upon the brow of an eminence, known, for obvious reasons, as Treason Hill, and commands an extensive view of the Hudson and the country beyond.¹ From the window in the second story, where, tradition avers, Andr  looked with anxious eyes for the appearance of the Vulture, I made the drawing printed on the opposite page. Between the foreground and the river is seen the broad alluvial flat in the rear of Haverstraw, and on the brink of the water is the village. The headland on the left is Teller's Point, and the highest ground on the extreme right is Torn Mountain, extending down to the verge of Haverstraw Bay, where it is called

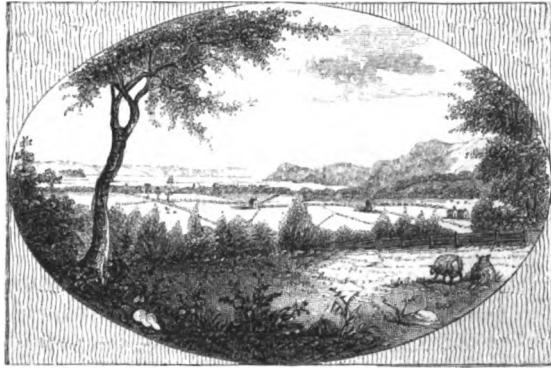
¹ The Marquis de Chastellux, in his *Travels in North America* (i., 98, 99), says, "My thoughts were occupied with Arnold and his treason when my road brought me to Smith's farm-house, where he had his interview with Andr , and formed his horrid plot . . . Smith, who was more than suspected, but not convicted of being a party in the plot, is still in prison,* where the law protects him against justice. But his home seems to have experienced the only chastisement of which it was susceptible; it is punished by solitude; and is, in fact, so deserted, that there is not a single person to take care of it, although it is the mansion of a large farm."

* Joshua Smith, who was implicated in Arnold's treason, was a brother of the Tory Chief-justice Smith, and a man of considerable influence. The part which he had acted with Arnold made him strongly suspected of known participation in his guilt. He was arrested at Fishkill, in Dutchess county, and was taken to the Robinson House a few hours previous to the arrival of Andr . There Smith was tried by a military court and acquitted. He was soon afterward arrested by the civil authority of the state, and committed to the jail at Goshen, Orange county, whence he escaped, and made his way through the country, in the disguise of a woman, to New York. He went to England with the British army at the close of the war, and in 1808 published a book in London, entitled *An Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major Andr *; a work of very little reliable authority, and filled with abuse of Washington and other American officers. Smith died in New York in 1818.

Ancient black Walnut-tree. Tarrytown. Cow-boys and Skinners. Neutral Ground. Place where André was Captured.

the Hook Mountain. The vessel in the river denotes the place where the Vulture lay at anchor.

Half a mile above the Smith House, on the right of the road to Stony Point, is the huge black walnut-tree mentioned by Mr. Allison. I procured a branch from it, large and straight enough for a *maul-stick*, and then plodded on in the warm sun, to the ferry. The old waterman, though nearly eighty years of age, rowed his boat across with a vigorous hand, and at one o'clock I left Verplanck's for Tarrytown, a village on the eastern bank of the Hudson, twenty-seven miles above New York, and memorable as the place where Major André was captured.



VIEW FROM SMITH'S HOUSE.

The village of Tarrytown lies scattered over the river front of the Greenburgh Hills, and presents a handsome appearance from the water. It is upon the site of an Indian village called Alipconck, which, in the Delaware language, signifies the *Place of Elms*. The Dutch, who settled there about 1680, called the place Tarwe Town, or "wheat town," probably from the abundant culture of that grain in the vicinity.¹ The salubrity of its climate, and the commanding river view in front, has always made it a desirable place of residence. During the Revolution it was the theater of many stormy scenes, consisting chiefly of skirmishes between the lawless bands of marauders known by the distinctive appellation of *Cow-boys* and *Skinners*.² These infested the Neutral Ground³ in West Chester, and made it a political and social hell for the dwellers. Many left it, and allowed their lands to become a waste, rather than remain in the midst of perpetual torments.

The place where André was captured is upon the turnpike on the northeast verge of the village, three quarters of a mile from the river, and near the academy of Mr. Newman. A few yards south of the academy, a small stream crosses the road and runs through a deep ravine riverward. The marshy and thickly-wooded glen into which it poured was known as Wiley's Swamp. A little south of this stream, on the west side of the road, is a dwarf cedar, near which (indicated, in the picture, by the spot where the figure sits) are the remains of a tree, said to be that of the stately white-wood under whose shadow the captors of André caused him to strip, and then made the momentous discovery of the papers in his

¹ Bolton. Irving, in his *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, says, "This name was given, we are told, in former days, by the good housewives of the adjacent country, from the inveterate propensity of their husbands to linger about the village tavern on market days."

² The party called *Cow-boys* were mostly Refugees belonging to the British side, and engaged in plundering the people near the lines of their cattle and driving them to New York. Their vocation suggested their name. The *Skinners* generally professed attachment to the American cause, and lived chiefly within the patriot lines; but they were of easy virtue, and were really more detested by the Americans than their avowed enemies, the *Cow-boys*. They were treacherous, rapacious, and often brutal. One day they would be engaged in broils and skirmishes with the *Cow-boys*; the next day they would be in league with them in plundering their own friends as well as enemies. Oftentimes a sham skirmish would take place between them near the British lines; the *Skinners* were always victorious, and then they would go boldly into the interior with their booty, pretending it had been captured from the enemy while attempting to smuggle it across the lines. The proceeds of sales were divided between the parties. See Sparks's *Life of Arnold*, 218-21 inclusive.

³ The Neutral Ground, thirty miles in extent along the Hudson, and embracing nearly all West Chester county, was a populous and highly cultivated region, lying between the American and British lines. Being within neither, it was called the Neutral Ground. The inhabitants suffered dreadfully during the war, for they were sure to be plundered and abused by one party or the other. If they took the oath of fidelity to the American cause, the *Cow-boys* were sure to plunder them; if they did not, the *Skinners* would call them Tories, seize their property, and have it confiscated by the state.

stocking.¹ By a spring in the grove, just over the fence on the left, the young men were card-playing when their victim approached. We will not anticipate the history in the de-

scription, but here resume the narrative of events connected with André's capture and trial, from the time we left him and Smith to pursue their journey from Verplanck's Point toward the Neutral Ground.

It was after dark September 23,
1780. when André and Smith left Verplanck's Point. They took the road toward White Plains, and met with no interruption until hailed by a sentinel near Crompond, a little village eight miles from Verplanck's Point.² He belonged to a party under Captain Boyd. That vigilant officer made many and searching inquiries of the travelers, and would not be satisfied that all was right until he procured a light and examined the pass from Arnold, which they assured him they possessed.



VIEW OF THE PLACE WHERE ANDRÉ WAS CAPTURED.

During the investigation André was uneasy, but the pass being in explicit terms, and known to be genuine, Captain Boyd was readily persuaded that all was correct. The captain apologized for the strictness of his scrutiny, and manifested much concern for their safety on account of the prevalence of *Cow-boys* in the neighborhood. He advised them to remain till morning; but Smith assured him that their business was urgent, and it was necessary for them to proceed immediately toward White Plains. The captain magnified the dangers to which they were exposed, and Smith, taking counsel of his fears, was disposed to tarry. André was differently inclined, and it was a long time before he could be persuaded to turn back and take lodging at the cottage of Andreas Miller. The travelers slept in the same bed, and, according to Smith's account, it was a weary and restless night for André. He was up at dawn, and at an early hour they were again in the saddle. As they approached Pine's Bridge, and André was assured that they were beyond patrolling parties, his taciturnity and gloom were exchanged for garrulity and cheerfulness, and he conversed in an almost playful manner upon poetry, the arts, literature, and common topics. Near Pine's Bridge³ they parted company, after partaking of a frugal breakfast with Mrs. Sarah Underhill, whose grandson, I believe, still owns the house. Smith proceeded to Fishkill by the way of the

¹ "This tree towered like a giant," says Irving, in his Sketch Book, "above all the other trees of the neighborhood, and formed a kind of landmark. Its limbs were gnarled and fantastic, large enough to form trunks for ordinary trees, twisting down almost to the earth, and rising again into the air." The trunk was twenty-six feet in circumference, and forty-one feet in length. It was struck by lightning on the same day that intelligence of Arnold's death arrived at Tarrytown, a coincidence which many thought remarkable.

² Here, at the parsonage, the Yorktown Committee of Public Safety met; and members of the Provincial Congress assembled there to grant commissions to officers. Colonel Robertson, who commanded a regiment of Loyalists, was ordered to destroy that post; and, piloted thither by a Tory named Caleb Morgan, he burned the parsonage in the autumn of 1776.

³ This bridge, situated in the southeast corner of Yorktown, spanned the Croton River. At this place the great dam connected with the Croton aqueduct is situated, and the present bridge crosses the lake above it, a little eastward of the Revolutionary structure. Here the Americans generally kept a strong guard, as it was the chief point of communication between the lines.

Volunteer Expedition against the *Cow-boys*.

Arrest of Major André.

Discovery of Papers in his Stockings.

Robinson House, where he pleased Arnold by communicating the particulars of the journey and the place where he left André. It is not at all probable that Smith, at this time, was acquainted with the real name and mission of André, for he knew him only as Mr. Anderson.

André, being told that the *Cow-boys* were more numerous on the Tarrytown road, took that direction, contrary to the advice of Smith and others, for these marauders were his friends, and from them he had nothing to fear.

On the morning when André crossed Pine's Bridge, a little band of seven volunteers went out near Tarrytown to prevent cattle being driven to New York, and to arrest any suspicious characters who might travel that way. John Yerks (who was living in the town of Mount Pleasant in 1848) proposed the expedition the day before, and first enlisted John Paulding, John Dean,¹ James Romer, and Abraham Williams. They were at North Salem, and Paulding procured a permit from the officer commanding there, at the same time persuading his friend, Isaac Van Wart, to accompany them. On their way toward Tarrytown they were joined by David Williams. They slept in a hay barrack at Pleasantville that night, and the next morning early they arrived near Tarrytown. Four of the party agreed to watch the road from a hill above, while Paulding, Van Wart, and David Williams were to lie concealed in the bushes by the stream near the post-road. Such was the position of the parties when André approached. The circumstances of the capture are minutely narrated in the testimony of Paulding and Williams, given at the trial of Smith, eleven days afterward. The testimony was written down by the judge-advocate on that occasion, from whose manuscript Mr. Sparks copied it, as follows: "Myself, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams were lying by the side of the road about half a mile above Tarrytown, and about fifteen miles above Kingsbridge, on Saturday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 23d of September. We had lain there about an hour and a half, as near as I can recollect, and saw several persons we were acquainted with, whom we let pass. Presently, one of the young men who were with me said, 'There comes a gentleman-like looking man, who appears to be well dressed, and has boots on, and whom you had better step out and stop, if you don't know him.' On that I got up, and presented my firelock at the breast of the person, and told him to stand, and then I asked him which way he was going. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'I hope you belong to our party.' I asked him what party. He said, 'The Lower Party.' Upon that I told him I did.' Then he said, 'I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute,' and, to show that he was a British officer, he pulled out his watch. Upon which I told him to dismount. He then said, 'My God! I must do any thing to get along,' and seemed to make a kind of laugh of it, and pulled out General Arnold's pass, which was to John Anderson, to pass all guards to White Plains and below. Upon that he dismounted. Said he, 'Gentlemen, you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business;' and said he was going to Dobbs's Ferry to meet a person there and get intelligence for General Arnold. Upon that I told him I hoped he would not be offended; that we did not mean to take any thing from him; and I told

¹ While strolling among the ancient graves in the Sleepy Hollow church-yard, a little north of Tarrytown, at the time of my visit there, I was joined by an elderly gentleman, a son of Mr. Dean. He pointed out a brown freestone at the head of his father's grave, on which is the following inscription: "In memory of John Dean. He was born September 15th, A.D. 1755, and died April 4th, A.D. 1817, aged 61 years, 6 months, and 20 days.

"A tender father, a friend sincere,
A tender husband slumbers here;
Then let us hope his soul is given
A blest and sure reward in heaven."

By his side is the grave of his father, who was buried eighty years ago.

² See Sparks's *Life and Treason of Arnold*, *Am. Biog.*, iii., 223-226.

³ "Paulding had effected his escape," says Bolton (i., 224), "only three days previously, from the New York Sugar House, in the dress of a German Yager. General Van Cortlandt says that Paulding wore this dress on the day of the capture, which tended to deceive André, and led him to exclaim, 'Thank God! I am once more among friends.'"

Deposition of David Williams.

Strange Conduct of Colonel Jameson.

His Letter to General Arnold.

him there were many bad people on the road, and I did not know but perhaps he might be one."

When further questioned, Paulding replied, that he asked the person his name, who told him it was John Anderson; and that, when Anderson produced General Arnold's pass, he should have let him go, if he had not before called himself a British officer. Paulding also said, that when the person pulled out his watch, he understood it as a signal that he was a British officer, and not that he meant to offer it to him as a present.

All these particulars were substantially confirmed by David Williams, whose testimony in regard to the searching of André, being more minute than Paulding's, is here inserted.

"We took him into the bushes," said Williams, "and ordered him to pull off his clothes, which he did; but, on searching him narrowly, we could not find any sort of writings. We told him to pull off his boots, which he seemed to be indifferent about; but we got one boot off, and searched in that boot, and could find nothing. But we found there were some papers in the bottom of his stocking next to his foot; on which we made him pull his stocking off, and found three papers wrapped up. Mr. Paulding looked at the contents, and said he was a spy. We then made him pull off his other boot, and there we found three more papers at the bottom of his foot within his stocking.

"Upon this we made him dress himself, and I asked him what he would give us to let him go. He said he would give us any sum of money. I asked him whether he would give us his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and one hundred guineas. He said 'Yes,' and told us he would direct them to any place, even if it was that very spot, so that we could get them. I asked him whether he would not give us more. He said he would give us any quantity of dry goods, or any sum of money, and bring it to any place that we might pitch upon, so that we might get it. Mr. Paulding answered, 'No, if you would give us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir one step.' I then asked the person who had called himself John Anderson if he would not get away if it lay in his power. He answered, 'Yes, I would.' I told him I did not intend he should. While taking him along, we asked him a few questions, and we stopped under a shade. He begged us not to ask him questions, and said when he came to any commander he would reveal all.

"He was dressed in a blue over-coat, and a tight body-coat, that was of a kind of claret color, though a rather deeper red than claret. The button-holes were laced with gold tinsel, and the buttons drawn over with the same kind of lace. He had on a round hat, and nankeen waistcoat and breeches, with a flannel waistcoat and drawers, boots, and thread stockings."

André was conducted to North Castle, the nearest military post, and there, with all the papers found upon his person, he was delivered up to Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the officer in command. With an obtuseness of perception most extraordinary and unaccountable, Jameson resolved to send the prisoner immediately to Arnold! He knew a portion of the papers to be in the undisguised handwriting of General Arnold, and it is most extraordinary that the circumstances under which they were found should not have awakened a suspicion of the fidelity of that officer. Washington afterward said, in allusion to Jameson's conduct, that, either on account of his "egregious folly or bewildered conception, he seemed lost in astonishment, and not to know what he was doing." There can be no doubt of the purity of his intentions, but who can respect his judgment? He penned a letter to Arnold, saying that he sent a certain Mr. Anderson forward under the charge of Lieutenant Allen and a guard, who had been taken while on his way to New York. "He had a passport," said Jameson, "signed in your name, and a parcel of papers, taken from under



COLONEL JAMESON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

¹ This is a view of the out-buildings of Mr. Sands, at North Castle, situated a few yards from his residence. The lowest building, on the left, is the dwelling, now attached to the barn of Mr. Sands, which Jameson used as his head-quarters. In that building André was kept guarded until sent to West Point.

Better Judgment of Colonel Tallmadge.

Major André at Sheldon's Head-quarters.

André's Letter to Washington.

his stockings, which I think of a very dangerous tendency." He described the papers, and informed Arnold that he had sent them to Washington.

Major Benjamin Tallmadge, next in command to Jameson, was on duty below White Plains on that day, and did not return until evening. When informed of the September 23,
1780. circumstances, he was filled with astonishment at the folly of Jameson, and boldly expressed his suspicions of Arnold's fidelity. He offered to take upon himself the entire responsibility of proceeding on that ground, if Jameson would allow it. The latter refused to sanction any action that should imply a distrust of Arnold. Tallmadge then earnestly besought him to have the prisoner brought back. To this he reluctantly consented, but insisted that his letter to Arnold should be forwarded, and that the general should be informed why the prisoner was not sent on. This was the letter which Arnold received in time to allow him to make his escape to the Vulture.

Jameson sent an express after Lieutenant Allen, with orders to conduct his prisoner back to head-quarters at North Castle. As soon as Tallmadge saw him, and observed his manner and gait while pacing the room, he was convinced that he was a military man; and, joining this belief with other circumstances,¹ his suspicions of Arnold's treachery were fully confirmed to his own mind. He partially imbued Jameson with the same opinions, and that officer agreed, with Tallmadge, that it was advisable to keep their prisoner in close custody until orders should be received from Arnold or Washington. André was accordingly removed, under an escort commanded by Major Tallmadge, to Colonel Sheldon's quarters at North Salem, as a more secure place. They arrived there at about eight in the morning. André was introduced to Mr. Bronson, who was attached to Sheldon's regiment, and that gentleman kindly offered to share his little room with the prisoner. Learning that the papers found on his person had been sent to General Washington, he wrote, in Bronson's room, a letter to the American chief, in which he frankly avowed his name and rank, and briefly related the circumstances connected with his present situation. This letter he handed to Major Tallmadge to read, who was greatly astonished to find that the prisoner in his custody was the adjutant general of the British army. The letter was sealed and sent to Washington. From that hour the prisoner's mind seemed relieved.²

¹ Eight or nine days previous to the capture, Major Tallmadge received a letter from Arnold of similar import to the one Colonel Sheldon received from him, in which he requested, if a man by the name of Anderson should come within the lines, to have him sent to head-quarters with two horsemen. This incident was strongly in favor of Tallmadge's suspicions.

² The following is a copy of the letter:

"Salem, September 24th, 1780.

"SIR,—What I have as yet said concerning myself was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated. I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

"I beg your excellency will be persuaded that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to take the step of addressing you, but that it is to rescue myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest; a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuate me, as well as with my condition in life. It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security. The person in your possession is Major John André, adjutant general to the British army.

"The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held, as confidential (in the present instance), with his excellency Sir Henry Clinton. To favor it, I agreed to meet, upon ground not within the posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence. I came up in the Vulture man-of-war for this effect, and was fetched by a boat from the ship to the beach. Being here, I was told that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly risked my person.

"Against my stipulations, my intention, and without my knowledge beforehand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Your excellency may conceive my sensation on this occasion, and must imagine how much more must I have been affected by a refusal to reconduct me back the next night as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground, and informed I was beyond all armed parties, and left to press for New York. I was taken at Tarrytown by some volunteers. Thus, as I have had the honor to relate, was I betrayed (being adjutant general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise within your posts.

Andrè taken to West Point and thence to Tappan.

His Disclosures to Tallmadge.

His Case and Hale's compared.

Pursuant to an order from General Washington, Andrè was conducted to West Point, where he remained until the morning of the 28th, when he was conveyed in a barge to Stony Point, and from thence conducted, under a strong escort, to Tappan, about two miles westward of the present Piermont, the Hudson River terminus of the New York and Erie rail-road. Major Tallmadge, who commanded the escort, and rode by Andrè's side all the way, has left, in a communication to Mr. Sparks, an interesting account of the events of that day's march. As he and Andrè were about the same age, and held the same rank in the respective armies, they agreed on a cartel, by the terms of which each one was permitted to put any question to the other not involving a third person. In the course of conversation, thus made as unreserved as possible, Andrè informed Tallmadge that he was to have taken a part in the attack on West Point, if Arnold's plan had succeeded, and that the only reward he asked was the military glory to be won by such service to his king. He had been promised, however, the rank and pay of a brigadier general if he had succeeded. In reply to Andrè's earnest inquiries respecting the probable result of his capture, Tallmadge frankly reminded him of the character and fate of the unfortunate Captain Hale. "But you surely do not consider his case and mine alike?" said Andrè. "Yes, precisely similar," replied Major Tallmadge, "and similar will be your fate." Andrè became troubled in spirit, and from that time until the hour of his execution his most poignant sorrow arose from the reflection that he was branded with the odious name of a spy.¹

As soon as Washington had completed all necessary arrangements for the security of West Point, he hastened to the army at Tappan. The next day after his arrival he summoned a board of general officers, and directed them to examine into the case of Major Andrè and report the result. He also directed them to give their opinion as to the light in which the prisoner ought to be regarded, and the punishment that should be inflicted. We shall visit Tappan presently, and then the events in the last scene of this drama shall be rehearsed; for the present, let us stroll about Tarrytown during the remainder of this pleasant afternoon.

After sketching a view of the spot where Andrè was captured, I walked to the famous



ANCIENT DUTCH CHURCH.²

old Dutch church of Sleepy Hollow, standing by the side of the post-road, about a mile northward. I can not better describe its location than by quoting the language of Mr. Irving concerning it. "The sequestered situation of the church," he says, "seems always to have made it a favorite haunt of troubled spirits. It stands on a knoll, surrounded by locust-trees and lofty elms, from among which its decent white-washed walls shine modestly forth, like Christian purity beaming through the shades of retirement. A gentle slope descends to it from a silver sheet of water,

"Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honor of an officer and a gentleman. The request I have to make to your excellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is, that in any rigor policy may dictate, a decency of conduct toward me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonorable, as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor. Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for clothes and linen.

"I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect. It is no less, sir, in a confidence of the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,
"JOHN ANDRÈ, *Adjutant General.*"

¹ See Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, iii., 255-259.

² This view is from the church-yard, looking southwest. The porch seen on the right fronts upon the

Bridge over Sleepy Hollow Creek. Ichabod Crane and the Headless Horseman. Castle Philipse. Tarrytown Cemetery.

bordered by high trees, between which peeps may be caught of the blue hills of the Hudson. To look upon its grass-grown yard, where the sunbeams seem to sleep so quietly, one would think that there, at least, the dead might rest in peace. On one side of the church extends a woody dell, along which laves a large brook among broken rocks and trunks of fallen trees. Over a deep black part of the stream, not far from the church, was formerly thrown a wooden bridge. The road that led to it, and the bridge itself, were thickly shaded by overhanging trees, which cast a gloom about it, even in the daytime, but occasioned a fearful darkness at night."¹

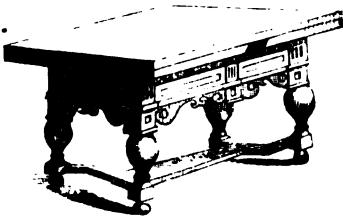
It was at this bridge, in the dark glen near the church, that poor Ichabod Crane had his terrible encounter with the headless horseman of Sleepy Hollow.² The road still "leads through a sandy hollow, shaded by trees for about a quarter of a mile," but "the bridge famous in goblin story" is no more. The present structure is a few yards westward of the site of the old one; and although not so shaded in cavernous gloom, is quite as romantic in its situation. From its planks there is a fine view of Castle Philipse, as the ancient manor house of Frederic Philipse was called, from the circumstance of its being originally fortified against the Indians. It is a spacious and substantial stone building, and near it is the old mill, whose wheel turned in the same place during the Revolution. The dam forms a pleasant little lake extending back almost to the bridge.

Upon the slopes and the brow of the hill eastward of the old church is the Tarrytown cemetery, extending down to the ancient burial-ground. It is susceptible of being made one of the most attractive burial-places in this country, for, aside from the beauties of nature there spread out, associations of the deepest interest give a charm to the spot. The Receiving Tomb, constructed of light stone, is near the top of the hill; and around it for many



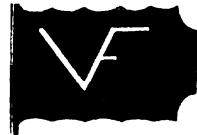
BRIDGE OVER SLEEPY HOLLOW CREEK.

highway, and is a modern addition, the ancient entrance being on the south side.



COMMUNION-TABLE.

This is believed to be the oldest church in existence in this state, having been erected, according to an inscription upon a stone tablet upon its front, by Vredryck Flypsen (Frederic Philips) and Catharine his wife, in 1699. It is built of brick and stone, the former having been imported from Holland



THE VANE.

for the express purpose. The old flag-shaped vane, with the initials of the founder cut out of it, yet turns upon its steeple, and in the little tower hangs the ancient bell, bearing this inscription: "SI. DEUS. PRO. NOBIS. QUIS. CONTRA. NOS.

1685." The pulpit and communion-table were imported from Holland; the latter alone has escaped the ruthless hand of modern improvement.

¹ Ichabod, according to Irving, in the *Legend*, returning from a late evening tarry with Katrina Van Tassel, on his lean steed Gunpowder, was chased by a huge horseman, without a head, from the André tree to the bridge. "He saw the walls of the church dimly gleaming under the trees beyond. He recollected the place where Brom Bones's ghostly competitor had disappeared. 'If I can but reach that bridge,' thought Ichabod, 'I am safe.' Just then he heard the black steed panting and blowing close behind him; he even fancied that he felt his hot breath. Another convulsive kick in the ribs, and old Gunpowder sprang upon the bridge; he thundered over the resounding planks; he gained the opposite side; and now Ichabod cast a look behind, to see if his pursuer should vanish, according to rule, in a flash of fire and brimstone. Just then he saw the goblin rising in his stirrups, and in the very act of hurling his head at him. Ichabod endeavored to dodge the horrible missile, but too late; it encountered his cranium with a terrible crash; he was tumbled headlong into the dust, and Gunpowder, the black steed, and the goblin rider, passed like a whirlwind."

A shattered pumpkin was found on the road the next day, but Ichabod had gone to parts unknown. Brom Bones, his rival, soon afterward led the pretty Katrina to the altar. The good country people always maintained that Ichabod was spirited away by the *headless horseman*, who was the ghost of a Hessian soldier, whose body, deprived of its caput by a cannon-ball, was sleeping in the church-yard near.

Greenburgh on the Nepera.

Van Wart's Monument.

Sunnyside, the Residence of Washington Irving.

rods, where the hand of improvement had not yet effaced them, might be seen vestiges of a small fortification, thrown up there during the war.

I passed the night at Tarrytown, and the next morning rode out to the beautiful Saw-mill Valley, to visit the burial-ground at Greenburgh, wherein repose the remains of Isaac Van Wart, one of the captors of André. The ground is attached to the Presbyterian church, and is near the lovely Nepera, or Saw-mill River. Over the remains of the patriot is a handsome marble monument, erected to his memory by the citizens of West Chester county, in 1829. Its completion was celebrated by a large concourse of people assembled there on the 11th of June of that year. General Aaron Ward, of Sing Sing, was the orator on the occasion. Mr. Van Wart was an efficient officer of that church for many years, and acted as chorister up to the time of his death. On returning to Tarrytown, I rode down to *Sunnyside*, the residence of Washington Irving, situated upon the river bank, about two miles below. It is reached from the post-road by a winding carriage-way, that cleaves rich cultivated fields and pleasant woodlands. Desirous of passing an hour at Dobbs's Ferry, and of crossing the Hudson at Tappan in season to visit places of note there, I enjoyed the friendly greeting of the gifted proprietor but a few moments, and then pursued my journey. I subsequently visited *Sunnyside*, and made the sketch given on the opposite page. It was in leafy June, and a

1850.

lovelier day never smiled upon the Hudson and its green banks. Close by Mr. Irving's residence, a prospective village¹ had recently burst into existence, almost as suddenly as the leaves had unfolded from the buds in the adjacent groves; and a rail-way station, with its bustle and noise, was upon the river margin, within bird-call of the once secluded Wolfert's Roost. I strolled along the iron way to a stile, over which I clambered, and, ascending the bank by a shaded pathway, was soon seated in the elegant little parlor at *Sunnyside*, where the kindest courtesy makes the stranger-visitor feel that he is indeed upon the sunny side of humanity, and in the warmest glow of that generous feeling which illumines every pen-stroke of Geoffrey Crayon. Beautified and enriched by the hand of nature, hallowed by the voice of traditional history speaking out from the old walls and umbrageous trees, and consecrated by the presence of true genius, *Sunnyside* has a charm for the American mind as bewitching and



RECEIVING TOMB.

VAN WART'S MONUMENT.²

¹ Dearman.

² The following are the inscriptions upon this monument:

NORTH SIDE.—"Here repose the mortal remains of ISAAC VAN WART, an elder in the Greenburgh church, who died on the 23d of May, 1828, in the 69th year of his age. Having lived the life, he died the death, of the Christian."

SOUTH SIDE.—"The citizens of the county of West Chester erected this tomb in testimony of the high sense they entertained for the virtuous and patriotic conduct of their fellow-citizen, as a memorial sacred to public gratitude."

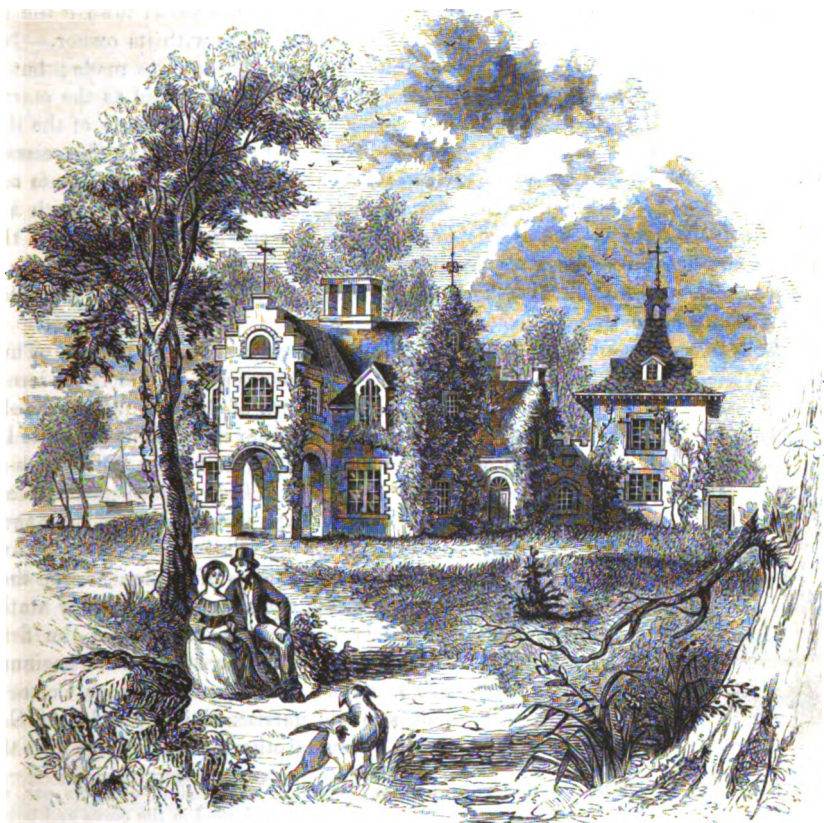
EAST SIDE.—"Vincit, Amor Patriæ. Nearly half a century before this monument was built, the conscript fathers of America had, in the Senate chamber, voted that ISAAC VAN WART was a faithful patriot, one in whom the love of country was invincible, and this tomb bears testimony that the record is true."

WEST SIDE.—"Fidelity. On the 23d of September, 1780, ISAAC VAN WART, accompanied by JOHN PAULDING and DAVID WILLIAMS, all farmers of the county of West Chester, intercepted Major André, on his return from the American lines in the character of a spy, and, notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdained to sacrifice their country for gold, secured and carried him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, the American army saved, and our beloved country free."

View of Sunnyside, the ancient "Wolfert's Roost."

Jacob Van Tassel.

classic as were the groves where Orpheus piped and Sappho sang to the Acadians of old. As I sat beneath a spreading cedar sketching the unique villa, and scolded without stint by a querulous matronly cat-bird on one side and a vixen jenny-wren on the other, and observed the "lord of the manor" leading a little fair-haired grand-nephew to the river brink in search of daisies and butter-cups, I could not repress the thoughts so beautifully expressed in his own little story of *The Wife*: "I can wish you no better lot than to have a wife and children. If you are prosperous, they are to share your prosperity; if otherwise, they are to comfort you. . . . Though all abroad is darkness and humiliation, yet there is still a little world of love at home [for the husband] of which he is the monarch."¹



VIEW OF "SUNNYSIDE," THE RESIDENCE OF WASHINGTON IRVING.

The residence of Mr. Irving is upon the site of the famous "Wolfert's Roost" of the olden time. It was built by Wolfert Ecker, an ancient burgher of the town, and afterward came into the possession of Jacob Van Tassel, one of the "race of hard-headed, hard-handed, stout-hearted Dutchmen, descended of the primitive Netherlanders." Van Tassel was the owner when the Revolution broke out, and was a staunch Whig. His house was in the midst of the debatable region called the Neutral Ground, and in the broad waters of the Tappan Sea² in front, British vessels were almost constantly anchored. The Republican propensities of Van Tassel were well known, and as the Roost was a place of general ren-

¹ *Sketch Book*.

² *Tappaan Zee*, or Tappan Sea, was the name given by the Dutch to the expansion of the Hudson at this place.

"The Roost" a Castle.

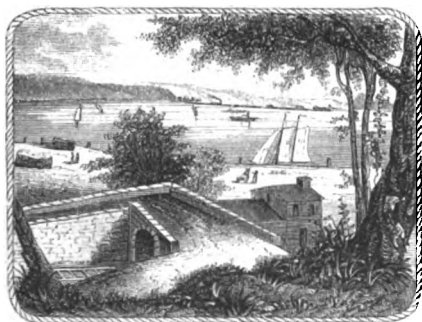
Its Garrison.

Attack upon, and Defense of "the Roost."

Dobbs's Ferry.

devious for the American water-guards¹ and land-scouts, he was made liable to attacks from the enemy. He pierced his old mansion with musketry loop-holes, and took other measures for defense. His garrison, *per se*, consisted of his stout-hearted wife and a redoubtable sister, Nochie Van Wurmer, a match, as he said, for the "stoutest man in the country." His ordnance was a goose gun "of unparalleled longitude," capable of doing great execution. He was in league with many ardent Whigs in his vicinity, who had sworn eternal hostility to the *Cow-boys* and *Skinners* who infested the region, and the Roost was their head-quarters. Van Tassel frequently joined his companions in distant expeditions. On one of these occasions, while far away from his castle, an armed vessel came to anchor off the Roost. The garrison consisted of only Jacob's spouse, his sister Nochie, a blooming daughter, and a brawny negro woman. A boatful of armed men put off from the vessel toward the Roost. The garrison flew to arms. The goose gun, unfortunately, was with its owner. Broomsticks, shovels, and other missiles were seized, and a vigorous defense was made; but, alas! it was all in vain. The house was sacked, plundered, and burned; and as the marauders were about departing, they seized the pretty "Laney Van Tassel, the beauty of the Roost," and endeavored to bear her to the boat. Mother, aunt, and Dinah flew to the rescue, and a fierce struggle ensued all the way to the water's edge. A voice from the frigate ordered the spoilers to leave the prize behind, "and the heroine of the Roost escaped with a mere rumpling of the feathers."² Soon after this event Van Tassel fell into the hands of the enemy, was sent to New York, and there remained a prisoner until near the close of the war.³ His house was rebuilt upon the ruins of the Roost and that phoenix, modified and enlarged, is the present mansion at Sunnyside.

From Mr. Irving's I rode down to Dobbs's Ferry, two or three miles below. This is a small village, lying pleasantly upon the river slope, and along a ravine of the Greenburgh Hills, at the mouth of the Wysquaqua Creek. It derives its name from the ancient family of Dobbs, who owned the property here, and first established a ferry. It is a place memorable ^{1698.} in the annals of the Revolution, not for sanguinary battles, but for the relative importance of its location in the movements of armies. Upon the high bank immediately above the rail-way station at the lower landing are remains of the first fort erected there. It was built at the beginning of 1776, and in October of that year Colonel Sargent strongly garrisoned it, by order of General Heath.⁴ Several other strong redoubts were thrown

VIEW FROM THE RUINS OF THE OLD FORT.⁵

¹ The water-guards were resolute men, well armed with muskets, and skillful with the oar, who, in small vessels technically called *whale-boats* (sharp, canoe-shaped boats), lurked in the coves and behind the headlands of the river, to obtain information of the approach or position of vessels of the enemy. With muffled oars, they often reconnoitered the British ships at night, and sometimes cut off boats that ventured from them toward the shore.

² *Knickerbocker Magazine*.

³ There were a number of the Van Tassels living in the vicinity of the Greenburgh church. In November, 1777, a party of Chasseurs, under Captain Emerick, went up from Kingsbridge, surprised the Van Tassels, burned their houses, stripped the women and children of their clothing, and carried off Peter and Cornelius Van Tassel prisoners. In retaliation for the outrage, the patriots fitted out an expedition at Tarrytown under the command of Abraham Martlingh, which proceeded down the river in boats, passed the water-guards of the enemy in safety, landed a little below Spuyten Devil Creek, set fire to General Oliver de Lancey's house, and returned without losing a man. General De Lancey was a most active and bitter Loyalist. He will come under our observation in a conspicuous manner hereafter.

⁴ The garrison consisted of five hundred infantry, forty light horse, a company of artillery, with two twelve-pounders under Captain Horton, and Captain Crafts with a howitzer.

⁵ This view is from the bank immediately above the rail-way station, looking northwest. In the foreground is seen the wagon-road, passing by, on an arch of masonry, over the rail-way. On the left is the wharf. Toward the right, in the distance, is seen the long pier and village of Piermont; and at the ex-

Old Fort at Dobbs's Ferry.

The Livingston Mansion.

Rendezvous of the British.

The Palisades.

Tappan.

up in the vicinity, remains of which are still visible. One, a little southwest of the residence of Mr. Stephen Archer (the ancient mansion of Van Brugh Livingston), appears to have been equally strong with the one just mentioned. A few rods north of this mansion, in a locust grove, on the west of the post-road, are very prominent remains of a strong redoubt. They extended through the adjoining garden, but there the mounds have been leveled and the fossé filled up. These forts commanded the ferry to Paramus (now Sneed's) landing on the Jersey shore, and also the passage of the river. They often greatly annoyed the British shipping while passing and repassing.

In this vicinity the British portion of the enemy rendezvoused
 a October 28, after the battle of White Plains,^a before march-
 1776, ing against Fort Washington;^b and at Hastings,
 b November 16. one mile below, a British force of six thousand men, under Corn-

wallis, embarked in boats, and, crossing over to
 November 18. Paramus, marched to the attack of Fort Lee, and
 then commenced the pursuit of Washington and his broken army

through the Jerseys. Here, in January, 1777, the division of the American army under Lincoln was encamped for a brief space. Here was the spot selected by Arnold for his first conference with André in 1780; and here, on the night of the 3d of August, 1781, while the American army lay in the neighborhood, and the chief's head-quarters were at the Livingston mansion, a skirmish ensued between some guard-boats of the enemy and the little garrison of the fort on the river bank.

After viewing the remains of the old forts, and passing a pleasant half hour with Mr. Archer (a member of the society of Friends) upon the shaded porch of the Livingston Mansion, I crossed the Hudson in a small boat to Sneed's, and proceeded on foot to Tappan, a distance of about two miles, where I arrived in time to sketch the head-quarters of Washington, printed on page 196, and to visit the place of André's execution.

Tappan village lies in the bosom of a fertile, rolling valley, not far from the head of the deep gorge which terminates on the Hudson at Piermont. Southwest of the village is a lofty ridge, on which the American army lay encamped. Upon its gentle slope toward the road to old Tappan, Major André was executed. Travelers passing up the Hudson, and viewing with astonishment the mighty amorphous wall of the *Palisades*, along the western shore, have no idea of the beauty and fertility of the country in the rear. The *Palisades*, so bare and precipitous in front, present a heavily-wooded slope in the rear, reaching down into a plain of great fertility. This plain extends, with a slight variance from a level, from Tappan to Bergen Point, a distance of twenty-seven miles, and is watered by the Hackensack and its tributaries. It was a country noted for the abundance of its forage at the time of the Revolution, and was an eligible place for an army to encamp. After visiting the interesting localities in the neighborhood, I walked to Piermont, about two miles distant, where I arrived in time to embark in the boat of the Erie Rail-road Company, at eight o'clock, for New York. Though "weary and worn" with the day's ramble, let us turn to history a while before retiring to rest.

Tappan, lying upon one of the great lines of communication from the East, by way of trene right, in the distance, is the mountain near the foot of which André and Arnold first met. Piermont is the port of Tappan, the place where André was executed. The sketch here presented was made when I visited Dobbs's Ferry in the autumn of 1849, after the rail-way was finished.

¹ This is a view from the lawn on the north side. It is embowered in trees and shrubbery, and is one of the most pleasantly-located mansions in the country, overlooking interesting portions of the Hudson River. Within its walls many of the leading men of the Revolution were entertained. It was the head-quarters of Washington, when he abandoned an attempt to capture New York city, changed his plans, and marched his whole army to Virginia to capture Cornwallis. There, at the close of the war, Washington, Governor Clinton, and General Sir Guy Carleton, and their respective suites, met to make arrangements for the evacuation of the city of New York by the British. Washington and Clinton came down the river from West Point in a barge; Carleton ascended in a frigate. Four companies of American Infantry performed the duty of guards on that occasion.

THE LIVINGSTON MANSION.¹

Massacre of Baylor's Corps at Tappan. The "76 Stone House," where André was confined. Washington's Headquarters.

King's Ferry, was made a place of considerable importance as a camping-ground; its position among the hills, and yet contiguous to the river, being very favorable. When, in September, 1778, Cornwallis had possession of the Hudson portion of New Jersey, foraging parties were sent in this direction, as well as scouts, to ascertain the condition of the posts at West Point. General Knyphausen, with a large force, was at the same time on the east side of the Hudson, at Dobbs's Ferry, and Washington believed that an expedition up the river was intended. Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, with a regiment of light horse, was sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and to intercept their scouts and foragers. He made his head-quarters at old Tappan, and there lay in a state of such unsoldierly insecurity, that Cornwallis was led to form a plan for taking his whole corps by surprise.¹ General Grey, with some light infantry and other troops, was sent, at night, to approach Tappan on the west, while a corps from Knyphausen's division was to approach from the east, and thus surround and capture not only the sleepers in Baylor's camp, but a body of militia, under Wayne, who were stationed near. Some deserters from the enemy gave the militia timely warning; but Baylor's troops, who lay unarmed in barns,² were not apprised of the proximity of the enemy. At midnight, Grey approached silently, cut off a sergeant's patrol of twelve men without noise, and completely surprised the troop of horse. Unarmed, and in the power of the enemy, they asked for quarter, but this was inhumanly refused by Grey, who, like Tryon, was a famous marauder during the war.³ On this occasion he gave special orders not to grant any quarter. Many of the soldiers were bayoneted in cold blood. Out of one hundred and four persons, sixty-seven were killed or wounded. Colonel Baylor was wounded and made prisoner, and seventy horses were butchered.

The event of the most importance which occurred at Tappan was the trial and execution of Major André. He was confined, while there, in the old stone mansion, now occupied as a tavern, and called the "76 Stone House." Its whole appearance has been materially changed. The room wherein the unfortunate prisoner was confined, and which was kept with care in its original condition more than half a century, has been enlarged and *improved* for the purposes of a ball-room! I was there a few years ago, when the then owner was committing the sacrilege, and he boasted, with great satisfaction, that he had received a "whole dollar for the old look that fastened up Major Andrew!" Sentiment does not obey the laws of trade

—it seems to cheapen with a decrease of supply. The sign-board is now the only evidence that there is any on hand at the "76 Stone House." The trial took place in the old Dutch church, which was torn down in 1836. Upon its site another and larger one of brick has been erected. It stands within a few yards of the house where André was confined. Washington's head-quarters were in the old stone building now occupied by Samuel S. Verbryck, situated near the road from Sneed's Landing, within a few rods of its junction with the main street



WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT TAPPAN.⁴

¹ Gordon, ii., 391.

² The encampment, on the night in question, was about two and a half miles southwest of Tappan village, near the Hackensack River.

³ General Grey, on account of his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of the bayonet, acquired the name of *the no-flint general*.

⁴ This view is from the yard, near the well. The date of its erection (1700) is made by a peculiar arrangement of the bricks in the front wall. In the large room called "Washington's quarters" the fire-

Court of Inquiry in André's Case. The Prisoner's Conduct. Names of those who composed the Court. Judge Laurance.

of the village. It was then owned by John de Windt, a native of St. Thomas's, West Indies, and grandfather of Mrs. Verbryck, who now resides there.

I have mentioned that, on the arrival of Washington at Tappan, he ordered a court of inquiry. This court, consisting of fourteen general officers,¹ was convened at Tappan on the



JOHN ANDRÉ.
From a Miniature, by himself.

29th of September, and on that day Major André was arraigned before it and examined. John Laurance,² afterward 1780. a distinguished legislator and jurist, was judge advocate. André made a plain statement of the facts we have been considering; acknowledged and confirmed the truthfulness of his statements in his letter to General Washington from Salem; confessed that he came ashore from the *Vulture in the night, and without a flag*; and answered the query of the Board, whether he had any thing further to say respecting the charges preferred against him, by remarking, "I leave them to operate with the Board, persuaded that you will do me justice."

He was remanded

to prison, and, after a long and careful deliberation, the Board reported, "That Major André, adjutant general of the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death." On the next day Washington signified his approval of the decision as follows:



MAJOR ANDRÉ.³
From a Pencil Sketch.

place is surrounded by Dutch pictorial tiles illustrative of Scripture scenes. Indeed, the whole house remains in precisely the same condition, except what the elements have changed externally, as it was when the chief occupied it. When I visited it, Mrs. Verbryck's sister, an old lady of eighty, was there. She said she remembered sitting often upon Washington's knee. She was then ten years old.

¹ The following are the names of the officers who composed the court martial on that occasion: Major-generals *Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, La Fayette, R. Howe*, and the Baron *Steuben*; and Brigadiers *Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntington, and Stark*. General *Greene* was president of the board, and *John Laurance* judge-advocate general.

² Mr. Laurance was a native of Cornwall, England, where he was born in 1750. He held the rank of colonel in the Continental army, and was highly esteemed by the commander-in-chief. Colonel Laurance was a representative for New York in the first Congress held after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and retained a seat therein during President Washington's first administration. On his retiring from office, Washington appointed him a judge of the District Court of New York. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1796, and served four years, when he resigned his seat and retired to private life. He died at No. 356 Broadway, New York, in November, 1810, in the sixtieth year of his age. Judge Laurance married a daughter of General Alexander M'Dougall, of the Continental army, who, with Sears, Willett, Lamb, and others, early and earnestly opposed the British government in its aggressive acts. An interesting sketch of the public life of Judge Laurance, from the pen of Edwin Williams, Esq., was published in a New York journal in February, 1851.

³ This is a fac simile of a pencil sketch which I received from London with the drawing of André's monument in Westminster Abbey, printed on page 199. I do not know from what picture the artist copied, but, considering the channel through which I received it, I think it may be relied on as a correct profile.

JOHN ANDRÉ was a native of London, where he was born in 1751. His parents were from Geneva, in Switzerland, and at that place he was educated. He returned to London before he was eighteen years of age, and entered the counting-house of a respectable merchant, where he continued nearly four years

Washington's Approval of the Decision of the Court. Memoir of André. Honora Sneyd. Mr. Edgeworth. Miss Seward.

"Head-quarters, September 30, 1780.

"The commander-in-chief approves of the opinion of the Board of general officers respecting Major André, and orders that the execution of Major André take place to-morrow at five o'clock P.M."

Possessing a literary taste and promising genius, he became acquainted with several of the writers of the day, among whom was Miss Anna Seward, the daughter of a clergyman in Litchfield. Miss Seward had a cousin named Honora Sneyd, a charming girl of whom André became enamored.* His attachment was reciprocated by the young lady, and they made an engagement for marriage. The father of the girl interposed his authority against the match, and the marriage was prevented. Four years afterward, Honora was wedded to Richard Lovell Edgeworth,† father of the late Maria Edgeworth, the novelist, by a former wife. Until that event occurred, André had cherished the hope that some propitious circumstance might effect their reunion. The portal of hope was now closed, and, turning from commercial pursuits, he resolved to seek relief from the bitter associations of his home amid the turmoils of war. He entered the army which came to America in 1775. He was taken prisoner at St. John's, on the Sorel, when that post was captured by Montgomery, and was sent to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. In a letter written to a friend from that place, he said, "I have been taken prisoner by the Americans, and stripped of every thing except the picture of Honora, which I concealed in my mouth. Preserving that, I yet think myself fortunate." This picture had been delineated by his own hand from the living features of his beloved, at the time of his first acquaintance with her at Buxton, in 1769. The bravery and talents of André secured for him the affectionate regards of his commander, Sir Henry Clinton, and he raised him to the duty of adjutant general of the British army in America, with the rank of major. His future career was full of brilliant promises, when Arnold, the wily serpent, crept into the paradise of his purity and peace, and destroyed him. He was not yet thirty years old when he suffered the death of a spy.

Major André possessed a graceful and handsome person, with rare mental accomplishments. He was passionately fond of the fine arts, and his journal, kept during his life in America, was enriched by many drawings of such objects of interest as attracted his attention. While here, he wrote several poetical pieces for the loyal newspapers; and it is a singular fact that the last canto of his satirical poem, called *THE COW CHASE*, was published in Rivington's Royal Gazette, in New York, on the 23d of September, 1780, the day of his capture. It ends with the following stanza:

"And now I've closed my epic strain,
I tremble as I show it,
Lest this same warrio-drover, Wayne,
Should ever catch the poet!"‡

His memory has been embalmed in verse by his friend, Miss Seward;§ and his king testified his admiration of his character and genius by the erection of a beautiful monument to his honor in Westminster Abbey, near the *Poets' Corner*. The monument is in relief against the wall, and is about seven and a half feet in height. It is composed of a sarcophagus, elevated on a molded paneled base and plinth, and was executed in statuary marble by P. M. Van Gelder, from a design by Robert Adam. On the front of the sarcophagus is a *basso relievo*, in which is represented General Washington and officers in a tent at the moment when

* Miss Seward, in her poem entitled "The Anniversary," thus alludes to her cousin:

"Why fled ye all so fast, ye happy hours,
That saw Honora's eyes adorn these bowers?
These darling bowers that much she loved to hail;
The spires she called The Ladies of the Vale!"

† Mr. Edgeworth was educated partly at Trinity College, Dublin, and partly at Oxford. Before he was twenty, he ran off with Miss Elers, a young lady of Oxford, to whom he was married at Gretna Green. He embarked in a life of gayety and dissipation. In 1770 he succeeded to his Irish property. During a visit to Litchfield soon afterward, he saw Honora Sneyd, loved her, and married her after the death of his wife. Honora died six years afterward of consumption, when he married her sister. —Chambers's *Cyclopedia of English Literature*, II. 568.

‡ This satirical poem was written at General Clinton's head-quarters, now No. 1 Broadway, New York. It is not a little singular that Wayne commanded the division of the army at Tappan when André was executed.

§ In Ainsworth's Magazine of a recent date I find the following record of *A dream realized*: "Major André, the circumstances of whose lamented death are too well known to make it necessary for me to detail them here, was a friend of Miss Seward's, and, previously to his embarkation for America, he made a journey into Derbyshire to pay her a visit, and it was arranged that they should ride over to see the wonders of the Peak, and introduce André to Newton, her minstrel, as she called him, and to Mr. Cunningham, the curate, who was also a poet.

"While these two gentlemen were awaiting the arrival of their guests, of whose intentions they had been apprised, Mr. Cunningham mentioned to Newton that, on the preceding night, he had a very extraordinary dream, which he could not get out of his head. He had fancied himself in a forest; the place was strange to him; and, while looking about, he perceived a horsemanship approaching at great speed, who had scarcely reached the spot where the dreamer stood, when three men rushed out of the thicket, and, seizing his bridle, hurried him away, after closely searching his person. The countenance of the stranger being very interesting, the sympathy felt by the sleeper for his apparent misfortune awoke him; but he presently fell asleep again, and dreamed that he was standing near a great city, among thousands of people, and that he saw the same person he had seen seized in the wood brought out and suspended to a gallows. When André and Miss Seward arrived, he was horror-struck to perceive that his new acquaintance was the antitype of the man in the dream."

André's Death-warrant.

His Will.

Disposition of his Remains.

His Monument.

The youth, candor, and gentlemanly bearing of André during the trying scenes of his examination made a deep impression upon the court; and had the decision of those officers been in consonance with their feelings instead of their judgments and the stern necessities imposed by the expedients of war, he would not have suffered death. When the decision of the court was made known to him, the heroic firmness of his mind challenged the admiration of all. He exhibited no fear of death, but the *manner* was a subject that gave him uneasiness; he wished to die as a *soldier*, not as a *spy*. Tender of the feelings of his commander, he obtained permission of Washington to write to Sir Henry Clinton, for the purpose of assuring him that the dilemma in which he found himself was not attributable to the duty required of him by his general. In that letter he implied a presentiment of his fate, and said, "I have a mother and two sisters, to whom the value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Grenada has much effected their income."¹

September 29.

There could be no question among military men as to the *equity* of André's sentence, and



ANDRÉ'S MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

the chief had received the report of the court of inquiry; at the same time a messenger has arrived with the letter from André to Washington, petitioning for a soldier's death (see page 202). On the right is a guard of Continental soldiers, and the tree on which André was executed. Two men are preparing the prisoner for execution, while at the foot of the tree, Mercy, accompanied by Innocence, is bewailing his fate. On the top of the sarcophagus is the British lion, and the figure of Britannia, who is lamenting the fate of the accomplished youth. Upon a panel is the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Major JOHN ANDRÉ, who, raised by his merit at an early period of life to the rank of adjutant general of the British forces in America, and employed in an important but hazardous enterprise, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his king and country, on the 2d of October, A.D. 1780, universally beloved and esteemed by the army in which he served, and lamented even by his FOES. His gracious sovereign, KING GEORGE THE THIRD, has caused this monument to be erected." On the base of the pedestal upon which the sarcophagus rests has subsequently been inscribed the following: "The remains of MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ were, on the 10th of August, 1821, removed from Tappan by JAMES BUCHANAN, Esq., his majesty's consul at New York, under instructions from his Royal Highness, the DUKE OF YORK; and with the permission of the Dean and Chapter, finally deposited in a grave contiguous to this monument, on the 28th of November, 1821."*

The king settled a pension upon the family of André; and, to wipe out the imputed stain produced by his death as a spy, the honor of knighthood was conferred upon his brother. A certified copy of André's will is in the office of the Surrogate of New York. It is dated at Staten Island, 7th of June, 1777, and signed "JOHN ANDRÉ, captain in the 26th regiment of foot." The date of probate is October 12, 1780, ten days after his execution. The will is sworn to October 9, 1781, before Carey Ludlow, Esq., then Surrogate of New York. By his will, André gave the bulk of his property to his three sisters (Maria, Anna Marguerite, and Louisa) and his brother, each \$3500, on condition that they pay to his mother, Mary Louise André, each \$50 a year. Anna Marguerite André—"the tuneful Anna," as Miss Seward called her—his last surviving sister, lived a maiden, and died in London in 1848, at the age of ninety years. André's watch was sold for the benefit of his captors. It was bought by Colonel William S. Smith, of the Continental army, for thirty guineas, and, through General Robertson, he generously transmitted it to André's family. His commission was sold by Sir Henry Clinton for the benefit of his mother and sisters.

¹ Colonel Hamilton, who was the bearer of the request from André to Washington asking his permission to send this open letter to Clinton, observes, in an account which he gave to Colonel Laurens, that André seemed to foresee the result of the proceedings in which he was concerned. "There is only one thing which disturbs my tranquillity," he said to Hamilton. "Sir Henry Clinton has been too good to me; he has been lavish of his kindness; I am bound to him by too many obligations, and love him too well, to bear the thought that he should reproach himself, or others should reproach him, on the supposition of my having conceived myself obliged, by his instructions, to run the risk I did. I would not for the world leave a sting in his mind that should imbitter his future days."

* An account of this transaction may be found on page 205.

Equity of Andrè's Sentence.

Efforts to Save him.

Embassy of Colonel Ogden.

Washington Vilified.

yet there was a general desire on the part of the Americans to save his life. Washington was deeply impressed with this feeling, and was ready to employ any measure to effect it consistent with his public duty.¹ The only mode to save Andrè was to exchange him for Arnold, and hold the traitor responsible for all the acts of his victim. This could hardly be expected, for Sir Henry Clinton was a man of nice honor; nor would the American commander make a formal proposition of this kind. It was, however, determined that an opportunity for such an arrangement should be offered, and a plan for that purpose was conceived. Washington placed a packet of papers, directed to Sir Henry Clinton, in the hands of a trusty officer of the New Jersey line, Captain Aaron Ogden, containing an official account of the trial of Andrè, the decision of the Board of inquiry, and the letter written by Andrè to his general. Ogden was directed to go to General La Fayette for further instructions, after he should arrange his escort of men, known for their tried fidelity. La Fayette was in command of the light infantry, stationed nearest to the British lines. He instructed Ogden to travel so slowly, that when he should reach Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City), it might be so late that he would be invited to stay all night. He was then to communicate to the commandant of the post, as if incidentally, the idea of an exchange of Andrè for Arnold. Every thing occurred as was an-



¹ Never was a sympathy more real, or feeling more genuine, than that exhibited by the American officers on this occasion; and yet the prejudiced M'Farland, after quoting from a letter of La Fayette to his wife, in which he expressed his sympathy for Andrè, says, "Some of the American generals, too, lamented, but kept twisting the rope that was to hang him;" and then falsely adds, "There are accounts which say that the deep sympathy and regret was all a farce, and that Andrè, who was a wit and a poet, was most cordially hated by the Americans on account of some witticisms and satirical verses at their expense."—*Pictorial History of the Reign of George III.*, i., 434.

The London *General Evening Post* for November 14th, 1780, in an article abusive of Washington, gives a pretended account of Andrè's "last words," in which the unfortunate man is made to say, "Remember that I die as becomes a British officer, while the manner of my death must reflect disgrace on your commander." Andrè uttered no sentiment like this. Miss Seward, his early friend, on reading this account, wrote thus in her "Monody on Major Andrè:"

"Oh Washington! I thought thee great and good,
Nor knew thy Nero-thirst for guiltless blood!
Severe to use the pow'r that Fortune gave,
Thou cool, determin'd murderer of the brave!
Lost to each fairer virtue, that inspires
The genuine fervor of the patriot fires!
And you, the base abettors of the doom,
That sunk his blooming honors in the tomb,
Th' opprobrious tomb your harden'd hearts decreed
While all he asked was as the brave to bleed!"

² Aaron Ogden was born the 3d of December, 1756, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He graduated at Princeton in 1773. He was nurtured in the love of Whig principles, and took an active part in the early struggles of the patriots. In the winter of 1775-6, he was one of a party who boarded and captured a vessel lying off Sandy Hook, named *Blue Mountain Valley*, and carried her safely into Elizabethtown. Mr. Ogden received an appointment in the first New Jersey regiment in the spring of 1777, and continued in the service until the close of the war. He was in the battle of Brandywine in the autumn of 1777; was brigade major in a portion of the advanced corps of General Lee at Monmouth in the summer of 1778, and served as assistant aid-de-camp to Lord Stirling during that memorable day. He was aid-de-camp to General Maxwell in the expedition of Sullivan against the Indians in 1779, and was in the battle at Springfield, in New Jersey, in 1780, where he had a horse shot under him. On the resignation of Maxwell, Ogden was appointed to a captaincy of light infantry under La Fayette, and was serving in that capacity when called upon to perform the delicate service mentioned in the text. He afterward accompanied La Fayette in his memorable campaign in Virginia in 1781. At the siege of Yorktown, Captain Ogden and his company gallantly stormed the left redoubt of the enemy, for which he was "honored with the peculiar appro-

Proposition to Exchange André for Arnold declined.

A Deputation from the British General

ticipated. The commandant received Ogden courteously, sent the packet across the river, asked him to stay all night, and in the course of the evening André became the subject of conversation. Ogden, in reply to the commandant's question, "Is there no way to spare André's life?" assured him that, if Sir Henry Clinton would give up Arnold, André might be saved. He informed him, however, that he had no assurance to that effect from Washington, but that he had reason to know that such an arrangement might be effected. The commandant immediately left the company, crossed the river, and had an interview with Clinton. Sir Henry promptly refused compliance, for honor would not allow the surrender of a man who had deserted from the Americans and openly espoused the cause of the king. This decision was communicated to Ogden, and he prepared to return to the camp. At dawn, on mustering his men, a sergeant was missing—he had deserted to the enemy during the night. No time could be lost in searching for the deserter, and Ogden returned to Tappan without him.¹

October 1,
1780.

Great was the distress of Sir Henry Clinton on reading Washington's dispatch and the letter of André. He immediately summoned a council of officers, and it was resolved that a deputation of three persons should proceed to the nearest American outpost, open a communication with Washington, and, presenting proofs of the innocence of André, endeavor to procure his release. Toward noon on the 1st of October, General Robertson, Andrew Elliott, and William Smith, the deputation appointed by Clinton, accompanied by Beverly Robinson as a witness in the case, arrived at Dobbs's Ferry, in the Greyhound schooner, with a flag of truce. A request for a parley had been sent by Clinton to Washington, by Captain Ogden, in the morning. General Greene was deputed by the chief to act in his behalf, and he was already at the ferry when the Greyhound came to anchor. General Robertson, with great courtesy of manner and flattering words, opened the conference, and was proceeding to discuss the subject at issue, when Greene politely interrupted him by saying, "Let us understand our position. I meet you only as a private gentleman, not as an officer, for the case of an acknowledged spy admits of no discussion." With this understanding the conference proceeded; but Robertson produced nothing new calculated to change Greene's opinion respecting the justice of the sentence of the prisoner. A letter from Arnold to Washington, which had been kept in reserve, was now produced and read. The deputies believed that this would have the desired effect, and kept it back until verbal arguments should fail. Had their words been full of persuasion and convincing facts, this letter, so hypocritical, malignant, and impudent, would have scattered all favorable impressions in the mind of Greene to the winds. The traitor menaced Washington with dreadful retaliation if André should be slain, and in prospective charged upon the commander-in-chief the guilt of causing torrents of blood to flow.² "It is hardly possible," says Sparks, "that this letter could have been read by Sir Henry Clinton, although written at his request, with

bation of Washington." He applied himself to the study of the law after the war, and rose rapidly in his profession. He was appointed one of the electors of president and vice-president in 1800, a state senator in 1801, and in 1812 he was elected governor of New Jersey. He died in April, 1838, at the age of eighty-two years.

¹ The desertion of the sergeant was arranged by Washington, without the knowledge of Ogden. The object was to obtain information of much importance. A paper had been intercepted in which was found the name of General St. Clair, so relatively connected with other particulars as to excite a suspicion that he was concerned in Arnold's treason. The intelligent sergeant soon ascertained that there were no grounds for such suspicion, and that the paper in question was designed by the enemy to fall into Washington's hands, and excite jealousy and ill feelings among the American officers. The papers were traced to a British emissary named Brown. The sergeant found means to convey this intelligence to Washington.

² "If, after this just and candid representation of Major André's case," wrote Arnold, "the board of general officers adhere to their former opinion, I shall suppose it dictated by passion and resentment; and if that gentleman should suffer the severity of their sentence, I shall think myself bound by every tie of duty and honor to retaliate on such unhappy persons of your army as may fall in my power, that the respect due to flags and the law of nations may be better understood and observed."

What could have been more injudicious than holding such language to Washington, under the circumstances? and as to the "respect due to flags," the traitor well knew that in no part of the transaction had André been under such protection.

Result of the Efforts to Save André.

His Letter to Washington asking to be Shot.

Willis's Paraphrase.

a view of operating on the judgment and clemency of Washington. Could any language written by an individual have a more opposite tendency? Disgust and contempt were the only emotions it could excite; and it was at least an evidence that neither the understanding or the heart of the writer had been improved by his political change. Hitherto he had discovered acuteness and mental resources, but in this act his folly was commensurate with his wickedness."¹

The conference ended at sunset, and Greene returned to Tappan. Robertson expressed his confidence in Greene's candor in communicating the substance of their discussion to Washington; informed him that he should remain on board the Greyhound all night, and expressed a hope that in the morning he might take Major André back with him, or at least bear to his general an assurance of his ultimate safety. At an early hour the next morning the commissioners received a note from Greene, stating that the opinion and decision of Washington were unchanged, and that the prisoner would be executed that day. Robertson was overwhelmed with astonishment and grief. He had written to Clinton the evening before, expressing his belief that André was safe. The wish was father to the thought, for he had no reasonable warrant for such a conclusion, except in the known clemency of General Washington. Reluctant to return without some word of consoling hope for Clinton, Robertson wrote a letter to Washington, recapitulating the points discussed at the conference; but it was of no avail. No new fact was presented; no new phase was exhibited. Sir Henry Clinton also wrote a long letter to Washington, offering some important prisoners in exchange; but it was too late. Let us turn from the contemplation of their noble efforts to save the prisoner, to the victim himself.

I have said that André had no fear of death, but the *manner* was a subject that disturbed him. When the sentence of the Board was communicated to him, he evinced no surprise or evident emotion; he only remarked, that, since he was to die, there was still a choice in the mode, which would make a material difference in his feelings. He was anxious to be shot—to die the death of a soldier—and for this privilege he importuned Washington, in a letter written the day before his execution.² He pleaded with a touching yet manly earnestness for this boon, but it could not be granted by the customs of war. Unwilling to wound his feelings by a positive refusal, no answer was returned either to his verbal solicitation or his letter, and he was left the consoling hope that his wish might possibly be gratified.

The 1st of October, at five o'clock in the afternoon, had been fixed for the time of his

¹ *Life of Arnold, Amer. Biog.*, iii., 275.

² The following is a copy of his letter: the original is at Charlottesville, Virginia.

"SIR,—Buoyed above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honorable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy toward a soldier will surely induce your excellency, and a military tribunal, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem toward me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

"I have the honor to be, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"JOHN ANDRÉ."

This letter has been thus beautifully paraphrased, in verse, by N. P. Willis:

"It is not the fear of death
That damps my brow;
It is not for another breath
I ask thee now;
I can die with a lip unstirr'd,
And a quiet heart—
Let but this prayer be heard
Ere I depart.

"I can give up my mother's look—
My sister's kiss;
I can think of love—yet brook
A death like this!

I can give up the young fame
I burn'd to win;
All—but the spotless name
I glory in.

"Thine is the power to give,
Thine to deny.
Joy for the hour I live,
Calmness to die.
By all the brave should cherish,
By my dying breath,
I ask that I may perish
By a soldier's death."

Andrè's Composure of Mind.

Pen-and-ink Sketch of himself.

Name of his Executioner.

execution, but, in consequence of the protracted conference at Dobbs's Ferry, it was postponed until the next day. Andrè had procured his military suit, and in calmness counted



MAJOR ANDRÈ.

From a Pen-and-ink Sketch by himself.

the speeding hours of his life, talking with self-possession to those who visited him, and even indulging in the practice of his favorite accomplishment. On the morning of the day fixed for his execution, he sketched with a pen a likeness of himself, sitting by a table, of which a fac simile is here given. The original is now in the *Trumbull Gallery* at Yale College. It will be seen that there is a strong resemblance in the features of this sketch to those in the portrait on page 197. October 1, 1780.

Major Andrè was executed at Tappan, at twelve o'clock, on the 2d of October, 1780.¹ Doctor Thacher, then a surgeon in the Continental army, and present on the occasion, has left the following account in his Journal: "Major Andrè is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. . . . The

¹ I copied this fac simile from one in Sparks's *Life and Treason of Arnold*, where is given the following extract from a letter, written by Ebenezer Baldwin to the president of Yale College, and dated at New Haven, August 8th, 1832:

"It affords me pleasure, as agent of Mr. Jabez L. Tomlinson, of Stratford, and of Mr. Nathan Beers [see page 431, volume i., for a notice of Mr. Beers], of this city, to request your acceptance of the accompanying miniature of Major JOHN ANDRÈ. It is his likeness, seated at a table, in his guard-room, and drawn by himself, with a pen, on the morning of the day fixed for his execution. Mr. Tomlinson informs me that a respite was granted until the next day, and that this miniature was in the mean time presented to him (then acting as officer of the guard) by Major ANDRÈ himself. Mr. Tomlinson was present when the sketch was made, and says it was drawn without the aid of a [looking] glass. The sketch subsequently passed into the hands of Mr. Beers, a fellow-officer of Mr. Tomlinson, on the station, and from thence was transferred to me. It has been in my possession several years."

² His executioner was a Tory named Strickland, who resided in the Ramapo Valley. He was in confinement at Tappan, and was set at liberty on condition that he should perform the office of hangman. Benjamin Abbot, a drum-major, who died at Nashua, New Hampshire, in June, 1851, at the age of 92 years, played the dead march on that occasion.

Dr. Thacher's Account of André's Execution.

Feelings of the Spectators.

The Place of his Death and Burial.

principal guard-officer, who was constantly in the room with the prisoner, relates, that when the hour of execution was announced to him in the morning, he received it without emotion, and, while all present were affected with silent gloom, he retained a firm countenance, with calmness and composure of mind. Observing his servant enter his room in tears, he exclaimed, 'Leave me, until you can show yourself more manly.' His breakfast being sent to him from the table of General Washington, which had been done every day of his confinement, he partook of it as usual, and, having shaved and dressed himself, he placed his

hat on the table, and cheerfully said to the guard-officers, 'I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait on you.' The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people assembled. Almost all our general and field officers, excepting his excellency¹ and his staff, were present on horseback. Melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was awfully affecting. I was so near, during the solemn march to the fatal spot, as to observe every movement, and to participate in every emotion the melancholy scene was calculated to produce. Major André walked from the stone house in which he had been confined between two of our subaltern officers, arm-in-arm. The eyes of the immense multitude were fixed on him, who, rising superior to the fears of death, appeared as if conscious of the dignified deportment he displayed. He betrayed no want of fortitude, but

PLACE OF EXECUTION.²

retained a complacent smile on his countenance, and politely bowed to several gentlemen whom he knew, which was respectfully returned. It was his earnest desire to be shot, as being the mode of death most conformable to the feelings of a military man, and he had indulged the hope that his request would be granted. At the moment, therefore, when suddenly he came in view of the gallows, he involuntarily started backward and made a pause. 'Why this emotion, sir?' said an officer by his side. Instantly recovering his composure, he said, 'I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode.' While waiting, and standing near the gallows, I observed some degree of trepidation—placing his foot on a stone and rolling it over, and choking in his throat as if attempting to swallow. So soon, however, as he perceived that things were in readiness, he stepped quickly into the wagon, and at this moment he appeared to shrink; but, instantly elevating his head with firmness, he said, 'It will be but a momentary pang;' and, taking from his pocket two white handkerchiefs, the provost marshal, with one, loosely pinioned his arms, and with the other the victim, after taking off his hat and stock, bandaged his own eyes with perfect firmness, which melted the hearts and moistened the cheeks not only of his servant, but of the throng of spectators. The rope being appended to the gallows, he slipped the noose over his head, and adjusted it to his neck, without the assistance of the awkward executioner. Colonel Scammel now informed him that he had an opportunity to speak, if he desired it. He raised the

¹ It is said that Washington never saw Major André, having avoided a personal interview with him from the beginning.

² The place of André's execution is now designated by a stone, lying on the right of a lane which runs from the highway from Tappan village to old Tappan, on the westerly side of a large peach orchard owned by Dr. Bartow, about a quarter of a mile from Washington's head-quarters. The stone is a small bowlder, on the upper surface of which is inscribed "ANDRÉ EXECUTED OCT. 2d, 1780." It is about three feet in length. This stone was placed there and inscribed in 1847, by a patriotic merchant of New York. A more elegant and durable monument should be erected upon the spot.

The Captors of André rewarded.

Disinterment of André's Remains.

Honored by the Duke of York.

handkerchief from his eyes, and said, 'I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man.' The wagon being now removed from under him, he was suspended, and instantly expired. It proved, indeed, 'but a momentary pang.' He was dressed in his royal regimentals and boots. His remains, in the same dress, were placed in an ordinary coffin, and interred at the foot of the gallows ;' and the spot was consecrated by the tears of thousands. Thus died, in the bloom of life, the accomplished Major André, the pride of the royal army, and the valued friend of Sir Henry Clinton."

The captors of André (Paulding, Williams,¹ and Van Wart), were nobly rewarded by Congress for their fidelity. In a letter to the president of Congress, Washington said, October 7, 1780. "Their conduct merits our warmest esteem ; and I beg leave to add, that I think the public would do well to allow them a handsome gratuity. They have prevented, in all probability, our suffering one of the severest strokes that could have been meditated against us." Pursuant to this recommendation, Congress adopted a resolution November 3, 1780. expressive of the public sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of the "three young volunteer militia-men," and ordered "that each of them receive annually, out of the public treasury, two hundred dollars in specie, or an equivalent in the current money of

these states during life, and that the Board of War procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription, FIDELITY, and on the other the following motto : VINCENT AMOR



THE CAPTORS' MEDAL.

PATRIÆ, 'the love of country conquers,' and forward them to the commander-in-chief, who is requested to present the same, with a copy of this resolution and the thanks of Congress, for their fidelity, and the eminent service

¹ In a subsequent publication by Doctor Thacher, entitled *Observations relating to the Execution of Major André*, he says that the regimentals of that officer were given to his servant. His remains were taken up in 1831 by Mr. Buchanan, the British consul at New York, removed to England, and deposited near his monument in Westminster Abbey. As no metallic buttons were found in his grave, it is evident he had been stripped of his regimentals before burial. He was interred in an open field then belonging to a Mr. Mabie.

Mr. Buchanan published an interesting account of the disinterment in 1831. It was done by command of the Duke of York. On opening the grave, the moldering coffin was found about three feet below the surface. The roots of a peach-tree, which some sympathizing hand had planted at the head of his grave, had twined like a net-work around the young hero's skull. A leather string, which he had used for tying his hair, was perfect ; this Mr. Buchanan sent to André's surviving sisters. While a prisoner after his capture at St. John's in 1775, André parted with his watch. This was also obtained and sent to his sisters. Two small cedars were growing by the grave. A portion of one of these was sent to England with the remains, and Mr. Buchanan suggested to the duke the propriety of having a snuff-box made of some of the wood, as a present for the Reverend Mr. Demarat, of Tappan, who greatly assisted the consul in the disinterment. The duke had an elegant box made, lined with gold, and inscribed "From his royal highness the Duke of York to the Reverend Mr. Demarat." Mr. Buchanan received a silver inkstand, inscribed "The surviving sisters of Major André to James Buchanan, Esq., his majesty's consul, New York." They also sent a silver cup, with a similar inscription, to Mr. Demarat.

² *Military Journal*, p. 222, 223.

³ DAVID WILLIAMS was born in Tarrytown, October 21st, 1754. He entered the army in 1775, was under Montgomery at St. John's and Quebec, and continued in the militia service until 1779. He took an active part against the *Cow-boys* and *Skinners* on the Neutral Ground. He was not in regular service when he joined in the expedition the day before the capture of André. After the war, he married a Miss Bene-

Desire to secure Arnold.

A Plan to Abduct him.

Its Execution committed to Major Henry Lee.

they have rendered their country."¹ The medals were afterward given to the three individuals by Washington himself, at head-quarters, and the captors enjoyed the annuity during their lives.²

Commensurate with the strong feeling of sympathy evinced for Andrè was the sentiment of indignant hatred and disgust of Arnold, and it was the ardent desire of Washington and his compatriots to obtain possession of the person of the arch-traitor and punish him as his wickedness deserved. Various plans were arranged, secret and open, to capture him, and several expeditions were formed for that avowed object. One, while the army was yet at Tappan, and the tears of sympathy for poor Andrè were hardly dry upon the cheeks of the soldiers, was almost successful. It was known only to Washington, Major Henry Lee, and Sergeant Champe, the latter the principal actor in the movement.

Washington had learned that Arnold's quarters in New York were next door to those of Sir Henry Clinton (now No. 3 Broadway), and that he seemed to feel so secure with his new friends that his usual caution was but little exercised. The chief conceived a plan for abducting the traitor and bringing him to the American camp. The principal difficulty appeared to be to procure the proper instruments for such an enterprise. Recent events had made the commander-in-chief suspicious, for he knew not where smaller traitors might be lurking. He sent for Major Henry Lee, the commandant of a brave legion of cavalry; a man in whose patriotism, prudence, and judgment he knew he could confide. Already he had intrusted to this officer the delicate service of ascertaining the truth of many flying rumors that other officers of high rank were likely to follow Arnold's example. To him Washington disclosed his wishes. "I have sent for you, Major Lee," he said, "in the expectation that you have in your corps individuals capable and willing to undertake an indispensable, delicate, and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward on this occasion will lay me under great obligations personally, and in behalf of the United States I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost; he must proceed, if possible, to-night." The nature of the service was disclosed to Lee, and he promptly replied to his commander that he had no doubt his legion contained many men daring enough to undertake any enterprise, however perilous; but for the service required there was needed a combination of talent rarely found in the same individual.³ Lee suggested a plan which was highly approved of by Washing-

ton, and settled in Schoharie county. He died at Broome, in that county, on the 2d day of August, 1831, at the age of seventy-seven. His remains were interred, with military honors, at Livingstonville, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens. His widow, I believe, is yet living with her son at Broome, at the age of ninety-four. Ten years after the death of her husband, she obtained a continuance of his pension, which had been stopped at his death, receiving \$2000 at once. Congress has been repeatedly petitioned for an appropriation to erect a monument to Williams, but without success. See Simms's *Schoharie County*.

¹ *Journals of Congress*, vi., 154.

² In 1817, Mr. Paulding applied to Congress for an augmentation of his annuity. Major Tallmadge, who was then a member of the House of Representatives, strongly opposed the prayer of the petitioner, on the ground that he and his companions had been more than compensated for the *real patriotism* which they exercised on the occasion of making Major Andrè a prisoner. The statements of Andrè, at the time, impressed Tallmadge with the belief that the plunder of a traveler was their first incentive to arrest his progress, and that, could they have been certified of their prisoner's ability to perform his promises of large pay for his release, they would not have detained him. Andrè solemnly asserted that they first ripped up the housings of his saddle and the cape of his coat, in search of money, but finding none, one of the party said, "He may have it [money] in his boots." The discovery of the papers there concealed gave them the first idea that he might be a spy. Major Andrè was of opinion that if he could have given them a small sum in specie at first, they would have let him pass; but he only had a small amount in Continental bills, which was given him by Smith. While we may not claim entire purity of intent on the part of the captors when they first arrested the progress of Andrè, we can not doubt the strength of their patriotism to withstand the lure of large bribes after they discovered his real character. For particulars on this point, see a small volume, entitled *Vindication of the Captors of Major Andrè*, published in New York in 1817; also Walsh's *American Register*, vol. ii., 1817. In this volume of the *Register* may be found a translation of Marbois's *Complot du Arnold*.

³ In addition to the capture of Arnold, the emissary was to be commissioned to ferret out information touching the alleged defection of other officers of the Continental army. Already, as we have noticed, a sergeant under the command of Captain Ogden had been employed for such a purpose, and satisfied Washington of the innocence of one general officer who was accused.

Sergeant Champe. His Sense of Honor. Consents to attempt the Abduction of Arnold. His Desertion favored by Lee.

ton. He named Champe, the sergeant major of his cavalry, as every way well qualified for the service, but he was afraid his sense of personal honor would not allow him to take the first step in the perilous expedition—desertion—for he was anxiously awaiting a vacancy in the corps to receive a promised commission.¹

Lee sent instantly for Champe, communicated to him the wishes of Washington, and depicted, with all the earnestness and eloquence of which he was master, the glory that awaited him, if successful. Champe listened with the deepest attention, his countenance evincing the greatest excitement of feeling. He expressed himself charmed with the plan, and its proposed beneficial results; declared that he was ready to embark in any enterprise for his country's good, however perilous, which did not involve his honor; but the idea of desertion to the enemy, and hypocritically espousing the cause of the king, were obstacles in his way too grave to be disregarded, and he prayed to be excused. Lee combated these scruples with every argument calculated to impress the heart of a brave soldier. He spoke of the personal honor which success promised; the honor of the corps to which he belonged; the great service which he would perform for his beloved commander-in-chief, and the plaudits of his countrymen. He told him that desertion, by request of his general, for a laudable purpose, carried with it no dishonor, and that the stain upon his character would remain only until prudence should allow the publication of the facts. After long persuasion, the sergeant major consented to undertake the mission, and preparations were immediately made.

Washington had already drawn up instructions. These were read to Champe, and he carefully noted their import in such a way that their true meaning could not be understood by another. He was to deliver letters to two individuals in New York, unknown to each other, who had long been in the confidence of the general. He was to procure such aid in bringing Arnold away as his judgment should dictate; and he was strictly enjoined to forbear killing the traitor under any circumstances.² These preliminaries being settled, the difficulties that lay in his way between the camp and the enemy's outposts at Paulus's Hook, were next considered. There were many pickets and patrols in the way, and straggling parties of American irregulars often ventured almost to Bergen Point in search of booty or an adventure. Major Lee could offer the sergeant no aid against these dangers, lest he should be involved in the charge of favoring his desertion, and Champe was left to his own resources. All that Lee could do was to delay pursuit as long as possible, after it should be ascertained that the sergeant major had deserted.

At eleven o'clock at night, Champe took his cloak, valise, and orderly-book, October 20,
1780. mounted his horse secretly, and with three guineas in his pocket, which were given him by Lee, "put himself on fortune." Lee immediately went to bed, but not to sleep. Within half an hour, Captain Carnes, the officer of the day, came to him in haste, and informed him that one of the patrols had fallen in with a dragoon, who, on being challenged, put spurs to his horse and escaped. Lee complained of fatigue and drowsiness, pretended to be half asleep, and thus detained the captain some minutes before he seemed fairly to understand the object of that officer's visit. He ridiculed the idea that one of his own dragoons had deserted, for such an event had occurred but once during the whole war. The captain was not to be convinced by such arguments, but immediately mustering the whole squadron of horse, by Lee's reluctant order, satisfied both himself and his commander that *one* had deserted, and that he was no less a personage than Champe, the sergeant major, who had decamped with his arms, baggage, and orderly-book. Captain Carnes ordered an

¹ JOHN CHAMPE was a Virginian. "He was a native of Loudon county," says Lee, in his *Memoirs*, "and at this time twenty-three or twenty-four years of age; enlisted in 1776; rather above the common size; full of bone and muscle; with a saturnine countenance, grave, thoughtful, and taciturn, of tried courage and inflexible perseverance, and as likely to reject an overture, coupled with ignominy, as any officer in the corps."—*Memoirs*, p. 272.

² Lee made an arrangement with Mr. Baldwin, of Newark, to aid Champe. With him the sergeant was to have daily intercourse, as if by accident, and through him Lee was to receive communications from his sergeant major. He agreed to pay Baldwin, if successful, one hundred guineas, five hundred acres of land, and three negroes.

Pursuit of Champe. His Skill in eluding his Pursuers. He Escapes to a British Galley. Sir Henry Clinton deceived.

immediate pursuit. Lee made as much delay in the preparation as possible, and when all was ready, he ordered a change in the command, giving it to Lieutenant Middleton, a young man whose tenderness of disposition would cause him to treat Champe leniently, if he should be overtaken. By parleying and other delays, Champe got an hour the start of his pursuers.

It was a bright starry night, and past twelve o'clock, when Middleton and his party took the saddle and spurred after the deserter. A fall of rain at sunset had effaced all tracks in the road, and thus favored the pursuit, for the single foot-prints of the dragoon's horse were easily traced and recognized.¹ Often, before dawn, when coming to a fork or a cross-road, a trooper would dismount to examine the track. Ascending an eminence at sunrise near the "Three Pigeons,"² a tavern a few miles north of the village of Bergen, they descried from its summit the deserting sergeant, not more than half a mile in advance. The pursuers were discovered by Champe at the same moment, and both parties spurred onward with all their might. They were all well acquainted with the roads in the vicinity. There was a short cut through the woods to the bridge below Bergen, which left the great road a little below the Three Pigeons. There Middleton divided his party, sending a detachment by the short road to secure the bridge, while himself and the others pursued Champe to Bergen. He now felt sure of capturing the deserter, for he could not reach Paulus's Hook without crossing the bridge in question. The two divisions met at the bridge, but, to their great astonishment, Champe had eluded their vigilance, and was not to be found. He, too, was acquainted with the short cut, and shrewdly considered that his pursuers would avail themselves of it. He therefore wisely determined to abandon his design of going to the British post at Paulus's Hook, and seek refuge on board one of two of the king's galleys which were lying in the bay in front of the little settlement of Communipaw, about a mile from Bergen.

Middleton retired hastily from the bridge to Bergen, and inquired if a dragoon had been seen there that morning. He was answered in the affirmative, but no one knew which way he went from the village. The beaten track no longer gave a legible imprint of his horse's shoes, and for a moment his pursuers were foiled. The trail was soon discovered on the road leading to Bergen. The pursuit was vigorously renewed, and in a few moments Champe was discovered near the water's edge, making signals to the British galleys. He had lashed his valise, containing his clothes and orderly-book, upon his back. When Middleton was within a few hundred yards of him, Champe leaped from his horse, cast away the scabbard of his sword, and with the naked blade in his hand, he sped across the marsh, plunged into the deep waters of the bay, and called to the galleys for help. A boat filled with strong oarsmen responded to his call, and he was soon on board the galley, with all the evidences of the sincerity of his desertion in his possession. The captain of the galley gave him a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, in which the scene just mentioned was described, and before night the sergeant was safely quartered in New York.

Middleton recovered the horse, cloak, and scabbard belonging to Champe, and returned to Tappan. Lee was grieved when he saw the supposed evidence that poor Champe was slain; but equally great was his joy when he learned from Middleton that the sergeant had escaped safely on board one of the enemy's galleys. Four days afterward Lee received a letter from Champe, in a disguised hand, and without signature, informing him of the occurrence just narrated.

Champe was sent by Clinton, for interrogation, to his adjutant general. The faithfulness of the legion to which he had hitherto been attached was well known in the British army, and this desertion was regarded as an important sign of increasing defection among the Americans. This opinion Champe fostered by adroit answers to questions proposed. Sir Henry Clinton also questioned him closely; and so sincere seemed to be the sergeant's desire to serve the king, that he won the entire confidence of the British general. Clinton

¹ The horses of Lee's legion were all shod by a farrier attached to the corps, and every shoe, alike in form, had a private mark put upon it. By this means the foot-prints of Champe's horse were recognized, and the course of the deserter made obvious to his pursuers.

² There is now a hamlet of that name there, situated on the high road from Hackensack to Hoboken.

Champe sent to Arnold.

Joins his Legion.

Preparations for carrying off the Traitor.

gave Champe a couple of guineas, and recommended him to call upon General Arnold, who was engaged in raising an American legion, to be composed of Loyalists and deserters. This was exactly the course to which Champe had hoped events would tend. Arnold received him courteously, and assigned him quarters among his recruiting sergeants. The traitor asked him to join his legion, but Champe begged to be excused, on the plea that if caught by the rebels, he would surely be hanged; but promised Arnold that, if he changed his mind, he would certainly join his legion.

Champe found means to deliver the two letters before mentioned, and five days after his arrival in New York, he made arrangements with one of Washington's corre- October 23, 1780.
spondents to assist him in abducting Arnold, and then communicated the facts to Major Lee.¹ He enlisted in the traitor's legion, so as to have free intercourse with him, and ascertain his night habits and pursuits. In the rear of Arnold's quarters was a garden, extending down to the water's edge.² Champe ascertained that it was Arnold's habit to return to his quarters at about midnight, and that previous to going to bed he always visited the garden. Adjoining the garden was a dark alley leading to the street. These circumstances were favorable to Champe's plans. He had arranged with two accomplices (one of whom was to have a boat in readiness) to seize and gag Arnold, on a certain night, in his garden, convey him to the alley, and from thence, through the most unfrequented streets, to the river. In case of detection while carrying the traitor, they were to represent him as a drunken soldier whom they were conveying to the guard-house. Once in the boat, they might pass in safety to Hoboken.

Champe carefully removed some of the palings between the garden and the alley, and replaced them so slightly that they might again be removed without noise. When all was arranged, he wrote to Lee, and appointed the third subsequent night for the de- November 5, 1780.
livery of the traitor on the Jersey shore. On that evening, Lee and a small party left the camp, with three accoutered horses—one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and one for his associate—and at midnight concealed themselves at an appointed place in the woods at Hoboken. Hour after hour passed, and the dawn came, but Champe and his prisoner did not arrive. Lee and his party returned to camp greatly disappointed. A few days afterward he received a letter from his sergeant, explaining the cause of his failure, and an assurance that present success was hopeless. On the very day when Champe was to execute his plan, Arnold changed his quarters, to superintend the embarkation of troops for an expedition southward, to be commanded by himself.³ In this expedition the American le-

¹ In this first communication he assured Lee that his inquiries concerning the alleged defection of other American officers were satisfactory, and that no such defection existed.

² Arnold's quarters were at No. 3 Broadway, adjoining those of Sir Henry Clinton. The house is yet standing, and is represented, with Clinton's quarters, toward the close of this volume. The garden extended along the street to the northern boundary of the *Atlantic Hotel*, No. 5, where the dark alley, mentioned in the text, divided it from the premises No. 9, now known as the *Atlantic Garden*. The shore of the river was formerly a few yards west of Greenwich Street, West Street being all "made ground."

³ Arnold received, as the price of his desertion from the Americans and attempted betrayal of the liberties of his country into the hands of the enemy, a commission as colonel, with a brevet rank of brigadier, in the British army, and the sum of nearly fifty thousand dollars. It may be mentioned, for the information of those unskilled in the technicalities of the military service, that the term *brevet* is used to a commission giving nominal rank higher than that for which pay is received. A brevet major serves and draws pay as a captain, and a brevet brigadier as colonel. Arnold was lower in office, both actual and nominal, among his new friends than he had been in the American army. But large bribes of gold was a salvo to that nice sense of honor for which he had so often wrangled. He was heartily despised by the British officers, and he was frequently insulted without possessing the power to show his resentment. Many anecdotes illustrative of this point have been related. It is said that, on one occasion, a British statesman, as he rose to make a speech in the House of Commons, saw Arnold in the gallery. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I will not speak while that man (pointing toward Arnold) is in the house." George the Third introduced Arnold to Earl Balcarras, one of Burgoyne's officers at Bemis's Heights. "I know General Arnold and abominate traitors," was the quick reply of the earl, as he refused his hand and turned on his heel. When Talleyrand was about to come to America, he was informed that an American gentleman was in an adjoining room. He sought an interview, and asked for letters to his friends in America. "I was born in Amer-

Champe foiled.

Taken by Arnold to Virginia.

Escapes and rejoins his Legion in the Carolinas.

Ramapo Valley.

gion was to be employed, and poor Champe, who had enlisted in it to carry out his plans, was in a sad dilemma. Instead of crossing the Hudson that night, with the traitor his prisoner, he found himself on board of a British transport, and that traitor his commander!

December 16, 1780. The expedition sailed, and Champe was landed on the shores of Virginia. He sought opportunities to escape, but found none, until after the junction with Cornwallis at Petersburg, where he deserted. He passed up toward the mountains, and into the friendly districts of North Carolina. Finally, he joined the legion of Major Lee, just after it had passed the Congaree in pursuit of Lord Rawdon. Great was the surprise of his old comrades when they saw him, and it was increased at the cordial reception which the deserter received at the hands of Lee. His story was soon told, and four-fold greater than before his desertion was the love and admiration of his corps for him. They felt proud of him, and his promotion would have been hailed by general acclamation. Knowing that he would immediately be hanged if caught by the enemy, he was discharged from service. The commander-in-chief munificently rewarded him; and seventeen years afterward, when President Adams appointed Washington to the chief command of the armies of the United States, then preparing to defend the country from the threatened hostility of the French, the chief sent to Colonel Lee for information concerning Champe, being determined to bring him forward in the capacity of a captain of infantry. But the gallant soldier had removed to Kentucky, and was asleep in the soil.¹

A few months after my visit to Tappan, I made another tour to the vicinity. I passed two days in the romantic valley of the Ramapo, through which the New York and Erie rail-way courses. Every rocky nook, sparkling water-course, and shaded glen in that wild valley has a legendary charm. It is a ravine sixteen miles in extent, opening wide toward the fertile fields of Orange county. It was a region peculiarly distinguished by wild and daring adventure during the Revolution, and, at times, as important military ground. There the marauding Cow-boys made their rendezvous; and from its dark coverts, Claudius Smith, the merciless freebooter, and his three sons, with their followers, sallied out and plundered the surrounding country.² Along the sinuous Ramapo Creek, before the war of the Revolution broke out, and while the ancient tribe of the Ramapoughs yet chased the deer on the



rugged hills which skirt the valley, iron-forges were established, and the hammer-peal of spreading civilization echoed from the neighboring crags. Not far distant from its waters the great chain which was stretched across the Hudson at West Point was wrought;³ and the remains of one of the Ramapo forges, built at the close of the war, now form a picturesque ruin on the margin of the rail-way.⁴ A few miles below it, Ramapo village, with its extensive machinery, sends up a per-

ica, lived there till the prime of my life, but alas! I can call no man in America my friend," replied the stranger. That stranger was Arnold.

¹ See Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, from page 270 to 284. The reader, by observing the dates of his correspondence with Washington, will perceive that Lee has confounded the effort of Ogden to save André by having Arnold given up, and the desertion of his sergeant, with the expedition of Sergeant Champe. In his account of Champe's maneuver, he makes the salvation of André a leading incentive to efforts to capture Arnold; but André was executed on the 2d of October, whereas Champe did not desert until the 20th of the same month.

² Claudius Smith was a large, fine-looking man, of strong mind, and a desperado of the darkest dye. Himself and gang were a terror to Orange county for a long time, and tempting rewards were offered for his apprehension. He was finally captured near Oyster Bay, on Long Island, and taken to Goshen, where he was chained to the jail floor, and a strong guard placed over him. He was hung in the village on the 22d of January, 1779, with Gordon and De la Mar—the former convicted of horse-stealing, and the latter of burglary. Smith's residence was in the lower part of the present village of Monroe, on the Erie rail-way. Several murders were afterward committed by Smith's son Richard, in revenge for the hanging of his father; and for a while the Whigs in that region suffered more from the desperate Cow-boys than before the death of their great leader. For a detailed account of transactions connected with Claudius Smith, see Eager's *History of Orange County*, p. 550-564.

³ See page 132.

⁴ This ruin is situated about half way between the Sloatsburgh station and Monroe works. The forge

Ramapo Village. Mr. Pierson.

Movements of the two Armies in 1777.

Washington's Perplexities.

petual hymn of industry from the wilderness. This village, now containing a population of three hundred,¹ is owned by the Piersons, the elder having established iron-works there fifty years ago. Jeremiah H. Pierson, the original proprietor, is yet living there at the age of eighty-four, and to the kind hospitality of himself and family I am indebted for much of the pleasures and profit of my visit to the Ramapo Valley. God has taken his eyesight from him, but mercifully vouchsafes good health, sound mind, sunny cheerfulness, and the surroundings of a happy family. I listened with interest to a narrative of his clear recollections of the past, and the traditions gathered from his scattered neighbors when he first sat down there in the almost wilderness. Not twenty years had elapsed since the war closed when he erected his forges, and the *sufferers* were living in small groups all around him. They have all passed away, and volumes of unwritten traditionary history are buried with them.

The American army under Washington was encamped in the vicinity of Ramapo for a few days in July, 1777. The head-quarters of Washington had been at Morristown during the previous winter and spring. Believing it prudent to act on the defensive, he had waited anxiously for Sir William Howe, who was quartered in New York city, to make some decided movement. Summer approached, and yet the British commander gave no intimations respecting his designs for a campaign. It was believed that he would either make a demonstration against the strong posts in the Highlands, or attempt a passage of the Delaware and a seizure of Philadelphia. Washington's position at Morristown was an eligible one for acting promptly and efficiently when Howe should move either way.

General Howe had a considerable force stationed at New Brunswick. This force was augmented early in May, and Washington received information that they had begun to build a portable bridge there, so constructed that it might be laid upon flat beats. Believing this to be a preparation for crossing the Delaware, Washington collected the new levies from Virginia and the Middle States, at Morristown, and ordered those from the eastward to assemble at Peekskill. Toward the close of May, the American army moved from Morristown, and encamped upon the heights of Middlebrook, in a very strong position, and commanding the country from New Brunswick to the Delaware. The maneuvers of detachments of the two armies in this vicinity in June^a are noticed on page 331, vol. i. The British finally crossed over to Staten Island from Amboy^b on the bridge which they had constructed at New Brunswick, and entirely evacuated the Jerseys.

The next day Washington received intelligence of the approach of Burgoyne from Canada, and at the same time spies and deserters from New York informed him that a fleet of large vessels and transports were preparing in the harbor of that city. The commander-in-chief was greatly perplexed. At first it appeared probable that Howe was preparing to sail with his army southward, go up the Delaware, and attack Philadelphia by land and by water; but the intelligence that Washington continued to receive from the North made it appear more probable that a junction with Burgoyne, and the consequent possession of the Hudson River, by which the patriots of the Eastern and Middle States would be separated, and a free communication with Canada be established, would engage the efforts of Sir William Howe. The possession of the Hudson River had been a prominent object from the beginning of the war.

was built in 1783-4, by Solomon Townshend, of New York, to make bar-iron and anchors, and was named the Augusta Works. A sketch of the ruin forms a pretty frontispiece to *The Salamander* (or *Hugo*, as it is now called), a legend of the Ramapo Valley, by Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith. The historic anecdote related in the introduction to this charming legend I also heard from the lips of the "venerable Mr. P. . . .," through whose kindness I was enabled to visit the "Hopper House." The relics of the Revolution are pleasingly grouped in the introduction referred to.

¹ When the large cotton factory (the spindles of which are now idle) and the screw factory of Mr. Pierson were in operation here, the village contained about seven hundred inhabitants. The whole valley of the Ramapo has but three or four owners. Many thousand acres belong to the Townsends; the Lorillard family own another immense tract; Mr. M'Farland another; the Sloats have considerable possessions, and the lower part belongs to the Piersons.

March of the American Army toward the Highlands.

Howe's Destination determined.

The Clove.

Washington remained at Middlebrook with the main division of the army, anxiously awaiting the movements of the enemy, until toward the middle of July. He dispatched two regiments to Peekskill, on the Hudson, and had his whole army in readiness to march in that direction, if circumstances should require. When it was certainly known that the British army had actually embarked on board the fleet, Washington moved slowly toward the Highlands by way of Morristown, Ramapo,¹ and the Clove². He encamped in the latter place on the 15th, eleven miles above the *Ramapo Pass* (of which I shall presently write), and immediately sent forward Lord Stirling, with a division, to Peekskill. He established his head-quarters at Ramapo on the 23d; but so much was that region infested with *Cow-boys* and other Tories, that it was with great difficulty that he could obtain correct information from a distance.³

Northward from the present Ramapo village rises a range of lofty hills, upon the highest summit of which is upreared a huge mass of granite, shaped like a mighty dome, the top covered with trees. From this eminence, five hundred feet above the village, a small portion of New York Bay, Staten Island, and the ocean near Sandy Hook, may be distinctly seen on a clear day, the distance being about thirty-five miles. To this observatory, it is said, Washington was piloted, and with his glass saw a portion occurred soon afterward, will be noticed in subsequent chapters.

TORN ROCK.⁴

of the fleet of the enemy near Sandy Hook. The Weehawken Hill obstructed a full view of New York Harbor, and the commander-in-chief was uncertain whether the whole fleet had dropped down to the Hook; but, on returning to his quarters at Ramapo, he received positive information that the British fleet had gone to sea. Convinced that Philadelphia was the destination of Howe, Washington recalled Stirling's division from Peekskill, broke up his encampment in the Clove, and the army pursued various routes toward the Delaware. The battle of Brandywine, and other events in the vicinity of Philadelphia, which occurred soon afterward, will be noticed in subsequent chapters.

On the return of Commodore Sir George Collier and General Matthews from a marauding expedition to Virginia, at the close of May, 1779, they sailed up the Hudson River to attack the forts in the Highlands. This expedition, as we have noticed on page 175, was under the command of Sir Henry Clinton. As soon as Washington was advised of this movement, he drew his troops from their cantonments in New Jersey, and, by rapid marches, reached the Clove on the 7th with five brigades and two Carolina regiments. He pressed forward to Smith's Clove, whence there were mountain passes to the forts in the Highlands, and there he encamped. Small detachments for observation and protection to couriers were stationed at different points from the encampment

¹ Ramapo, or Romopock, was a small settlement on the Ramapo River, about five miles south of the present Suffern's Station on the New York and Erie rail-way, and within the province of New Jersey. It was nearly seven miles below the present village of Ramapo, founded by Mr. Pierson.

² The Clove here mentioned was chiefly the Ramapo Valley extending to Smith's Clove, which continues northward from the former, in the vicinity of Turner's Station, on the New York and Erie rail-road, far in the rear of Haverstraw and Stony Point. Through this clove, by the way of Ramapo, was the best route for an army from New Windsor into the upper part of New Jersey. The main division of the Continental army was again encamped in the Clove in 1779, when General Wayne captured Stony Point.

³ "I can not give you any certain account of General Howe's intended operations," wrote Washington to General Schuyler. "His conduct is puzzling and embarrassing beyond measure. So are the informations which I get. At one time the ships are standing up toward the North River; in a little while they are going up the Sound; and in an hour after they are going out of the Hook. I think in a day or two we must know something of his intentions."

⁴ This view is from the verge of the dam above the Ramapo works, near the rail-way, looking northeast. The eminence is called Torn Rock, from its ragged appearance on its southeastern side. There is a deep fissure in a portion of the bare rock, from which comes up a sound like the ticking of a watch, caused by the water which percolates through the seams in the granite. A tradition was long current that Washington lost his watch in the fissure, and that, by some miraculous power, it continued to tick!

The Ramapo Pass.

March of the allied Armies to Virginia.

Clinton Deceived by Washington's Letters.

southward to old Ramapo, and strong intrenchments were thrown up at the *Pass*, a narrow gorge about half a mile below the present Ramapo village. The passage between the hills here is only wide enough for the stream. the rail-way, a wagon-road, and a narrow strip of meadow-land. The hills on each side rise abrupt and rocky. It was a place almost as easy to fortify and guard as the pass of old Thermopylæ. The ditch and bank from the wagon-road eastward are yet quite prominent. Large trees have overgrown them, and with care these mementoes of the past may be long preserved.

REMAINS OF INTRENCHMENTS AT THE RAMAPO PASS.¹

While the army was encamped at Smith's Clove, the successful expedition of General Wayne against Stony Point was accomplished. This success, the subsequent evacuation of that post and of Verplanck's Point by the British, and the necessity for sending re-enforcements to General Lincoln at the South, caused the camp in the Clove to be broken up early in the autumn. The main portion of the army went into winter quarters at Morristown, where the commander-in-
1779.
chief established himself, and strong detachments were stationed at different points among the Highlands.

Once again, and for the last time, the Ramapo Valley became the temporary theater of military operations. It was in the summer of 1781, when the allied armies took up their line of march for Virginia to achieve the defeat of Cornwallis. They had conjoined upon the Hudson for the purpose of making an attack upon the head-quarters of the British army in the city of New York. The failure of Count De Grasse, commander of a French fleet then in the West Indies, to co-operate with the land forces, made Washington abandon this project, and turn his attention to the military operations at the South. To prevent obstacles being thrown in his way by Sir Henry Clinton, or re-enforcements being sent to Cornwallis, Washington kept up the appearance of a meditated attack upon New York.

The two armies, which had remained nearly six weeks in the vicinity of Dobbs's Ferry, crossed the Hudson at Verplanck's Point, and marched by different routes to Trenton, under the general command of Lincoln; some passing through the Ramapo Valley and the Pass to Morristown, and others taking the upper route above the Ringwood Iron-works. The French took the river route, by Tappan and the Hackensack Valley, to Newark and Perth Amboy. At the latter place they built ovens, constructed boats, collected forage, and made other movements indicative of preparations to commence an attack, first upon the British posts on Staten Island, and then upon New York. Previous to the passage of the Hudson, Washington had caused deceptive letters to be written and put in the way of being intercepted,² all of which deceived Sir Henry Clinton into the belief that an attack upon New

¹ This view is from the road, looking north toward the village of Ramapo. The remains of the intrenchments are seen along the right in the foreground. On the left, in the distance, is seen a glimpse of the hills on the other side of the narrow valley.

² One of the bearers of these letters was a young Baptist clergyman, named Montagnie, an ardent Whig, who was directed by Washington to carry a dispatch to Morristown. He directed the messenger to cross the river at King's Ferry, proceed by Haverstraw to the Ramapo Clove, and through the Pass to Morristown. Montagnie, knowing the Ramapo Pass to be in possession of the Cow-boys and other friends of the enemy, ventured to suggest to the commander-in-chief that the upper road would be the safest. "I shall be taken," he said, "if I go through the Clove." "Your duty, young man, is not to talk, but to obey!" replied Washington, sternly, enforcing his words by a vigorous stamp of his foot. Montagnie proceeded as directed, and, near the Ramapo Pass, was caught. A few days afterward he was sent to New York, where he was confined in the Sugar House, one of the famous provost prisons in the city. The day after his arrival, the contents of the dispatches taken from him were published in Rivington's Gazette with great parade, for they indicated a plan of an attack upon the city. The enemy was alarmed thereby, and active preparations were put in motion for receiving the besiegers. Montagnie now perceived why he was so positively instructed to go through the Ramapo Pass, where himself and dispatches were quite sure to be

The "Hopper House."

Patriotism of the Owner.

Interesting Relics.

Burr's Head-quarters.

York city was the grand object of the Americans. The allied armies had crossed the Delaware, and were far on their way toward the head of Elk, before the British commander was fully aware of their destination.

About four miles south of the Ramapo Pass, and three from Suffern's Station, on the road to Morristown, is the "Hopper House," where Washington made his head-quarters from the 2d until the 18th of September, 1780. The mansion was owned by — Hopper, one of the most active Whigs of the day. He was often employed by Washington in the secret service, and frequently visited his friends in New York city while the enemy had possession of it. On such occasions, he obtained much valuable information respecting the strength of the enemy, without incurring suspicion, as he never committed a word to paper. The re-

THE HOPPER HOUSE.¹

main of the patriot rest beneath a small marble monument, in a family cemetery, upon a grassy knoll by the road side, not far from the mansion. This is the house wherein those letters of Washington, beginning with "Head-quarters, Bergen county," were written; it being in New Jersey, about two miles from the New York line. It was here that he received the news of the defeat of Gates at the disastrous battle near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780; and from hence he set out on his journey to Hartford, on Monday, the 18th of September, to meet the French officers in council, the time when Arnold attempted to surrender West Point into the hands of the enemy. The venerable widow of Mr. Hopper resided there until her death in 1849, when she had reached the ninety-ninth year of her life. Her daughter, who was often dandled on the knee of Washington, is still living, but was absent on the day of my visit, and I was denied the gratification of viewing those relics of the Revolution which are preserved in the house with much care.²

Close by Suffern's Station is an old building coeval with the original Hopper house. It was the head-quarters of Lieutenant-colonel Aaron Burr, while stationed there in command of Malcolm's regiment in September, 1777. It has been sometimes erroneously called the head-quarters of Washington. While encamped here for the purpose of guarding the Ram-

seized. When they appeared in Rivington's Gazette, the allied armies were far on their way to the Delaware. Montagnie admired the wisdom of Washington, but disliked himself to be the victim. Mr. Pier-son, from whom I obtained the narrative, received it from the lips of Montagnie himself.

Upon this incident Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (who also received the narrative from Mr. P.) founded her interesting prize tale called the *Ramapo Pass*. She also mentions it in her introduction to *The Salamander*.

¹ This view is from the road, looking northeast. The low part, on the left, is a portion of the old mansion of the Revolution, which contained the dining-hall. It was a long stone building. A part of it has been taken down, and the present more spacious edifice, of brick, was erected soon after the war.

² Mrs. Smith, in her introduction to *The Salamander*, makes mention of the centenarian, and of these relics. "The ancient matron," she says, "has none of the garrulity of old age; on the contrary, as she adverted to past scenes, a quiet stateliness grew upon her, in beautiful harmony with the subject. Rarely will another behold the sight, so pleasing to ourselves, of *five generations*, each and all in perfect health and intelligence, under the same roof-tree. She spoke of this with evident satisfaction, and of the length of time her ancestors had been upon the soil; in truth, we had never felt more sensibly the honorableness of gray hairs. . . . We were shown the bed and furniture, remaining as when he [Washington] used them; for the room is kept carefully locked, and only shown as a particular gratification to those interested in all that concerns the man of men. Here were the dark chintz hangings beneath which he had slept; the quaint furniture; old walnut cabinets, dark, massive, and richly carved; a Dutch Bible, mounted with silver, with clasps and chain of same material, each bearing the stamp of antiquity, yet all in perfect preservation; large China bowls; antique mugs; paintings upon glass of cherished members of the Orange family. These and other objects of interest remain as at that day."

Colonel Aaron Burr at Suffern's.

Confusion of the Militia.

Night Attack upon the British Pickets near Hackensack.

apo Pass, Colonel Burr performed an exploit which was long remembered in the neighborhood. He received intelligence that the enemy were in considerable force at Hackensack, and advancing into the country. Leaving a guard to protect the camp, Burr marched with the remainder of his effective men to Paramus, a distance of sixteen miles, in the direction of Hackensack. They arrived there at sunset, and found the militia of the district gathered in great confusion. Having arranged them in order, Burr marched forward with thirty picked men, and at ten o'clock at night approached the pickets of the enemy. When within three miles of Hackensack, Burr led his men



BURR'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

upon the enemy before they had time to take up their arms, and a greater portion of them were killed. A few prisoners and some spoil was carried off by the Americans, without the loss of a man on their part. Burr sent an order to Paramus by an express for all the troops to move, and to rally the country. This success inspirited the militia, and they flocked in great numbers to the standard of Burr. The enemy, thoroughly frightened, retreated in haste to Paulus's Hook (Jersey City), leaving behind them a greater portion of the plunder which they had collected.

We will now leave the Ramapo, and, saying farewell to the Hudson and its associations, wend our way toward the sunny South.

into the woods, ordered them to sleep until he should awaken them, and then went alone to reconnoiter. A little before daylight he returned, aroused his men, and directed them to follow him, without speaking a word or firing a gun until ordered, on pain of death. Leading them unobserved between the sentinels, until within a few yards of the picket-guard, he gave the word *Fire!* His men rushed

Departure for the South.	Mode of Traveling.	Characteristics of the Journey.	Interesting Associations.
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CHAPTER IX.

"Thou desolate and dying year!
 Prophetic of our final fall;
 Thy buds are gone, thy leaves are ere,
 Thy beauties shrouded in the pall;
 And all the garniture that shed
 A brilliancy upon thy prime,
 Hath like a morning vision fled
 Unto the expanded grave of time."

JAMES G. BROOKS.

"That soft autumnal time
 Is come, that sheds upon the naked scene
 Charms only known in this our northern clime—
 Bright seasons far between."

"The woodland foliage now
 Is gathered by the wild November blast,
 E'en the thick leaves upon the poplar's bough
 Are fallen to the last."

JOHN H. BRYANT.



IN the 22d of November, 1848, I left New York to visit the Southern portions of the old Thirteen States, made memorable by the events of the War for Independence. Aware of the lack of public facilities for travel below the Potomac, and not doubting that many of the localities which I intended to visit were far distant from public highways, I resolved to journey with my own conveyance, with an independence and thoroughness not vouchsafed by steam or stage-drivers. I purchased a strong, good-natured horse, harnessed him to a light dearborn wagon, stowed my luggage under the seat, and, taking the reins, on a bright and balmy afternoon departed on a *drive* of nearly fourteen hundred miles. The wisdom of my resolve was a hundred times made manifest, for, in some portions of the South, horse, mule, or ox could not have been procured to convey me to places of interest, lying scores of miles apart, and scores of miles away from stage-routes. It was a lonely journey; sometimes among mountains, sometimes through swamps, sometimes through vast pine forests and over sandy plains, and sometimes amid the most interesting natural scenery, even in mid-winter. It was to me a journey of great interest; and the dreary days passed in riding from one hallowed locality to another, after leaving the Appomattox, were all forgotten when sitting down, pencil in hand, in the midst of some arena consecrated by patriotism and love of country. Then glorious associations would crowd thickly upon the memory, weariness and privations would be forgotten, and the truthful heart would chant,

"Great God! we thank thee for this home—
 This bounteous birth-land of the free;
 Where wanderers from afar may come
 And breathe the air of liberty!
 Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
 Her harvests wave, her cities rise;
 And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,
 Remain earth's loveliest paradise!"

W. J. PARODIE.

Perth Amboy.

Its original Settlement and Prospects.

Governor William Franklin.

In succeeding pages I shall endeavor to impart to my readers some of the pleasures and profits of this Southern journey, extended, after leaving my horse and wagon at Camden, in South Carolina, to nearly fourteen hundred miles further.

I left New York at three o'clock in the afternoon in the steam-boat *Transport*, of the Camden and Amboy Rail-road Company. We passed out at the Narrows at four o'clock between Forts Hamilton and La Fayette, and, traversing Raritan Bay, on the southeast side of Staten Island, reached South Amboy at twilight, where I remained until morning. This little village is situated upon the bay, at the mouth of the Raritan, and is the terminus of the rail-way from Philadelphia. On the north side of the Raritan is Perth Amboy,¹ a pleasant place, a port of entry, and a locality of considerable historic interest. It is about twenty-five miles from New York, and ten from New Brunswick; the latter lies at the head of steam-boat navigation on the Raritan. Upon this point the first proprietors of New Jersey intended to build a city. "If the Lord permit," they said, in their published account of the beauty and fertility of that region, "we intend, with all convenient speed, to erect and build our principal town, which, by reason of situation, must, in all probability, be the most considerable for merchandise, trade, and fishing in those parts. It is designed to be placed upon a neck or point of land called Ambo Point, lying on Raritan River, and pointing to Sandy Hook Bay, and near adjacent to the place where ships in that great harbor commonly ride at anchor." It was called "a sweet, wholesome, and delightful place," and William Penn said, on taking a view of the land, "I have never seen such before in my life." The town was laid out into one hundred and fifty lots, many buildings were erected, and for a time it was the commercial rival of New York. A city charter was obtained for it in 1718. William Eier was the first mayor, and James Alexander—the father of Lord Stirling, of the Continental army—was the first recorder. Barracks for soldiers were built there in 1758–9, and were first occupied by the English troops on their return from Havana in 1761.

Perth Amboy was the place of residence of Governor Franklin when the Revolution broke out, and was the scene of many stirring events during that war.² It was in posses-

¹ This point, when first mentioned in the East Jersey records, bears the Indian name of *Ompage*, of which *Ambo* or *Amboy* is a corruption. The white settlement there was for some time called Perth, in honor of the Earl of Perth, one of the proprietors; but the name of Ambo was so often mentioned, that at last it was called Perth Amboy.

² William Franklin, the royal governor of New Jersey, was the only son of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. He was born in 1731. He was postmaster of Philadelphia for a short time, and served as clerk of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. He was a captain in the French and Indian war, and fought bravely, under Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga. He visited England, with his father, toward the close of the war. In Scotland he became acquainted with the Earl of Bute, who recommended him to Lord Fairfax. That nobleman appointed him governor of New Jersey, and for a time he was very popular with the people. He was a decided monarchist, and from the beginning of the disputes with Great Britain he took sides against his father. He involved himself in quarrels with the Legislature of New Jersey, and the people became very hostile to him before the close of his administration in 1776. On the 23d of May of that year, the first Provincial Congress of New Jersey commenced their session at Trenton, and the royal government soon afterward ceased to exist. A constitution was adopted in July, 1776. William Livingston was elected governor in place of Franklin, and that deposed servant of royalty, declared by the Congress of New Jersey to be an enemy to liberty, was seized in his own house at Perth Amboy, and conveyed a prisoner to Windham, Connecticut, at which place, and also in Litchfield jail, he was confined for some time. [See p. 436, volume i.] On the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton in America in 1778, Governor Franklin was exchanged for some American prisoners, and released. He went to New York, where he served, for a short period, as president of the Board of Directors of the Associated Loyalists. In West's picture of the Reception of the American Loyalists by Great Britain, in the year 1783, Governor Franklin is a prominent personage represented. A copy of this picture will be found in another part of this work. Franklin went to England at the close of the war, where he resided until his death in November, 1813; enjoying a pension of \$4000 per annum. He and his father were reconciled in 1784, after an alienation of ten years. The doctor, however, could not forget his political delinquency. In his will, after devising to his son all the books and papers of his in possession of the governor, and also all debts standing against him on his account-books, he says, "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of."* Governor Franklin's wife died in 1778,

* Sparks's *Life of Franklin*, 599.

sion of the British much of the time; and one of the many pictures of life of varied hue there presented, is given by William Dunlap (who was born there), in his *History of the Arts of Design*. "Here were centered," he says, "in addition to those cantoned in the place, all those [troops] drawn in from the Delaware, Princeton, and Brunswick; and the flower and pick of the army, English, Scotch, and German, who had at that time been brought in from Rhode Island. Here was to be seen a party of forty-second Highlanders, in national costume, and there a regiment of Hessians, their dress and arms a perfect contrast to the first. The slaves of Anspach and Waldeck were there—the first somber as night, the second gaudy as noon. Here dashed by a party of the seventeenth dragoons, and there scampered a party of Yagers. The trim, neat, and graceful English grenadier; the careless and half-savage Highlander, with his flowing robes and naked knees, and the immovably stiff German, could hardly be taken for parts of one army. Here might be seen soldiers driving in cattle, and others guarding wagons loaded with household furniture, instead of the hay and oats they had been sent for.

"The landing of the grenadiers and light infantry from the ships which transplanted the troops from Rhode Island; their proud march into the hostile neighborhood, to gather the produce of the farmer for the garrison; the sound of the musketry, which soon rolled back upon us; the return of the disabled veterans who could retrace their steps, and the heavy march of the discomfited troops, with their wagons of groaning wounded, in the evening, are all impressed on my mind as pictures of the evils and the soul-stirring scenes of war. These lessons, and others more disgusting, were my sources of instruction in the winter of 1776–7."

November 23,
1848.

I left Amboy for Trenton, by the way of Crosswicks, before sunrise the next morning. The air was clear and frosty; the pools by the road side were skimmed with ice, and fields and fences were white with hoar frost. The deep sand of the road made the traveling heavy, yet, before the sun was fairly up, my strong horse had taken me half the way to Spottswood, ten miles distant. I passed through Spottswood, Old Bridge, Hightstown, and Cranberry, to Allentown, twenty-eight miles from Amboy, where I dined. These villages have a neat and thrifty appearance. Over the level, sandy country through which the road passes, extensive peach orchards are spread out, covering hundreds of acres. Crosswicks,* the scene of some stirring events in the Revolution, is situated upon a ridge on the left bank of Crosswicks Creek, four miles from Allentown, and the same distance from the Delaware River. The creek is in a deep ravine, here spanned by a fine latticed bridge, erected upon the site of the old one of the Revolution. It was settled by the Quakers in 1681, and was a place of sufficient importance in colonial times to be once a meeting-place of the Provincial Assembly. Among the Indians at Crossweeksung, Brainerd and Ten-

nant labored successfully,³ and the influence of the Quakers upon that tribe was sensibly felt. Here a small detachment of the American army was stationed after the first engagement at Trenton, where the Hessians were captured; and here one division of the British troops, marching from Philadelphia toward Monmouth, in June, 1778, were pretty severely handled by a party of Americans. The troops of the enemy marched in three divisions from Philadelphia: one by Mount Holly, one through Columbus, and the third by Bordentown, on the Delaware, near the mouth of Crosswicks Creek. Near the latter place was a draw-bridge, and as the British attempted to repair it for the purpose of crossing, the militia regiments of Colonels Frelinghuysen,⁴ Van Dyke, and Webster, stationed near, rushed

just before his release from imprisonment. On a monumental tablet in St. Paul's Church, New York, it is inscribed that, "compelled to part from the husband she loved, and at length despairing of the soothing hope of his return, she sunk of accumulated distresses," &c. His son, William Temple Franklin, who edited his grandfather's works, died at Paris in May, 1823.

¹ *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. ii.

² This name is derived from the Indian appellation of the place, *Crossweeksung*, signifying a separation. The creek separates into two branches not far from the village.

³ In less than one year after Brainerd commenced preaching among them, he baptized no less than seventy-seven persons, of whom thirty-eight were adults.—Allen's *Amer. Biog. Dictionary*.

⁴ Frederic Frelinghuysen was the son of Reverend John Frelinghuysen, of Raritan, New Jersey. He

Skirmish at Crosswicks.

The Friends' Meeting-house.

Mrs. Idell.

Bordentown.

upon them, killed four and wounded several. The enemy left the bridge at Bordentown, and, marching up to Crosswicks, attempted to repair the bridge there, which the Americans

FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE.³

had almost destroyed.¹ The alert provincials were ready to receive them; and from their station on the Woodwardsville side of the creek, they poured upon the Britons volleys of musketry, which, with a well-aimed shot occasionally from an old six-pounder, effectually kept them at bay. Being re-enforced the next day, the enemy repaired the bridge, crossed it, and pursued their march toward Allentown. During the skirmish, one of the cannon-balls fired by the Americans struck the north wall of the meeting-house and lodged therein, where it remained until the building was repaired a few years ago. The hole made by the ball is yet visible; the dark spot

between the sills of the two upper windows, on the right of the picture, marks the place.

The American troops at Crosswicks, after the battle of Trenton, used the meeting-house for barracks; yet, unlike the British soldiers who occupied churches for a similar purpose, they neither defaced the building, nor disturbed the society in their public religious duties. Every Wednesday and Sunday the soldiers withdrew, the benches were properly arranged, and worship was held as usual.

During my brief tarry of an hour and a half at Crosswicks, I visited the venerable Mrs. Idell, who was eighty-three years old. She clearly remembered the advent of the Americans there, after the battle of Trenton. She lived with her brother, two or three miles from the meeting-house. Twelve American officers, on horseback, took possession of his house while himself and family were in meeting. The parlor was filled with equestrian accouterments, and she and two other children "almost lost their wits by fright." The old lady was strong in mind but feeble in body when I saw her, yet she was able to sit in their plain old house of worship every meeting-day.

I left Crosswicks at four o'clock, and arrived at Trenton at sunset. It was a pleasant drive of eight miles through a fertile country; the well-filled barns and barracks, and the numerous haystacks, denoting bountiful harvests. I passed a little northward of Bordentown, and had an occasional glimpse of its spires above the brown tree-tops. As we may not, in the course of our journey, approach so near this pleasant village again, let us slacken our pace a little as we go over the crown of the hill, from whence the vane of the Episcopal church is visible, and consider its Revolutionary history.

Bordentown is "a city upon a hill," and "can not be hid." It is at the elbow of the Delaware River, seven miles below Trenton, and from the brow of the eminence on which it stands there is an extensive view of that noble stream and the surrounding country. It derives its name from Joseph Borden, an early settler. Here both the Americans and British had military stores; and hither both parties, at different times, dispatched small detachments to surprise and capture, or destroy them. Here a strong body of Hessians, under

graduated at Princeton in 1770, and when the Revolution broke out he entered the military service of his country. He was a captain of a militia company at the battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776, and, it is said, was the man who shot Colonel Rall, the commander of the Hessians. He was afterward promoted to the rank of colonel, which office he held during the war. He was a member of the old Congress, and, under the administration of Washington, was a senator from New Jersey. He was for a number of years one of the trustees of Princeton College. He died in April, 1804, aged about fifty-two years. Theodore Frelinghuysen, late United States senator from New Jersey, and Chancellor of the University of New York, is his son.

¹ An American named Clevenger, who had cut away the last sleeper of the bridge when the enemy approached, was shot in the back of the head and killed while retreating. He was the only man whom the Americans lost in the skirmish.

³ This view is from the shed in the yard, looking southeast. The building stands in the center of a large square, is of imported brick, and very spacious. The Quakers were numerous in this vicinity in the time of the Revolution, and a large number of the present inhabitants are members of that sect.

Revolutionary Events at Bordentown.

Joseph Bonaparte.

General Dickinson.

Trenton.

Count Donop, was stationed at the time of the battle at Trenton. One of the several expeditions sent out from Philadelphia by the enemy, in the spring of 1778, was for the purpose of destroying vessels which were lying in Barnes's and Crosswicks Creeks at this place. Six or seven hundred troops left Philadelphia about ten in the evening on the 7th of May, and went up the Delaware in a flotilla consisting of two row-galleys, three other armed vessels, and twenty-four flat-bottomed boats. They had fair winds for ten miles of the way,¹ when a calm ensued, and they were obliged to row the remainder of the distance. They expected to reach Bordentown and perform their destructive work before dawn, but they did not arrive there until late in the forenoon. Before landing, they burned two frigates at the White Hills, a little below the village, and afterward destroyed several smaller vessels. They landed without much opposition, burned the residence of Joseph Borden, committed some petty malicious trespasses, and then re-embarked. The next day they proceeded up the river as far as Bile's Island, intending to make a descent upon Trenton; but General Dickinson,² and the troops under his command, gave them such a warm reception, that they hastily turned their prows southward. On their way down they landed at Colonel Kirkbride's farm, on the Pennsylvania side, burned his buildings, and seized considerable property. A party of militia, whom General Dickinson sent down the river, succeeded in capturing a sloop which the enemy had filled with plunder, and took prisoners six men who were on board. The marauders returned to Philadelphia with very little booty, and not a particle of glory.³

At Bordentown, from 1816 until 1842, Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, and brother of Napoleon, resided. His park and grounds comprised about fifteen hundred acres of land, which his taste and well-directed expenditure of money redeemed from almost barrenness, and made beautiful. His mansion was enriched with the most exquisite works of art in painting and sculpture, for the gratification of himself and friends; and while he was ever willing to display these for the pleasure of the poor, his hand was open to their wants.

The sun was veiled, at its setting, when I arrived at Trenton,⁴ by an ominous red vapor that betokened a storm. True to the "sign," the morning following was lowery, and a chilly east wind made sketching in the open air any thing but pleasant. I was busy with my pencil until the rain began to fall at noon. At two o'clock the sun peeped out for a moment, and smiled so pleasantly (yet deceptively) that I ordered my horse, and, accompa-

¹ The distance from Philadelphia to Bordentown is twenty-six miles.

² Philemon Dickinson was a gallant officer of the Revolution. He was a Whig of the truest dye, and entered the Revolutionary army at the outset of the contest. Although possessed of an ample fortune, he cheerfully hazarded it for the good of his country, preferring poverty with liberty, to wealth with slavery. He was at the head of the Jersey militia in the battle of Monmouth, where he displayed the greatest bravery. He was a member of Congress from his state after the establishment of the present Federal government, and in various civil and military stations he discharged his duty faithfully. Twelve years of the latter part of his life were passed in domestic retirement at his seat near Trenton, where he died on the 4th of February, 1809, at the age of sixty-eight years.

³ Howe, in the *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, page 101, records one or two incidents of this incursion which were related to him by a person who was a resident there at the time. He said the British officers dined at the house of Francois Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who, with his family, was absent at the time. A young lady, eighteen years old, named Mary Comely, provided the dinner for them. While they were dining, she was informed that the soldiers were robbing the houses of her mother and grandmother, on the opposite side of the street. She went in, and stealthily cut a piece from the skirt of one of the soldiers' coats. This she handed to the commander, and by it he detected the thief. By this means the property of her relations and some neighbors was restored. A Whig, in order to save his property, slew a sheep, and made a good dinner for the soldiers; but, before the meal was ready, the bugle sounded for the troops to form in line. The dinner was partaken of by Colonel Baylor and his light horse, who arrived toward evening.

⁴ Trenton is the capital of New Jersey, situated upon the east bank of the Delaware, at the *Falls*, thirty miles from Philadelphia. The first settlements were made by Quakers, on both sides of the river, about 1679. The region in the vicinity of the Falls was called by the Delaware Indians, Sankhican, a name signifying *gun* or *firelock*, from the circumstance that a tribe of Mohawks, who used guns, occupied that spot. A purchase of a large tract of land lying on both sides of the Assanpink was made by Colonel William Trent, of Philadelphia, in 1714, and from him Trent Town or Trenton derives its name.

McConkey's Ferry, where Washington crossed the Delaware.

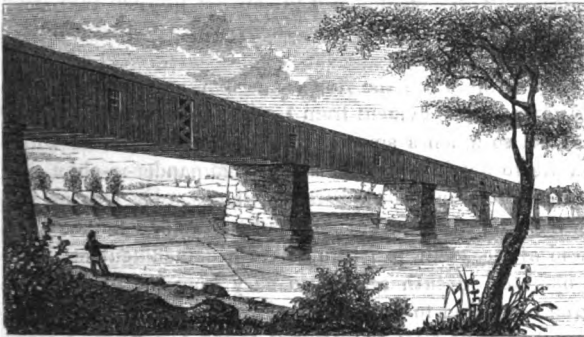
Long Bridge.

Capture of Forts Washington and Lee.

nied by the Honorable G. W. Smyth, of Belvidere, started for McConkey's Ferry (now Taylorsville), eight miles above Trenton, the place where

"On Christmas day, in seventy-six,
Our gallant troops, with bayonets fixed,
To Trenton marched away,"

and, with Washington, crossed the Delaware, on the memorable night of that festival. We had ridden scarcely a mile before the rain came pattering down upon our wagon-top, and when we returned at evening the storm had increased in violence to that of a drenching summer shower. The road passes along the bank of the Delaware, and on a bright summer day it must be one of the pleasantest drives imaginable. There are several beautiful country-seats on the way, with grounds tastefully laid out and shaded. Two miles from Trenton is the State Lunatic Asylum, an immense building, having nine quadrangles, and presenting a front of four hundred and eighty feet. The feeder for the Delaware and Hudson Canal, and the artificial channel made along the river bank for the production of water power at Trenton, are crossed and paralleled by the road all the way to Yardleyville, between which and Taylorsville the great dam constructed to supply these streams stretches across the Delaware. Taylorsville is on the Pennsylvania side, at McConkey's Ferry. A



GREAT BRIDGE AT MCCONKEY'S FERRY.

noble bridge, six hundred feet long, here spans the river. It is supported by eight piers, eighteen feet above the water when the stream has its usual depth. The bridge is of timber, the piers of solid masonry, with an ice-breaker on the upper side. The view here given is from below the bridge on the Pennsylvania side, looking northeast, and exhibits the Jersey shore at the precise point where the American army landed, an event which

we shall consider presently. Mr. Taylor, an old resident of the place, pointed out the spot, on each side of the river, where a log-house stood at the time. The one on the Pennsylvania side was upon the site of the *Temperance House*, in Taylorsville; that upon the Jersey shore was exactly at the end of the bridge.

It was very dark when we reached Trenton in the midst of the storm. With the feelings of the silly mortal who thought a brook would soon run dry because the stream was so swift, I hoped for a bright morning because the rain came down deluge-like. Let us turn from the present and commune an hour with the past.

Fort Washington, on the east bank of the Hudson, near New York city, fell into the hands of the enemy on the 16th of November, 1776, and the garrison of nearly three thousand men became prisoners of war. The skirmish at White Plains had recently occurred, and Washington, penetrating the design of the enemy to pass into New Jersey and march to the capture of Philadelphia, had already crossed the Hudson with the main body of the American army, after securing some positions on the east bank, between Kingsbridge and the Highlands. He encamped at Hackensack, in the rear of Fort Lee where General Greene was in command. Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson at Dobbs's Ferry, with six thousand men, on the 18th, and landing at Closter, a mile and a half from English Neighborhood, proceeded to attack Fort Lee. The garrison made a hasty retreat, and joined the main army at Hackensack, five miles distant. All the baggage and military stores at Fort Lee fell into the hands of the enemy. It was an easy conquest for Cornwallis; and had he followed up this successful beginning with energy,

October 28,
1776.

November,
1776.

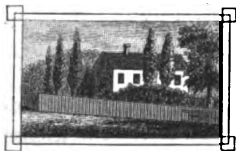
Retreat of the Americans across New Jersey.

Decrease of the Army.

Tardy Movements of General Lee.

there is every probability that he would have captured Washington and his army. The latter commenced a retreat toward the Delaware when Cornwallis approached, hoping to be sufficiently re-enforced by the New Jersey and Pennsylvania militia to be enabled to make a successful stand against the invaders at some intermediate point. But late reverses had dispirited the militia, and Washington found his army diminishing at every step rather than augmenting. By the last of November scarcely three thousand troops remained in the American army. For three weeks he fled before Cornwallis across the level districts of New Jersey. Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton were successively evacuated by the Americans and occupied by the enemy. Often the music of the pursued and the pursuers would be heard by each other, yet no action occurred. Arrived at Trenton on the 8th of December, Washington and his army crossed the Delaware in boats. The last one had reached the Pennsylvania shore just as one division of Cornwallis's army, with all the pomp of victors, marched into Trenton. This was about twelve o'clock at night. The British commander, with the main body of the troops, halted within six miles of Trenton.

Washington had hoped to make a stand at New Brunswick, but was disappointed. The service of the Jersey and Maryland brigades expired on the day he left that place, and neither of them would remain longer with the army. General Lee had been left at White Plains in command of a detachment of the army, consisting of nearly three thousand men. Washington wrote to him from Hackensack, requesting him to lead his division into New Jersey immediately to re-enforce his melting army. Lee did not heed the request, and the commander-in-chief finally sent him a positive order to that effect. This order was repeated, and yet he delayed; and so tardy was his march in the rear of the royal army, that it was three weeks before he reached Morristown. It is evident from Lee's conduct, and the tenor of his letters at that time, that it was not so much a spirit of determined disobedience which governed his actions, as a strong desire to act independent of the commander-in-chief, and perform some signal service which would redound to his personal glory.¹ He was as ambitious as he was impetuous and brave. He had endeavored, but in vain, to induce General Heath, who was left in command at Peekskill, to let him have a detachment of one or two thousand men, with which to operate. Heath refused to vary from his instructions, and it was well he did. Washington continued to urge Lee to form a junction with him; yet, as late as the 11th of December, two days after the passage of the Delaware, a letter written by Lee to Washington, at Morristown, hinted at various contemplated movements, not one of which referred to a junction of forces. This was the last letter Washington received from Lee during his march. Two days afterward, while pursuing his slow and reluctant progress toward the Delaware, Lee was taken prisoner. His troops lay at a place called Vealtown, while he lodged at Basking Ridge, nearly three miles distant, at the inn of a Mrs. White, now a private dwelling, situated upon rising ground at the southeast entrance of the village.



WHITE'S TAVERN.

Colonel Harcourt, at the head of a scouting party of British cavalry, apprised of the position of General Lee,² made a furious charge upon his quarters on

¹ It was at this time that the close and confidential intimacy which existed between Washington and Colonel Joseph Reed was disturbed by a letter from Lee to the latter. It will be remembered that Reed was with Washington at Cambridge during the siege of Boston, and was the most confidential friend of the commander-in-chief. On the 21st of November he wrote a letter to Lee, from Hackensack, in which, pointedly alluding to Washington, he complained of the indecision of officers, at the same time complimenting Lee for his opposite quality. This letter was answered in a tone and spirit little calculated to command the respect of Washington for either party. Reed had left camp before its arrival, and, as usual, his letters were opened by the commander-in-chief. In this way the latter became acquainted with its contents. Free explanations were made, and mutual confidence was afterward restored, which continued through life.

² Following the account of Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs* (who was with Lee at the time), historians say that a Tory communicated the fact of Lee's presence at White's Tavern to Colonel Harcourt. There is no positive evidence that such was the fact; on the contrary, it is asserted, in the *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, that one of the compilers of that work was informed by Colonel J. W. Drake, of Mendham, that the individual was a Mr. Mackelwraith, an elder of a Presbyterian church, who was surrounded in the road by

Capture of General Lee. Longevity of the Captor's Horse. Biography of Lee. His Division commanded by Sullivan.

the morning of the 13th of December, dispersed the guard, and captured the commander.¹ Lee had just finished a letter to General Gates when the dragoons appeared. 1776.

So sudden was the arrest, and so quick was the departure, that he was hurried away on horseback, bare-headed, nothing but slippers on his feet, and a blanket coat on his back, and conveyed in safety to New York. General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner at the battle on Long Island, in August previous, had been exchanged, and was now with Lee's division of the army. On the capture of Lee the command devolved on Sullivan, and he soon afterward crossed the Delaware and joined Washington.

General Lee was an able and efficient officer, and his loss, at that time, was very severely felt. The estimation in which the enemy held his services may be understood by the declaration, "We have taken the American palladium." His disobedience is indefensible; yet, viewing subsequent events in their various relations, that very disobedience was probably instrumental in working out greater good than compliance would.



Charles Lee

Harcourt and his men, pressed into service, and compelled to show them Lee's quarters. When the assailants arrived, the guard were sunning themselves on the south side of the house, and were suddenly separated from their arms; hence the feebleness of their resistance.

¹ Mr. James, the English novelist, now (1851) residing in this country, informed a friend of the writer that he possesses a manuscript drawing of Colonel Harcourt, and of the horse which he rode on that occasion. The horse lived to the extraordinary age of *fifty years*.

² Charles Lee was born in Wales in 1731. He was the son of General John Lee of the British army. He was a commissioned officer in the army of George II. at a very early age (some say eleven years), and ardently pursued military knowledge. He acquired many of the Continental languages. He came to America in 1756, and distinguished himself in the wars with the French and Indians. He dwelt, for a time, with the Mohawks, and was made a chief of the tribe, under the name, in the Mohawk dialect, of *Boiling Water*. In 1762 he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal. After engaging for a while in political strife in England, he went to the Continent, and during three years, from 1770, he rambled all over Europe. He was received with favor by the great, and finally became aid to Poniatowski, king of Poland. For two years he basked in that monarch's favor, and then went, with the king's ambassador, to Turkey. From Constantinople he went to Paris, and in 1773 again came to America. He became acquainted with General Gates, and, through his persuasions, purchased a tract of land in Berkley county, Virginia. Resigning a commission which he held in the British army, he accepted one from Congress when the Continental army was organized in the summer of 1775. He accompanied Washington to Cambridge, and from that period until his capture in December, 1776, he was engaged in very active service, particularly at the South. In May, 1778, he was exchanged for General Prescott, who was captured on Rhode Island, and within a month afterward he was engaged in the fierce battle of Monmouth. In that conflict he was disobedient to the commands of the chief, and was arrested for his misconduct. His trial resulted in his suspension, a verdict which gave general satisfaction, for it was believed that he was aiming at supreme command. The verdict was confirmed by Congress in 1780, and he left the army. He lived a while at Berkley, morose and secluded. He finally went to Philadelphia, and took lodgings in a house now known as the "Slate-roof House," once the residence of William Penn, where he died, soon afterward, in poverty and obscurity. His death occurred on the 2d of October, 1782, at the age of fifty-one. General Lee was a brilliant man in many things, but his life exhibited a most perfect specimen of antitheses of character. He was bad in morals and manners, profane in language, and neither feared or loved God or man. He wrote his will a few days before his death, in which he bequeathed his soul to the Almighty, and his body to the earth, saying, "I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house; for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead." His last words on his death-bed were, "*Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!*" He was buried in Christ Church-yard, Philadelphia, with military honors. Quite a large concourse of citizens attended his funeral.

The Delaware between Washington and Cornwallis.

Weakness of the American Army.

Gloomy Aspect of Affairs.

have done. Let us return to the consideration of the movements of the two armies upon the Delaware.

Washington took the precaution, when he crossed the river, to secure every boat and bateau, so that Cornwallis had no means for continuing an immediate pursuit. The latter had intended to cross a portion of troops early the next morning between M'Conkey's and Coryell's Ferry, for the purpose of capturing a number of boats which the Americans had collected on the Pennsylvania side. But these had been taken away, and he had no alternative but to construct boats, or wait for the freezing of the Delaware, so that he might pass his troops over on the ice.

Washington had but twenty-two hundred men under his command when he crossed the river; and two days afterward, in consequence of the expiration of the term of service of a portion of these, he had but seventeen hundred—indeed, not more than one thousand on whom he could rely. The proclamation of General Howe, mentioned on page 308, vol. i., November 30, 1776, had been circulated freely in the Jerseys since the day of its publication, and had produced wide-spread disaffection to the patriot cause.¹ New Jersey was now in possession of a victorious enemy, and nothing but the feeble barrier of the Delaware lay between Cornwallis and his well-disciplined army, and Philadelphia, the Federal capital, where Congress was in session. The public treasury was exhausted, and the Congress bills of credit were beginning to be looked upon with suspicion and disfavor. Hourly the American army was melting away, and despondency was brooding over every patriot's mind. Clouds and darkness were gathering thick on every side. The campaign had been little else than a series of discomfitures,² and the inefficient provisions made by Congress for keeping up an army were manifest to all. Distrust of Congress and of the army began to prevail in all minds, and the sun of American liberty seemed about to set amid the clouds of hopeless despair. Yet Washington was firm and undaunted. His faith in the ultimate triumph of the Americans seems never to have burned with a brighter and steadier light than at this dark moment. Although December frosts were rapidly preparing a bridge over which the enemy might cross the Delaware and march triumphantly to the conquest of Philadelphia and all Pennsylvania, yet he was calm, determined, hopeful. When asked what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, he replied, "We will retreat beyond the Susquehanna River, and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany Mountains." While there was a shadow of an army in the field—while Congress maintained its sittings and unity—while a single ray of hope for success remained, no thought of abandoning the righteous cause was harbored in the mind of that great and good man. Already, in the very darkest hour, he

Mrs. Mercy Warren seems to have formed a correct estimate of Lee's character from her own observations on the occasion of his dining with herself and husband at Watertown, while the army was at Cambridge. In a letter to Samuel Adams, she speaks of him as "plain in his person to a degree of ugliness; careless even to unpoliteness; his garb ordinary; his voice rough; his manners rather morose; yet sensible, learned, judicious, and penetrating." Such is the character of Lee which I received from the lips of Mrs. Hamilton, who expressively called him "a crabbed man."

¹ Among the prominent men who had espoused the Republican cause at the commencement and now abandoned it, was Tucker, president of the New Jersey convention which had sanctioned the Declaration of Independence, and Joseph Galloway, a member of the first Continental Congress. For ten days after the issuing of the proclamation, two or three hundred persons a day came in to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown. Their disappointment is mentioned on page 308, vol. i.

² Although the Americans had generally suffered defeat, yet, from a summary of prisoners taken by each party, during 1776, given in Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington* (iv., 547), the Americans were quite successful in making captures. The number of American prisoners taken by the British was 4854; the number of British taken by the Americans, 2860; making a difference in favor of the enemy of 1994. In this statement is not included the 431 Americans captured at the Cedars, but includes the Hessians taken at Trenton. The number of American officers taken was 304—staff 25; privates, 4101: total, 4430.

In addition to men, the Americans lost, according to Gordon (ii., 131), 12 mortars and cannons of brass, and 235 of iron; 23,979 empty shells, and 17,122 filled; 2684 double-headed shot; a large quantity of grape-shot; 2800 muskets; 400,000 cartridges; 16 barrels of powder; a quantity of bar iron; 500 intrenching tools; 4 covered wagons; 200 hand-barrows, carts, crows, mantelets, *chevaux-de-frise*, &c.; 4000 barrels of flour, at Forts Washington and Lee; baggage, tents, and a large quantity of other stores.

Putnam in Command at Philadelphia. Reorganization of the Army. Adjournment of Congress to Baltimore. The Quakers.

had conceived the masterly stroke of military skill which presently brought forth such a radiant spark of hope and joy upon the frozen banks of the Delaware.¹

After passing the Delaware, the salvation of Philadelphia became the object of Washington's greatest solicitude. He dispatched General Putnam thither, who, with General Mifflin, commenced the erection of defenses at different points around the city. Congress, now alive to the necessity for the most energetic action, put forth all its powers. It resolved to defend Philadelphia to the last extremity. A stirring appeal to the people was adopted and sent forth, and a thorough organization of the army was begun, in accordance with a plan matured by Washington and a committee of Congress, while the American army was upon Harlem Heights, a few months previous. According to this plan, all the hitherto scattered Continental forces were to be embraced in one grand army, consisting of eighty battalions of seven hundred and fifty men each, to be raised in the several states. Massachusetts and Virginia were each to furnish fifteen battalions; Pennsylvania, twelve; North Carolina, nine; Connecticut, eight; South Carolina, six; New York and New Jersey, four each; New Hampshire and Maryland, three each; Rhode Island, two, and Georgia, one. As an inducement for men to enlist and supply the places of those whose term of service was about expiring, liberal bounties were offered.² A loan of five millions of dollars at four per cent. interest was authorized.

On the 12th of December, Congress invested General Putnam with almost unlimited power in Philadelphia, placing under his control all the munitions of war in the city, and also authorizing him to employ all the private armed vessels in that harbor for the defense of the place. On the same day, under the advice of Putnam and Mifflin, Congress resolved to retire to Baltimore, because Philadelphia, now being made the seat of war, could not furnish that quiet so necessary to wise and dispassionate legislation.^{1776.} A committee of three, consisting of Robert Morris, George Clymer, and George Walton, was appointed to remain in Philadelphia, to act in behalf of Congress, during its absence. That body, pursuant to adjournment, reassembled in Baltimore on the 20th. The Whigs in Philadelphia were in great consternation when Congress left. They feared the Loyalists in their midst quite as much as the approaching enemy. On the departure of Congress, the active Loyalists assumed a bold tone; and General Putnam, who was sent thither to fortify the city, was in daily expectation of an insurrection in favor of the royal cause. Nearly the whole body of Quakers, though passive, belonged to that party.

¹ In a letter to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, written on the 14th of December, six days after he crossed the Delaware, he said, alluding to the approach of Gates with a considerable force, "They may, in conjunction with my present force and that under General Lee, enable us to attempt a stroke upon the forces of the enemy, who lie a good deal scattered, and to all appearance in a state of security. A lucky blow in this quarter would be fatal to them, and would most certainly rouse the spirits of the people, which are quite sunk by our late misfortunes."—*Writings of Washington*, iv., 220, 221.

General Greene, to whom Washington communicated his plans, wrote to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, on the 21st, "We are now on the west side of the Delaware. Our force is small when collected together; but, small as it is, I hope we shall give the enemy a stroke in a few days. Should fortune favor the attack, it may put a stop to General Howe's progress." Colonel Reed wrote to Washington on the 21st, "Will it not be possible, my dear general, for your troops, or such part of them as can act with advantage, to make a diversion, or something more, at or about Trenton?"—*Ibid.*, 542, 543.

² Each soldier was to have a bounty of twenty dollars, besides an allotment of land, at the end of the war, to all who survived, or to the families of those who should fall in the service. The allotment of a common soldier was to be one hundred acres; of an ensign, one hundred and fifty; of a lieutenant, two hundred; a captain, three hundred; a major, four hundred; a lieutenant colonel, four hundred and fifty; and a colonel, five hundred. This allotment was to be extended only to those who enlisted "during the war."

³ A rumor having gone abroad that Congress was about to *disperse*, that body resolved that Washington should be desired to contradict "the false and malicious report spread by the enemies of America," in his general orders. The commander-in-chief, in a letter to the President of Congress from Trenton Falls, written on the 12th, wisely declined publishing such refutation, and gave good reasons for his course. "It was a fortunate circumstance," says Sparks (*Washington*, iv., 210), "that General Washington did not publish this resolve to the army, for, the next day after it was passed, Congress actually adjourned from Philadelphia, to assemble again in Baltimore." The resolution was transmitted to Washington by the secretary of Congress, but it does not appear among the published proceedings of that body.

In the mean while, Washington was preparing to strike the enemy. General Howe, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, remained in New York, and the operations in New Jersey were under the control and direction of Lord Cornwallis. It appears from Howe's dispatches¹ that he did not contemplate pursuing the Americans further than the Delaware, but designed sending a strong force up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne, who was to penetrate the country from Canada. Cornwallis urged the capture of Philadelphia as a paramount measure, and Howe consented. Yet, with all his vigilance and skill, the arrangement of the British army in the Jerseys was not creditable to the sagacity of Cornwallis. It was scattered in detachments along an extended line. A body of Hessians, under Colonel Rall, was stationed at Trenton, and another, under Count Donop, was posted at Bordentown. The English troops were divided into a chain of cantonments, extending from New Brunswick to the Delaware, and down that river to a point below Burlington. Small detachments were also stationed at Black Horse and Mount Holly. Cornwallis looked with such contempt upon the weak and scattered forces of Washington, and was so certain of an easy victory beyond the Delaware, where, rumor informed him, the people were almost unanimous in favor of the king, that he did not regard great vigilance as necessary. He had returned to head-quarters at New York; and so confident were the British generals that the contest would be ended by taking possession of Philadelphia, that Cornwallis had prepared to sail for England on leave of absence.² His military stores were chiefly at New Brunswick, and there was his strongest detachment.

December, 1776. Lee's division, under Sullivan, and the regiments from Ticonderoga, united with Washington on the 21st. The increased pay of officers, the proffered bounties to the soldiers, and the great personal influence of the commander-in-chief, had the effect to retain in the service, for a few weeks at least, more than one half of the old soldiers. The militia of Pennsylvania turned out with considerable alacrity; and on the 24th, between five and six thousand Americans were gathered around the standard of Washington.³ The commander-in-chief's head-quarters were at Newtown, a little village on a small branch of the Neshaming, two miles northeast from Bristol.⁴

There were about fifteen hundred Hessians and a troop of British light horse at Trenton; these Washington determined to surprise. The posts at Mount Holly, Burlington, Black Horse, and Bordentown were to be attacked, at the same time, by the Pennsylvania militia, under Generals Cadwallader⁵ and Ewing, the former to cross near Bristol, the latter below Trenton Falls; while Washington, leading the main body of the Continental troops in person, assisted by Generals Sullivan and Greene, and Colonel Knox of the ar-

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, xi., p. 260, 362.

² Ramsay says that Colonel Rall, being under some apprehension for the safety of Trenton, applied to General Grant for a re-enforcement. That officer, partaking of the confidence of others, said to the messenger, "Tell the colonel he is very safe. I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey with a corporal's guard."

³ By the adjutant's return on the 22d of December, the army of Washington amounted to ten thousand one hundred and six men. Of this number, five thousand three hundred and ninety-nine were sick, on command elsewhere, or on furlough, leaving an effective force of four thousand seven hundred and seven. To these must be added the effective men of Lee's division and the Pennsylvania militia.

⁴ Washington occupied the house now (1848) owned by Dr. Lee, on the west side of the creek; General Greene was at the large brick house, now Hough's Hotel; and General Mercer was at Mr. Keith's, a little out of the town. It is related that on the morning of the day when the Americans marched to M'Conkey's Ferry, General Mercer told Mrs. Keith that he dreamed, the previous night, that he had been attacked and overpowered by a huge black bear. Mercer was killed by the British and Hessians at Princeton a few days afterward, and those who knew of his dream superstitiously regarded it as a premonition of his fate.

⁵ John Cadwallader was a native of Philadelphia. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention in 1775. He entered the army, and was appointed brigadier by Congress in February, 1777. He participated in the battles of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He fought a duel with General Conway, the quarrel which led to it growing out of the intrigue of that officer with Gates and others against Washington. Conway was badly, but not mortally wounded. Cadwallader removed to Maryland after the war, and became a member of its State Legislature. He died on the 10th of February, 1786, aged forty-three years. He was a gentleman of large fortune, and dispensed its blessings with a liberal hand. He has many descendants in Philadelphia and vicinity.

Successful Diversion, by Putnam, in favor of Washington.

The American Army cross the Delaware on Christmas Night.

tillery, was to cross the Delaware at M'Conkey's Ferry, and march down upon the enemy at Trenton. The river yet remained quite free from ice, and every thing seemed auspicious. Unknown to General Washington, Putnam, who had been made acquainted with the design of attacking Trenton, sent Colonel Griffin, with a body of four hundred and fifty militia, across from Philadelphia into New Jersey, to make a diversion in favor of the Trenton expedition. Griffin was instructed to proceed to Mount Holly, for the purpose of attracting the attention of Colonel Donop at Bordentown. He was ordered not to fight, but to retreat down the river when the enemy should appear. This movement had the desired effect. Donop, who should have been near enough to support Colonel Rall,¹ moved against Griffin with his whole force of two thousand men; and so dilatory was he in his marches after the retreat of the Americans, that it was two days before he returned to his post.²

Christmas night was selected by Washington for the execution of the enterprise. He well knew the German habit of celebrating that day with feasting and drinking, and reasoned wisely on the probability of a large portion of the Hessians being half disabled by intemperate indulgence.

The division with which Washington was to cross the Delaware consisted of two thousand four hundred men, with twenty pieces of artillery. At dusk they paraded December 23, at M'Conkey's Ferry (now Taylorsville), expecting to reach Trenton by mid-1776. night. The cold weather of the twenty-four hours preceding put serious obstacles in the way. The river was so full of floating ice that at first it was doubtful whether a crossing could be effected at all. A storm of sleet and snow had just commenced, and the night became excessively dark and dreary. The perilous voyage began early in the evening, in boats and bateaux, but it was nearly four o'clock in the morning before the little army was mustered on the Jersey shore.³ Washington there separated his troops into two divisions, one to march by the lower, or river road, the other by the upper, or Pennington road. The distance to Trenton by each highway was about equal. The commander-in-chief ordered both divisions, immediately on forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. To surprise them before daylight was out of the question; sudden movements and physical force must supply the place of strategy. Washington, accompanied by Generals Lord Stirling, Greene, Mercer, and Stevens, commanded the division on the upper road; Sullivan led that upon the river road. Both divisions marched so silently that they were not discovered by the enemy until within a short distance of the picket-guards on the outskirts of the village. Each encountered the out-guards at the same time, and a brisk skirmish ensued; the pickets of the enemy firing from behind houses while retreating to the main body into the town, closely pursued by the Americans. The Hessian drums beat to arms, and in a few moments the disordered ranks were marshaled into battle order by the brave Colonel Rall. Part of Washington's division pushed down King (now Warren) Street, and a part down Queen (now Greene) Street. Sullivan's division entered by the mansions of Colonels Dickinson and Rutherford, through Second and Front Streets. By this disposition of the patriot forces at the time of the attack, the enemy were hemmed in by the Assanpink, or Assumpink (a considerable stream running through the town), on the south, and the invading troops. At the head of King Street, Captain Forest opened a six-gun battery, which commanded the avenue. Captain William A. Washington, and Lieutenant James Monroe,⁴ perceiving that the enemy were

¹ The name of this officer is spelled, by different writers, Rohl,* Ralle,† Roll,‡ Rhalle,§ Rhal,|| Rahl,¶ Rawle,** Rall.††

* Gordon, ii., 152. Stedman, i., 231.

² Among the most prominent and active men engaged in ferrying the army, tradition has preserved the names of Uriah Slack, William Green, and David Laning.

⁴ Captain Washington was afterward greatly distinguished as colonel of a corps of cavalry in the campaigns of the South. James Monroe was afterward President of the United States. Both officers were slightly wounded while performing this exploit.

* Washington.
|| Mrs. Warren.

† Botta.
¶ Sparks.

‡ Gordon.
** Marshall.

§ Stedman.
†† Manuscript parole.

The Battle in Trenton.

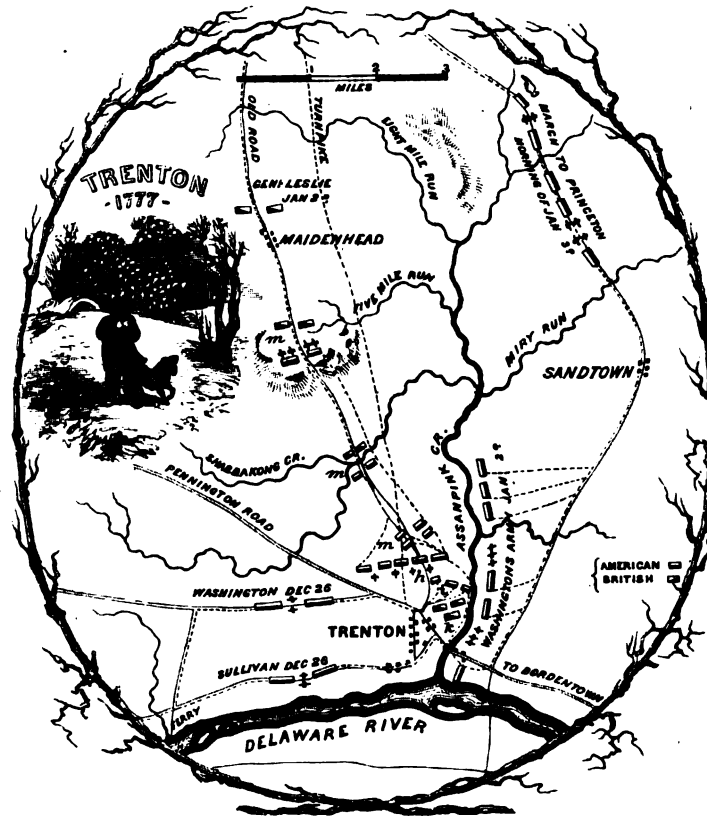
Colonel Rall mortally Wounded.

Capture of the Hessians.

endeavoring to form a battery in the same street, near where the canal feeder now crosses the way, rushed forward with a small party, drove the artillery-men from their guns, and captured two of the

pieces just as the gunners were about to fire. These were the first decided movements of the belligerents at the moment of surprise.

When Colonel Rall had formed his men for action, he attempted to advance and repel his assailants; but, being completely hemmed in, and his troops panic-stricken, all was confusion. The Americans were pressing closer and closer, and with deadly aim were thinning the Hessian ranks. At length a bullet mortally wounded Colonel Rall, and he fell from his horse, pale and bleeding. His aids and servant bore him to his quarters at the house of a



Quaker named Stacey Potts, while Lieutenant-colonel Scheffer, his next in command, took his place at the head of the troops. But all order was at an end. Seeing their commander fall, the Hessians fled in dismay, the main body attempting to escape by the road to Princeton. Their retreat was cut off by Colonel Hand, with a body of Pennsylvania riflemen. The fugitives, ignorant of the smallness of the force that stood in their way, and having the enthusiasm of only the mercenary soldier, threw down their arms and implored mercy.¹ The light horse and some infantry, in all about six hundred, fled, at the first alarm, to Bordentown. These would have fallen into Washington's hands, had not the

RALL'S HEAD-QUARTERS.²

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.—This map shows the country around Trenton, and the military operations there at the close of 1776 and commencement of 1777. *h* shows the position of Hand's rifle corps on the 26th of December, where they stopped the retreat of the Hessians; *i*, the Virginia troops; *k*, the Hessians; *m, m, m*, skirmishes, January 2d; *n, n*, Cornwallis, January 3d.

¹ The warmest of the conflict took place near the junction of Warren and Perry Streets, and the Presbyterian church in Second Street. The enemy laid down their arms on the field between the Presbyterian church and Park Place, then called the Old Iron-works.

² This is a frame building standing upon Warren Street, opposite Perry, near the corner of Bank Alley.

Complete Victory of the Americans. Washington's Visit to the dying Rall. Parole of Honor signed by the Hessian Officers.

ice and high wind prevented General James Ewing¹ from crossing the Delaware at Trenton as previously arranged. The troops at Bordentown, under Donop, might also have been captured if Cadwallader could have crossed, with his force, at Bristol. He succeeded in landing a battalion of infantry, but the ice on the margin of the river was in such a condition that it was impossible to get the artillery across. The infantry were ordered back, and the design was abandoned.

The victory of the Americans at Trenton was complete. They lost in the engagement only two privates killed, and two others who were frozen to death. The enemy lost six officers and between twenty and thirty men killed, and twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six non-commissioned officers and privates made prisoners. In addition to these, many others were found concealed in houses and secured, making the whole number of prisoners about one thousand. The trophies were six brass field-pieces, a thousand stand of arms, twelve drums, and four colors. Among the latter was the splendid flag of the Anspachers.²

As the enemy were in the vicinity in greatly superior numbers and appointments, Washington thought it prudent to recross the Delaware, with his prisoners and spoils, into Pennsylvania. At evening they all marched to M'Conkey's Ferry, and reached the place of the American encampment on the other side before midnight of the day of victory.³ Just before leaving Trenton, Washington and Greene visited the dying Hessian commander at his quarters, and, with a heart overflowing with generous emotions in that hour of splendid triumph, the American chief offered the brave Rall those consolations which a soldier and a Christian can bestow. This kindness and attention from his conqueror soothed the agonies of the expiring hero. The remembrance of the deed seems to play like an electric spark around the pen of the historian while recording it.

Well-attested tradition says that Colonel Rall and his troops were, as Washington supposed they would be, yet under the influence of a night's carousal after the Christmas holiday. On the morning of the battle, Rall was at the house of Abraham Hunt, who *traded* with friend and foe. Hunt was sometimes suspected of being a Tory, but never of being a

The buildings on the left are also of ante-Revolutionary origin. This house was a tavern at the time, kept by Stacey Potts, the grandfather of Stacey G. and Joseph C. Potts, Esqrs., of Trenton. In a pane of glass, in the front window on the left of the front door, lower story, may be seen a hole made by a bullet, shot during the battle. Colonel Rall died in the front room in the second story, immediately over this window. It is related that a daughter of Mr. Potts, who was at a neighbor's when the firing commenced, was running toward her father's house, when a musket-ball struck her comb from her head and slightly injured her scalp.

¹ The name of this officer is variously given. Washington, in his dispatch to the President of Congress, wrote it *Ewing*; Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, spells it *Irvine*; Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, has it *Irvin*; Botta, *Irwin*; and Gordon, *Erwing*.

Ewing is the correct name. He was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1736. He commenced his military career under Braddock in 1755, and was with that general when he was slain. He was a brigadier general of the Pennsylvania militia at the commencement of the Revolution, but did not enter the regular army. He was vice-president of the commonwealth, under President Dickinson, in 1782, and was several times member of the State Legislature. He died at his country-seat, in Hellam township in March, 1806, aged seventy years.

² The regiments which surrendered were those of Anspach, Knyphausen, and Rall. The flag here alluded to is in the possession of George Washington Parke Custis, Esq., of Arlington House, Virginia, who has deposited it, with the flag surrendered at Yorktown, and other relics, in the museum at Alexandria, Virginia. Drawings, with descriptions of these flags, will be found in another part of this work.

³ At the head-quarters of Washington, at Newtown, the captive Hessian officers signed the following parole of honor. I copied it, with the accompanying signatures, from the original among Gates's papers, in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

"We, the Subscribers, Hessian Officers, made Prisoners of War by the American Army, under Command of his Excellency, General Washington, at Trenton, on the 26th inst., being allowed Our Liberty, under such Restrictions as to place as may be from time to time appointed, do give Our parole of Honour, that we will remain at the place, and within the limits appointed for us by his Excellency the General, the Honorable Congress, Council of Safety, or Commissary of Prisoners of War, Peaceably behaving ourselves, and by no way Send or give Intelligence to the British or Hessian Army, or speak or do any thing disrespectful or Injurious to the American States while we remain Prisoners of War.

Colonel Rall's fatal Carousal.

Names and Signatures of the Hessian Officers attached to the Parole.

true Whig. He had invited Colonel Rall and others to a Christmas supper at his house. Cards were introduced, and play continued throughout the night, accompanied with wine-drinking. A negro servant was kept as a sort of porter and warden at the door. Just at dawn, a messenger came in haste with a note to Colonel Rall, sent by a Tory on the Pennington road, who had discovered the approach of the Americans. The negro refused admittance to the messenger, saying, "The gemmen can't be disturbed." The bearer knew the importance of the note, and, handing it to the negro, ordered him to carry it immediately to Colonel Rall. Excited by wine, and about to "deal," the colonel thrust the note into his pocket. Like the Theban polemarch, who, in the midst of a convivial party, on receiving dispatches relative to a conspiracy, refused to open them, saying, "Business to-morrow," Rall did not look at the message, but continued his amusement. Soon afterward, the roll of the American drums fell upon his drowsy ear. The rattle of musketry, the rumble of heavy gun-carriages, and the tramp of horses aroused his apprehensions, and by the time he could fly to his quarters and mount his horse, the Americans were driving his soldiers before them like chaff.¹ "Business to-day—pleasure to-morrow," is the motto of all vigilance and thrift.

"We will also restrain our Servants and Attendants who are allowed to remain with us, as far as in our power, to the same Conditions.

"Newtown, December 30th, 1776."

FAC SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES.

The following are the names, in English, in the order in which they were signed: F. Schoffer, *lieutenant colonel*; J. A. Von Hanstein, *major*; A. C. Steding, *captain*; Keller, *lieutenant*; Piel, *lieutenant*; Graebe, *ensign*; Von Zengen, *ensign*; Von Hobe, *ensign*; J. J. Malthaus, *major*; Von Biesenrodt, *captain*; Von Loewenstein, *captain*; Brubach, *captain*; Fobbe, *lieutenant*; Kinen, *lieutenant*; F. Fisher, *lieutenant of artillery*; Fleck, *ensign*; Von Drack, *ensign*; Kleinsmith, *ensign*; Schroeder, *ensign*; Carl. Fried. Füerer, *ensign, regiment Knyphausen*; Brethaur, *lieutenant colonel Rall grenadiers*. The last two officers signed each a separate parole, dated at Trenton Falls, one on the 27th, and the other on the 30th of December, 1776. Kleinsmith and Füerer afterward joined the Americans, and were hung in effigy by the British in New York.

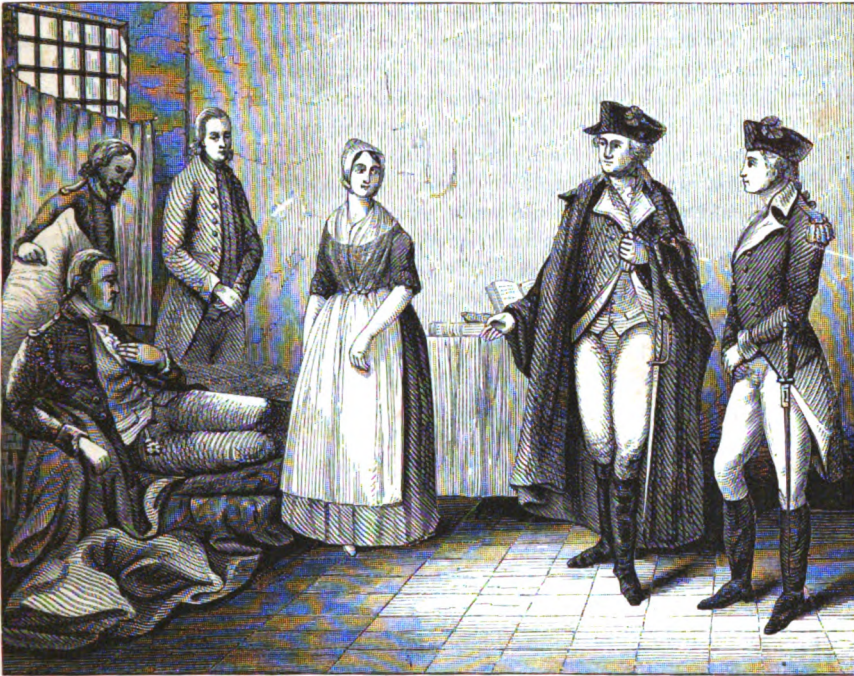
¹ Stedman (a British officer) says that the Hessians felt themselves so secure at Trenton that they neglected almost every service necessary for security. "When Rhalla," he says, "endeavored to collect his troops, many of his men were absent on pillaging parties; and those who were on the spot were more busily employed in securing their plunder in wagons than in putting the town in a proper state of defense."—*History of the American War*, i., 332.

Retreat of the Enemy from Bordentown.

Their Line of Posts broken up.

Good Effect of the Victory at Trenton.

When the British and Hessians at Bordentown heard of the disaster at Trenton, most of them retreated to Princeton, while a few fled toward South Amboy and Brunswick. Gen-



WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO COLONEL RALL.¹ (See page 229.)

erals Cadwallader and Mifflin crossed over into New Jersey, with a considerable force, and the whole line of the enemy's cantonments along the Delaware was broken up and driven into the interior. This bold stroke, resulting in brilliant success, was the hinge upon which the cause of the Americans seemed to turn. The English, who had regarded the patriots with contempt, and believed their power to be utterly broken, were overwhelmed with astonishment. The Tories and pliant Whigs, lately so exultant and loyal, were greatly alarmed and silent; while the friends of liberty, rising from the depths of despondency, stood erect in the pride and strength of their principles, and confident of ultimate complete success. The prestige of the Hessian name was broken, and the terror which they inspired, as foes invincible, passed away. The faltering militia flocked with eagerness to the standard of Washington; and many of the soldiers of the campaign, who were about to leave the army with disgust, joyfully enlisted. Cornwallis, who was on the eve of departure for England, believing the rebellion virtually at an end, was ordered back to New Jersey. General Grant, who was with the main army at New Brunswick, advanced to Princeton, and the British forces in the Jerseys were as much concentrated in the direction of Trenton as circumstances would allow.

While Washington was achieving the victory at Trenton, the Continental Congress, sitting in Baltimore, were taking measures to strengthen his hands. The extreme jealousy of a military ascendancy, which had hitherto restrained the majority in Congress from giving the commander-in-chief such ample powers as necessity manifestly demanded, now yielded

¹ This is a copy, by permission, of a picture by Flagg, in the possession of Joseph C. Potts, Esq., of Trenton. On the left is seen Generals Washington and Greene; in the center is Mrs. Potts, and near her stands her husband. On the left Colonel Rall reclines upon a couch, and behind him, supporting his pillow, is his servant. I was informed that the portrait of Rall was painted from a description given by a person who knew him, and who pronounced the likeness good, as he remembered him.

Washington made a military Dictator. He Re-crosses the Delaware to Occupy Trenton. Efficient Aid by Robert Morris.

1776. to expediency, and, by a resolution adopted on the 27th of December, before they could possibly have heard of the affair at Trenton, they constituted Washington, in all respects, a Dictator, in the old Roman sense of the term.¹

Inspired by his success at Trenton, the panic of the enemy, and their retirement from the Delaware; his army strengthened by new recruits and the junction of the militia who had guarded the lower posts on the river, Washington determined to recross the Delaware and occupy Trenton, and then make such offensive movements against the British as prudence should dictate. This he accomplished on the 30th. The term of service
December, 1776. of a large portion of the Eastern militia was now about expiring. He prevailed

on them to remain six weeks longer, by promising to each soldier a bounty of ten dollars. The military chest was not in a condition to permit him to fulfill his promise, and he wrote to Robert Morris, the great patriot financier of the Revolution, for aid, pleading the urgent necessity of the case. It was necessary to have hard money, and the sum was large. The requirement seemed almost impossible to meet. Government credit was low, but confidence in Robert Morris was unbounded. In a desponding spirit, unusual for him, Morris left his counting-room at a late hour, musing upon the probabilities of meeting the demand. On his way he met a wealthy Quaker, and made known his wants. "Robert, what security canst thou give?" asked the Quaker. "My note, and my honor," promptly replied Morris. "Thou shalt have it," was the answer; and the next morning Robert Morris wrote to Washington, "I was up early this morning to dispatch a supply of fifty thousand dollars to your excellency. It gives me great pleasure that you have engaged the troops to continue; and if further occasional supplies of money are necessary, you may depend on my exertions either in a public or private capacity."² Washington, on reaching Trenton, and advised

January 2, 1777. of the approach of Cornwallis with a strong force from Princeton, encamped on the south side of the Assanpink (now in South Trenton), upon the high ground extending eastward from a small bridge that spanned the stream. He took this position in order to place the stream between himself and the advancing enemy. The American force, one half of which was composed of undisciplined militia, was only about five thousand strong; while that of the enemy was equally large, composed almost exclusively of British regulars,

¹ The following is the preamble and resolution:

"This Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor, and uprightness of General Washington, do hereby

"Resolve, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines, and in such places, as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American army; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the Continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and return to the states of which they are citizens their names, and the nature of their offenses, together with the witnesses to prove them.

"That the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress."—*Journals of Congress*, ii., 475.

This resolve was transmitted to Washington by the committee of Congress who remained in Philadelphia when that body adjourned to Baltimore. "Happy is it for this country," they wrote to Washington, "that the general of their forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, nor property be in the least degree endangered thereby."—*MS. letter*, Dec. 31st, 1776, quoted by Sparks, iv., 552. When Congress adjourned, on the 12th, they gave Washington equal powers, but did not define them.

² Morris had sent Washington a small sum of money two days before, and these transactions are doubtless those alluded to by the writer of the life of Robert Morris, in the fifth volume of the *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, who erroneously says, that "it (the money) enabled General Washington to gain the signal victory over the hiring Hessians at Trenton," &c. The sum sent on the 28th of December was 410 Spanish dollars, two English crowns, half a French crown, and ten and a half English shillings.

Approach of Cornwallis toward Trenton. *

Battles at Trenton Bridge and the Ford.

The Americans in Peril.

thoroughly disciplined. Washington sent out strong parties, under General Greene, to harass the enemy on their march, and it was almost sunset before Cornwallis reached Trenton.

TRENTON BRIDGE AND VICINITY.³

The Americans retreated before him, and it was with difficulty that they passed over the bridge to the main army.¹ The bridge, and the ford above, where the rail-way now crosses, were strongly guarded by artillery. Cornwallis drew up his army in solid column, and, marching down Queen (now Greene) Street, attempted to force the bridge, but was three times repulsed by the American cannon. A strong detachment also attempted to cross the ford, and get in the rear of the patriots; but they, too, were forced back by the vigorous action of cannon and small-arms. The Americans kept up a heavy cannonade until dark, when the British fell back in confusion, having lost many men.² At each repulse, the Americans raised a loud shout along their lines; and at last, Cornwallis, believing their force to be much greater than it really was,

ceased hostilities, lighted his camp-fires, and awaited the morning for further movements.

Washington and his army were now in a most critical situation. It was evident that a general engagement must take place the next day, and, in such a conflict, the result in favor of the enemy could hardly be considered doubtful. The commander-in-chief, as usual, called a council of war. The alternative first proposed was a retreat down the Delaware and a passage across the river at Philadelphia, or a battle on the spot. Both were considered extremely hazardous. Washington then proposed a stealthy withdrawal from the Assanpink, and a circuitous march to Princeton, to get in the enemy's rear, beat up his quarters at that place, and, if circumstances should be favorable, to fall upon his stores at New Brunswick. This proposition was approved; but the ground, on account of a thaw, was too soft to permit an easy transit of their forty pieces of cannon. This was a serious difficulty. While the council was in session, the wind changed to the northwest, and became so exceedingly cold that within two hours the ground was as hard as a pavement: the great difficulty was overcome by a power mightier than that of man. The favorable moment was speedily improved. Along the front of his army Washington lighted numerous camp-fires, made of the fences in the neighborhood. These were evidence to the enemy that his antagonist was encamped for the night; and Cornwallis assured Sir William Erskine, who urged him to make an attack that evening, that he would certainly "catch the fox [meaning Washing-

¹ See a notice of Mr. Howland, of Providence, in connection with this event, on page 63.

² I have not met with any official account of the number killed on this occasion. A writer in the *Connecticut Journal* of January 22, 1777, says the enemy were "obliged to retreat and give over the attempt, after suffering great loss, supposed at least 150 killed." In a minute account by an eye-witness, published in the *Princeton Whig* of November 4, 1842, the writer says "the creek was nearly filled with their dead."

³ This view is from the north side of the Assanpink, a few rods above the bridge, looking south. The bridge, seen upon the right, is built of stone, and very strong, and is upon the site of the old one. The creek is curbed by a dam near the bridge, and forms the sheet of water seen in the picture. The old "Stacey Mill" of the Revolution, the largest building in the sketch, was quite dilapidated from the effects of fire and flood, when I was there. The two old houses on the left of it are of stone, covered with stucco, and were there at the time in question. On the bank, between them and the house of Mr. Timothy Abbott, seen on the extreme left, was a building used as a tavern, in the Revolution. It was demolished a few years ago. Along the high bank, from the mill eastward to the rail-way, now covered with houses and gardens, and also westward, some distance toward the Delaware, the Americans were encamped. The bank was being terraced when I visited Trenton, and will, in time, be a beautiful spot.

Cornwallis Out-generated.

March of the Americans toward Princeton.

Their Approach discovered by the Enemy.

ton] in the morning." Great was his astonishment and alarm at dawn to find the patriot camp-fires still burning, but not a man, nor hoof, nor tent, nor cannon there. All was silent and dreary on the south side of the Assanpink; and no man of the British army knew whither the Americans had fled, until the din of battle in the direction of Princeton came faintly upon the keen morning air at sunrise. Cornwallis heard the booming of cannon, and, although mid-winter, he thought it was the rumbling of distant thunder. The quick ear of Erskine decided otherwise, and he exclaimed, "To arms, general! Washington has out-generated us. Let us fly to the rescue at Princeton!"

At one o'clock in the morning Washington had silently withdrawn his army from Trenton, and made his way, along a new road,¹ toward Princeton, ten miles distant. This circuitous route was taken to avoid a detachment of the enemy lying at Maidenhead, on the direct road to Princeton. The baggage was sent down to Burlington. The commander-in-chief ordered his camp-fires to be kept burning, and the patrols to march their accustomed rounds until near daylight, when those who fed the flames, and also the patrols, were directed to retreat hastily to the main body. The movement was made with great skill and order, for the pickets of both armies on the Assanpink were within speaking distance of each other when the fires were lighted and the guards set.

Proceeding by the way of Sandtown (see map on page 228), Washington reached the upper bridge over Stony Brook, near Princeton, a little before sunrise, and arranged his column near the Quaker meeting-house. A brigade of the enemy, under Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, consisting of the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, with three troops of dragoons, had quartered in Princeton the previous night; and at the moment of Washington's arrival, two of the regiments had commenced their march for Trenton, to re-enforce Cornwallis. The main body of the Americans, after crossing Stony Brook, wheeled to the right, and advanced cautiously along a by-road, through low grounds, directly for Princeton. General Mercer, hav-

FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE.²

ing under him Captains Stone, Fleming, Neal and others, with about three hundred and fifty men, many of them youths belonging to the first families in Philadelphia, was detached to take possession of the lower bridge at Worth's Mill, on the old highway to Trenton. This movement had a three-fold object; the securing of the bridge, the interception of fugitives from Princeton, and the checking of any retrograde movement of the rear of Cornwallis's army.

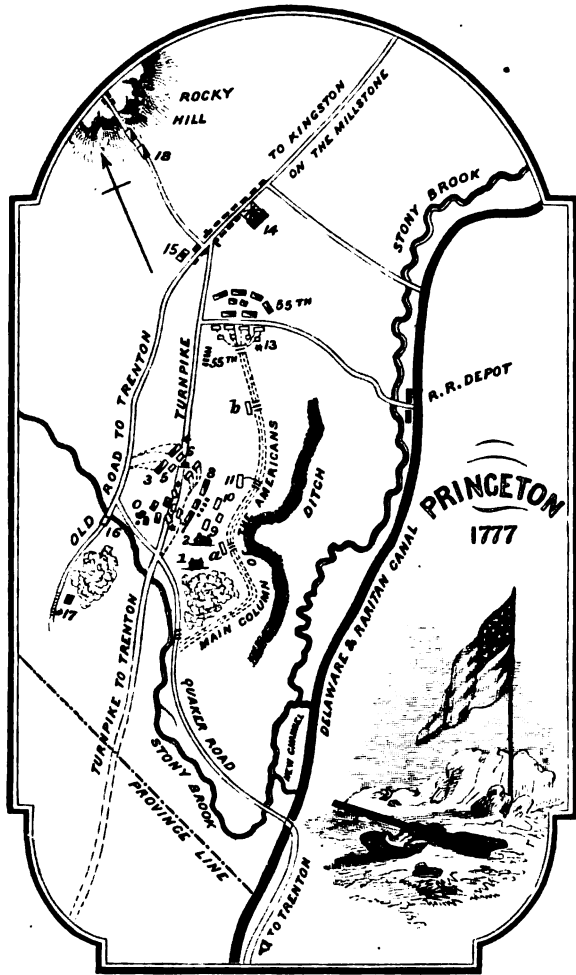
It was an exceedingly clear, cold, and brilliant morning; every thing was jeweled with the hoar frost. As the Americans emerged from behind a piece of woods a little south of the Quaker meeting-house, their arms glittering in the bright sun, they were discovered by the seventeenth regiment of the enemy, then under march upon a hill (now Millett's) on the old Trenton road. Washington observed the enemy at the same moment, and both commanders prepared for an encounter. Mawhood wheeled both his regiments and recrossed the bridge, just as Mercer, by a quick movement, reached it. Both parties, by rapid evo-

¹ The venerable Mr. Howland, of Rhode Island, already mentioned, who was with the army in this retreat, informed me that their progress was very much retarded by the stumps of trees in this new road. Many were bruised by stumbling over them, and some of the wheels of the baggage-trains were broken. This is known as the *Quaker Road*. But for this necessary slowness of march, the Americans would have reached Princeton before dawn, and very probably been able to push on and capture the British stores at New Brunswick.

² This ancient stone building (1 on the map of the Princeton battle, page 235) is yet standing, and used by the Quakers as a place of worship. This sketch is from the yard in front, looking north. The woods behind which the Americans marched, after crossing the bridge, yet remain; and Stony Brook, made subservient to the wants of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, as a feeder, is but little changed since its music was mingled with the din of battle.

First Skirmish near Princeton. Effect of British Bayonets. Dispersion of the Americans. Washington on the Field.

lutions, endeavored to get possession of the high ground on the right, toward Princeton, and westward of the house of William Clark. Mercer, with his troops, soon reached the house and orchards of Clark, a little eastward of the present turnpike, when, perceiving the British line approaching from the opposite side of the height, he pushed through the orchard to a hedge fence, from behind which his riflemen discharged a deadly volley. It was quickly returned by the enemy, who instantly charged. The Americans were armed only with rifles, and could not withstand the furious attack of British bayonets. After the third fire, they abandoned the fence, broke, and fled in disorder. The enemy pursued the flying patriots until they came to the brow of the slope, near Clark's, when, for the first time, they discovered the American column of regulars, and the Pennsylvania militia, commanded by Washington in person, advancing to the support of Mercer. The flying Americans were checked and speedily arranged in battle order. Captain Moulder's artillery formed in battery on the right of Thomas Clark's house, about a quarter of a mile south of the scene of the first conflict. Mawhood discovered the commanding form of Washington passing from column to column, and bringing order out of confusion. He immediately ceased pursuit, and, drawing up his artillery, attempted to charge and take Moulder's battery. The effort was vain. Being dreadfully galled by the grape-shot of the patriots, and perceiving Hitchcock's and another Continental regiment advancing from behind the American column, Mawhood wheeled, and retreated toward the high ground in the rear, leaving his artillery upon the field. These the Americans were unable to carry off, on account of a want of horses. The action con-



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NOTE.—This plan of the battle of Princeton I copied from a large drawing in the library of Princeton College, made from surveys by Professor Albert B. Dod, and drawn by W. A. Dod and S. B. Alexander. *Explanation of the References.*—a, head of the American column when first seen by the British; b, head of column after Mercer's engagement; c, retreat of the British; **, pursuit of the Americans; 1, Quaker meeting-house; 2, Clark's house, where Mercer died; 3, 4, the British seventeenth regiment; 5, 6, Mercer beginning the battle; 7, 8, the seventeenth attempting to dislodge Moulder; 9, 10, Pennsylvania militia under Washington; 11, Hitchcock's regiment; 13, display of Continentals; 14, Nassau Hall, or Princeton College, in the village; 15, Richard Stockton's residence, and Cornwallis's head-quarters for a time; 16, Worth's Mill, on Stony Brook; 17, Millett's, the position of the seventeenth regiment at sunrise; 18, the fortieth and fifty-fifth regiments of the British retreating, after the action, toward Rocky Hill. The rail-way station is seen upon the Delaware and Raritan Canal, southeast of Princeton village.

General Mercer mortally Wounded by Bayonets. His Bravery till the Last. Place of his Death. View of the Battle-ground.

tinued only about fifteen minutes, but was very severe. Washington was exposed to the hottest fire, while encouraging the militia by voice and example. General Mercer dismounted after the first fire, the gray horse he was riding having been disabled by a musket-ball that wounded his fore leg; and while on foot, endeavoring to rally his broken troops, he was felled to the ground by a blow from a musket dealt by a British soldier. When his rank was discovered, the enemy, believing it to be Washington, raised an exulting shout, and cried, "The rebel general is taken!" Several rushed to the spot, exclaiming, "Call for quarters, you d—d rebel!" "I am no rebel," cried Mercer, indignantly, while half a dozen bayonets were at his breast; and,



VIEW OF THE BATTLE-GROUND NEAR PRINCETON.¹

instead of calling for quarter, he determined to die fighting. He struck several blows at his enemies with his sword, when they bayoneted him and left him for dead.* Upon the retreat of the British, General Mercer was conveyed to the house of Thomas Clark (now John Clark's), then a new building, where he was tenderly nursed by the late Miss Sarah Clark, of the Society of Friends, and a colored woman belonging to the family. He languished in great pain until the 12th, when he expired in the arms of Major January, 1777.

¹ This view, looking north, is from the carriage gate of Mr. John Clarke, owner of the house in which General Mercer died, which is situated about seventy rods from the Trenton turnpike. That dwelling is represented in the foreground of the picture, on the extreme right. The distant view includes almost the whole field of action. Near the center of the picture, over the head of the dark figure, is seen the house of William Clark, and his out-buildings. The barn, a little more to the left, with a tree in front, is upon the spot from whence Mercer rushed forward to the hedge-fence. That fence was upon the line of the present turnpike, denoted in the sketch by the fence passing down the slope beyond the large tree on the extreme left. The "high ground" for which both parties were aiming, to secure advantage, is seen in the extreme distance. The dark spot between the tree in the second field and the barn denotes the spot where Mercer fell. The house of William Clark, in the distance, is about a quarter of a mile from the one in the foreground, where Mercer died. The hollow between the two houses was the space between the belligerents when Washington advanced to the support of Mercer. The place of conflict is about a mile and a quarter south of Princeton. The turnpike passes directly through it.

* The story went abroad, at that time, that General Mercer was cruelly bayoneted after he had delivered up his sword; but his dying assertion that he did not give up his weapon until he was powerless to wield it, exonerates the British soldiery from this foul accusation.

Loss of the Americans.

Death of General Mercer.

His Monument.

Skirmish near Nassau Hall in Princeton

George Lewis, a nephew of Washington, and captain of the horse guards.¹ Dr. Benjamin Rush was also with him until he died.²

The loss of the Americans in this engagement was about thirty, among whom, besides General Mercer, were Colonels Harslet and Potter, Major Morris, Captains Shippen, Fleming, and Neal, all officers of much promise. The loss of General Mercer was irreparable. He had been a companion in arms with Washington in the campaign against the French and Indians in 1755, and was greatly beloved by all. Highly educated, patriotic, brave, and noted for strict integrity, he was regarded as one of the most promising of the general officers with whom the chief was associated. He fell at the moment of victory, for the next instant the shout of success from American lips greeted his ear. Among those of the enemy, mortally wounded, was Captain William Leslie, a son of the Scotch Earl of Levin, of whom mention is made in the note on page 332, vol. i.

The broken and routed seventeenth regiment fled to the Trenton road, crossed the bridge, and hastened to join Cornwallis, who had been brought forward with great haste by the firing. Washington pushed on to Princeton, and in a ravine near the college encountered a sharp resistance from the fifty-fifth regiment. This corps was also routed, and fled toward Brunswick, accompanied by the fortieth, which took little part in the action. In the college buildings at Princeton (which, with the Presbyterian church, had been used for bar-

¹ Washington first heard that Mercer was killed on the battle-field, and it was not until he reached Somerset Court-house that he was apprised of the true situation of that officer. He immediately dispatched young Lewis, with a flag, to Cornwallis, requesting that every possible attention might be paid to the wounded general, and asking permission for Lewis to remain with him. Cornwallis cheerfully complied with the request.

² On the 14th of January, 1777, the body of General Mercer was conveyed to Philadelphia, and buried in Christ Church-yard. Over it was placed a plain marble slab, with the simple inscription, "*In memory of Gen. HUGH MERCER, who fell at Princeton, Jan. 3d, 1777.*" There his dust reposed until 1840, when his countrymen of the St. Andrew's and the Thistle Society removed his remains to Laurel Hill Cemetery, and erected a beautiful marble monument to his memory, near the chapel. The funeral ceremonies took place on the 26th of November. WILLIAM B. REED, Esq., pronounced a eulogium on the occasion. The pall was borne by Commodores Read, Biddle, and Stewart, and Colonel Miller. The First Troop of City Cavalry, which took part in the battle of Princeton, composed the guard of honor. There are no survivors of the original corps. The monument was made by John Struthers and Son, Philadelphia, and bears the following inscriptions, which give the most important incidents of his public life. *East side*, or principal front: "Dedicated to the Memory of GENERAL HUGH MERCER, who fell for the Sacred Cause of Human Liberty, and American Independence, in the Battle of Princeton. He poured out his blood for a Generous Principle." *West side*: "GENERAL MERCER, a Physician of Fredericksburg, in Virginia, was distinguished for his skill and learning, his gentleness and decision, his refinement and humanity, his elevated honor, and his devotion to the great cause of Civil and Religious Liberty." *North side*: "GENERAL MERCER, a native of Scotland, was an assistant Surgeon in the Battle of Culloden, and the companion of



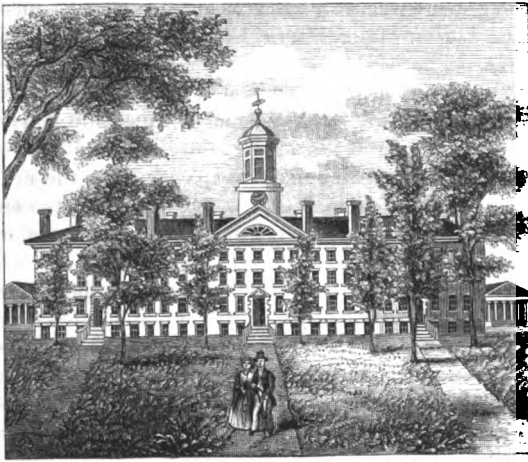
MONUMENT TO GENERAL MERCER.

WASHINGTON in the Indian Wars of 1755 and 1756. He received a *Medal* from the Corporation of Philadelphia, for his courage and conduct in the Expedition against the Indian Settlement of Kittanning."* *South side*: "The St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia offer this humble tribute to the memory of an illustrious BROTHER. When a grateful posterity shall bid the trophied memorial rise to the martyrs who sealed with their blood the charter of an Empire's liberties, there shall not be wanted a monument to him whom WASHINGTON mourned as the worthy and brave MERCER." General Mercer was about fifty-six years of age when he was slain.

* Dr. Mercer resided at Fredericksburg when the Revolution broke out. He espoused the cause, left his profession, commanded three regiments of minute-men in 1775, and in 1776 drilled and organized large bodies of Virginia militia. On the 5th of June, 1776, Congress gave him the commission of a brigadier. Congress resolved (see Journals, iii., 96) that a monument should be erected to his memory at Fredericksburg, and that his youngest son should be educated at the expense of the Republic. The monument is yet to be erected. The son (Colonel Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg) was educated, and yet survives, at the age of about fourscore.

Destruction of the King's Portrait in Nassau Hall. Prisoners taken. Skirmish at Worth's Mills. Cornwallis at Princeton.

racks by the enemy) there remained a portion of a regiment. Washington drew up some cannon within a short distance of these buildings, and commenced firing upon them. The



NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON COLLEGE.

first ball, it is said, entered the prayer hall, a room used as a chapel, and passed through the head of a portrait of George the Second, suspended in a large frame upon the wall. After a few discharges, Captain James Moore, of the Princeton militia, with a few others of equal daring, burst open a door of Nassau Hall, and demanded the surrender of the troops within. They instantly complied, and, with several invalids, were made prisoners.

At the close of the action at Clark's, where Mawhood, with the seventeenth, was routed, Washington detached a small party, under Major Kelley, of the Pennsylvania militia, to destroy the bridge over Stony Brook, at Worth's

Mills. They had scarcely begun the work of destruction when the van, of the British troops, advancing from Trenton upon Princeton, appeared upon the hill at Millett's. Cornwallis heard the firing in the direction of Princeton, and suspecting the object of his enemy to be the seizure of his stores at New Brunswick, he made a forced march in pursuit, and arrived near Stony Brook just after the first and decisive battle had been fought. When the British discovered the party engaged in demolishing the bridge, they opened upon them a discharge of heavy round-shot, which drove them away; not, however, until the loose planks were thrown into the stream, and the bridge was rendered impassable for the artillery and baggage. Delay was dangerous, perhaps fatal, and Cornwallis ordered the troops to dash into and ford the swollen stream.¹

It was almost breast-deep, and half filled with ice; yet the soldiers obeyed, and, in their mail of frozen clothes, hastened on toward Princeton. When near the town, the advanced guard was brought to a halt by the discharge of an iron thirty-two-pounder, which the enemy had left on a temporary breast-work at the west end of the village.² Cornwallis, apprehending that Washington had determined to make a stand at Princeton, halted his column, and sent out reconnoitering parties of horsemen. In the mean while, a large detachment approached the



BRIDGE AT WORTH'S MILLS.³

¹ Major Kelley continued cutting away a portion of the bridge while the balls of the enemy were menacing his life. He was cutting away a log on which some of the timbers rested, when it gave way sooner than was expected, and he was precipitated into the stream. His men, supposing him to be lost, fled to Princeton. He got out of the water; but his frozen clothes and exhaustion so retarded his progress, that he was made a prisoner by the enemy.

² This cannon is now in the center of the Campus, in the rear of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. It was one of the pieces which Washington was unable to carry away with him.

³ This substantial stone bridge, over Stony Brook, is upon the site of the wooden one destroyed on the 3d of January, 1777. The old mill on the left is now owned by Josiah S. Worth, a son of the proprietor during the Revolution. This sketch was made from the road on the bank of the stream, along which Mercer and his detachment marched to secure the bridge.

Disappointment of the Enemy.

The Loss sustained.

Washington's Pursuit.

Fatigue of the Americans.

battery cautiously, intending to take it by storm. These movements delayed them an hour, and when they arrived at the breast-work and the village, great was their astonishment and chagrin to find both deserted, and not a *rebel* in sight! Washington, with his little army and prisoners, was far on his way toward the Millstone River, in hot pursuit of the fortieth and fifty-fifth regiments.

The battle at Princeton and its results, following closely upon the brilliant affair at Trenton, produced a strong impression upon the public mind favorable to the commander-in-chief and the patriot cause. Considering the numbers engaged, it was one of the severest conflicts of the war, and in no engagement did the skill and bravery of both parties appear more conspicuously. The enemy lost about one hundred in killed, and three hundred in wounded and prisoners. The loss of the Americans was about one hundred, including several valuable officers. Never was a general more exposed to death than was Washington, when leading the troops to the support of Mercer's riflemen; yet he escaped without a wound.¹

Washington pursued the fugitive regiments as far as Kingston, beyond the Millstone River, three miles northeast of Princeton. There he held a council of war with his officers, on horseback. The rich prize at New Brunswick was very tempting, and a wish was generally expressed to continue the march thither and secure the British stores. Such a step would have been fatal; for Cornwallis, with fresh troops, and superior in numbers, was in close pursuit; while the Americans, who had fought at Trenton on the 2d, marched all night before the battle of Princeton on the 3d, and had not slept for thirty-six hours, were completely exhausted. More than half of them had not been able to procure breakfast or dinner; many were destitute of shoes or stockings, and in every way were utterly unable to contend with an enemy. To save his army, Washington filed off on the left, at Kingston, along a narrow road running to Rocky Hill. He destroyed the bridge at Kingston, which checked the progress of Cornwallis for some time, and, after having crossed the Millstone twice, he reached Pluckemin that evening. On the way, overcome by fatigue, many soldiers laid down and slept on the frozen ground. Washington remained no longer at Pluckemin than to give his troops rest and refreshments, and then advanced to Morristown, where he established his winter quarters. His subsequent movements, by which New Jersey was soon purged of the enemy, are mentioned on page 307, vol. i.

Cornwallis repaired, and then crossed the bridge at Kingston, and, believing Washington to be on the road to New Brunswick, pushed eagerly forward—so eagerly, over the rough

¹ Mr. Custis, in his *Recollections of the Life and Character of Washington*, gives a graphic picture of the scene when the commander-in-chief brought the militia and riflemen into action. "The discomfited Americans rally on the instant, and form into line. The enemy halt, and dress their line. The American chief is between the adverse posts, as though he had been placed there a target for both. The arms of both are leveled. Can escape from death be possible? Fitzgerald (Washington's aid), horror-struck at the death of his beloved commander, dropped the reins upon his horse's neck, and drew his hat over his face, that he might not see him die. A roar of musketry succeeds, and then a shout. It was the shout of victory. The aid-de-camp ventures to raise his eyes. Oh, glorious sight! the enemy are broken and flying; while dimly, amid the glimpses of the smoke, is seen the chief alive, unharmed, and without a wound, waving his hat, and cheering his comrades to the pursuit. Colonel Fitzgerald, celebrated as one of the finest horsemen in the American army, now dashed his rowels in his charger's flanks, and, heedless of the dead and dying in his way, flew to the side of the chief, exclaiming, 'Thank God! your excellency is safe!' while the favorite aid, a gallant and warm-hearted son of Erin, a man of thews and sinews (and albeit unused to the melting mood), gave loose to his feelings, and wept like a child, for joy. Washington, ever calm amid scenes of the greatest excitement, affectionately grasped the hand of his aid and friend, and then ordered, 'Away, my dear colonel, and bring up the troops; the day is our own!'"



Capture of British Baggage-wagons. Evacuation of New Jersey by the British. Estimate of Washington's Character in Europe.

and frozen roads, that several of his baggage-wagons were broken down. Leaving them in charge of a detachment of between two and three hundred men,¹ he pressed onward, and reached New Brunswick at sunset. Again the Americans had eluded his pursuit; yet he rejoiced in the safety of his stores.

The armed parties frequently sent out by Washington from his hill-quarters were generally successful, and the people, incensed at the bad faith of the English and the depredations of the Hessians, joined the Americans in all their expeditions. The British quarters were straitened, their supplies were cut off, and in a short time New Jersey was evacuated by the enemy. Alluding to these results, the eloquent Charles Botta observes, "Achievements so stirring gained for the American commander a very great reputation, and were regarded with wonder by all nations, as well as by the Americans. The prudence, constancy, and noble intrepidity of Washington was admired and applauded by all. By unanimous consent he was declared to be the savior of his country; all proclaimed him equal to the most renowned commanders of antiquity, and especially distinguished him by the name of the AMERICAN FABIUS. His name was in the mouths of all; he was celebrated by the pens of the most distinguished writers. The most illustrious personages of Europe lavished upon him their praises and their congratulations."² The American general, therefore, wanted neither a cause full of grandeur to defend, nor occasion for the acquisition of glory, nor genius to avail himself of it, nor the renown due to his triumphs, nor an entire generation of men perfectly well disposed to render him homage."

Washington exercised the dictatorial powers which Congress had conferred upon him with energy and great circumspection, and with a single eye to the good of his country. His recommendations were promptly seconded by Congress, and soon great vitality was visible every where. He took care to provide for meritorious officers in his appointments, when organizing the sixteen battalions authorized by Congress. At that time public clamor was strong against Dr. Morgan,³ the successor of the traitor, Church, as head of the medical de-

¹ A small company of fifteen or twenty militia, having learned the situation of this baggage, resolved to capture it. After dark, they arranged themselves among the trees, in a semicircular form, around the place where the soldiers were guarding their wagons, and, on a concerted signal, they set up a tremendous shout, and commenced firing. The British, believing the assailants to be as strong in numbers as themselves, and taken completely by surprise, retreated with a few of the wagons that were fit for traveling, and fled to New Brunswick. Those left behind were taken to the American camp, and found to contain, what the army greatly needed, woolen clothes.

² It is said that Frederic the Great of Prussia declared that the achievements of Washington and his little band of compatriots, between the 25th of December and the 4th of January, were the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievements.

³ Morgan afterward procured an inquiry into his conduct by a committee of Congress, and was honorably acquitted. Doctor JOHN MORGAN was born in Philadelphia in 1735. He completed his medical studies under Dr. Redman, and entered the army as surgeon and lieutenant during the French and Indian war.

John Morgan

He went to Europe, to prosecute his studies, in 1760, where he attended the lectures of the celebrated Hunter. He was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1764. He returned to Philadelphia in 1765, and was elected professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the medical school founded by Dr. Shippen and others. He was ever active in

literary and scientific projects. He was appointed by Congress director general and physician-in-chief to the general hospital in 1775, in place of Dr. Church, and immediately repaired to head-quarters at Cambridge. He was removed from office, without just cause, in 1777.* He died October 15, 1789, aged about fifty-four years. Dr. Benjamin Rush was his successor in the professor's chair.

* The following are the names of the principal officers in the medical department, appointed on the 11th of April, 1777: *William Shippen, Jun.*, director general; *Walter Jones*, physician general of the hospital in the middle department; *Benjamin Rush*, surgeon general of the hospital in the middle department; *John Cockran*, physician and surgeon general of the army in the middle department; *Isaac Forster*, deputy director general of the hospital in the eastern department; *Amini Ruhannah Cutter*, physician general of the hospital in the eastern department; *Philip Turner*, surgeon general of the same; *William Burnet*, physician and surgeon general of the army in the eastern department; *Jonathan Potts*, deputy director general of the hospital in the northern department; *Malachi Treat*, physician general of the same; *Dr. Forgue*, surgeon general of the same; *John Bartlett*, physician and surgeon general of the army in the northern department.

Appointment of general Officers for the Continental Army.

Its Reorganization.

Visit to the Princeton Battle-ground.

partment, and he was dismissed by Congress, and Dr. Shippen,¹ of Philadelphia, January 9,
1777.
was appointed in his place, with Dr. Craik² as his assistant.

On the 19th of February, Stirling, St. Clair, Lincoln, Mifflin, and Stephen were 1777.
commissioned as major generals; while Arnold, on account of his conduct at Mont-
real, where he obeyed the injunction "put money in thy purse," at the expense of honor
and honesty, was overlooked. This soured him, and doubtless planted the first noxious seed
of treason in his heart. During the spring, eighteen new brigadiers³ were commissioned.
Four regiments of horse were enlisted, under Colonels Bland, Baylor, Sheldon, and Moylan.
Cadwallader and Reed were both, in turn, offered the general command of the horse, but
declined. Timothy Pickering was appointed adjutant general in the place of Joseph Reed,
who had resigned. Mifflin remained at the head of the quarter-master's department, which
was regulated, and more thoroughly organized by the appointment of subalterns. Congress
attempted to reorganize the commissary department, and claimed the right to make subor-
dinate appointments. So much did this new arrangement interfere with the efficiency of
the department, that Joseph Trumbull, Jun., commissary general, resigned. The meddling
of Congress with the smaller appointments and the minute affairs of chief officers in the
various departments of the army, was very mischievous in effect; for the personal friends
of members of that body, often incompetent, were appointed to places requiring talent, en-
ergy, and honesty. On the whole, however, the army was upon a better footing in the
spring of 1777 than it had ever been.

I visited Princeton and the battle-grounds subsequently to my tarry at Trenton when on
my way south. It was a very cold evening in December when I arrived there December 12,
1849.
from Philadelphia, the snow about ten inches deep upon the ground. Early
the next morning, in company with Colonel Cumming of Princeton, who kindly offered to
accompany me, I rode first to the battle-ground and Clark's house, where General Mer-
cer died, and made the sketch on page 236. The air was very keen, and the snow half-
knee-deep, circumstances which were quite unfavorable to deliberate sketching in the open
fields. I persevered, however, and was successful in delineating such objects as I desired.
From Clark's house we crossed the fields to the Quaker meeting-house, and then rode to
the bridge at Worth's Mills, where I made the sketch on page 238. Returning to Prince-
ton on the old Trenton road, we met Mr. Worth, an aged man, and present proprietor of

¹ WILLIAM SHIPPEN was a graduate of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, in the class of 1754. He completed his medical education at Edinburgh. He delivered the first lectures on anatomy ever pronounced in America, at Philadelphia, in 1764; and on the finishing of the medical school in that city, he was appointed its first professor of anatomy, in 1765. He first addressed ten students;* he lived to address two hundred and fifty at one time. He was appointed director general of the medical department on the 11th of April, 1777. He resigned his professorship in the medical college, in 1806, into the hands of his colleague, Dr. Wistar. Dr. Shippen died at Germantown, July the 11th, 1808, aged seventy-four years.

² JAMES CRAIK was a native of Scotland. He accompanied Washington in the expedition against the French and Indians in 1754; and in 1755 was with Braddock, and assisted in dressing his wounds. He was director general of the hospital at the siege of Yorktown, in 1781. After the war, Washington invited him to settle near Mount Vernon, and he was the physician of the patriot chief until his death. He died in Fairfax county, Virginia, February 6, 1814, aged eighty-three years.

³ These were *Poor*, of New Hampshire; *Glover*, *Paterson*, and *Learned*, of Massachusetts; *Varnum*, of Rhode Island; *Jedediah Huntington*, of Connecticut; *George Clinton*, of New York; *Wayne*, *De Hass*, *Cadwallader*, *Hand*, and *Reed*, of Pennsylvania; *Weeden*, *Muhlenburg*, *Woodford*, and *Scott*, of Virginia; *Nash*, of North Carolina; and *Conway*, an Irishman by birth, but a Frenchman by education.

* Dr. Shippen experienced a great deal of persecution when he first commenced his lectures on anatomy, a good deal of feeling against him having been excited by the utterance of horrid tales respecting his dissections. The public mind was filled with ideas such as made the burden of the *Ghost's Complaint*:

"The body-snatchers! they have come
And made a snatch at me;
It's very hard them kind of men
Won't let a body be!

Don't go to weep upon my grave,
And think that there I be;
They haven't left an atom there
Of my anatomy!"



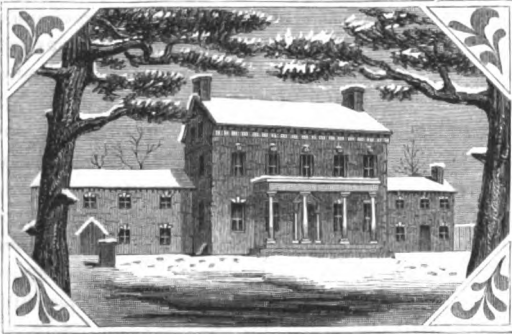
Morven, Stockton's Estate.

Desolated by the British.

Sufferings and Death of the Owner.

Annis Stockton.

the mill, who gave me a narrative of events there, substantially as related. We stopped at Morven, in the suburbs of Princeton. This is the homestead estate of Commodore Stockton, and the residence, during the Revolution, of his paternal grandfather, Richard Stockton,

MORVEN.¹

one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. There, affluence and taste lent its power in dispensing its blessings to the poor, and in creating the joys of social intercourse, before the Revolution; there, suffering and woe held terrible rule after Cornwallis and his army swept over the plains of New Jersey. Like others of the signers of the great Declaration, Mr. Stockton was marked for peculiar vengeance by the enemy. So suddenly did the flying Americans pass by in the autumn of 1776, and so soon were the Hessian vultures and their British com-

panions on the trail, that he had barely time to remove his family to a place of safety before his beautiful mansion was filled with rude soldiery. The house was pillaged; the horses and stock were driven away; the furniture was converted into fuel; the choice old wines in the cellar were drank; the valuable library and all the papers of Mr. Stockton were committed to the flames, and the estate was laid waste. The plate had been hastily buried in the woods, in boxes. A treacherous servant revealed their place of concealment, and two of the boxes were disinterred and rifled of their contents; the other was saved.² Mr. Stockton and his family took refuge with a friend in Monmouth county. His place of concealment was discovered by a party of refugee Loyalists, who entered the house at night, dragged him from his bed, and, treating him with every indignity which malice could invent, hurried him to Amboy, and from thence to New York, where he was confined in the loathsome provost jail. There he suffered dreadfully; and when, through the interposition of Congress, he was released, his constitution was hopelessly shattered, and he did not live to see the independence of his country achieved. He died at *Morven*, in Princeton, in February, 1781, blessed to the last with the tender and affectionate attentions of his Annis, whom he called "the best of women."³ Night and day she was at his bed-side, and when his spirit was about to depart, she wrote, impromptu, several verses, of which the following is indicative of her feelings:

"Oh, could I take the fate to him assign'd,
And leave the helpless family their head,
How pleased, how peaceful to my lot resign'd,
I'd quit the nurse's station for the bed!"

Morven is a beautiful spot, and, hallowed by such associations, it is exceedingly attractive to the resident and stranger.

¹ This sketch is from the lawn in front, which is shaded by venerable pines and other ornamental trees. The mansion stands upon level grounds, beautifully laid out, having carriage entrances from the street. Every thing was covered with snow when I was there, and dreariness prevailed where summer charms delight the visitor.

² Mrs. Ellett, in an interesting biography of Annis Stockton, the wife of the signer, says that Mrs. Field, her daughter, now residing in Princeton, has several pieces of silver that were in this box. She also relates that when Mrs. Stockton (who was quite a literary lady) heard of the destruction of the library, she remarked that there were two books in it she would like to have saved—the Bible, and Young's Night Thoughts. Tradition says that these two books were the only ones left. Mrs. Field has in her possession the original portraits of her father and mother. Both were pierced with bayonets.—*Women of the Revolution*, iii., 16.

³ A biographical sketch of Mr. Stockton may be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, printed in the Appendix. His portrait is in the frontispiece of this volume.

Nassau Hall.	Governor Belcher's Donation.	Rittenhouse's Planetarium.	Life of its Inventor.
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Nassau Hall, the principal edifice of the College of New Jersey, is a spacious building, one hundred and seventy-six feet long, fifty wide, and four stories high, built of stone. It was erected in 1757. The college was commenced by Jonathan Dickinson, in Elizabethtown, and was first incorporated in 1756. Governor Belcher was one of its earliest and most efficient patrons. He made "generous donation of his library of books," with other valuable ornaments," to the college; and, upon his recommendation, Nassau Hall was so called in memory "of the glorious King William the Third, who was a branch of the illustrious house of NASSAU." The Hall stands in the center of spacious grounds, fronting on the principal street in Princeton. The edifice on the left of Nassau Hall, containing the college library and the philosophic hall, was erected after a conflagration in 1802. The library contains about eight thousand volumes, and the libraries of two societies of the institution about four thousand more, making twelve thousand volumes. There is also a mineralogical cabinet, a museum of natural history, and a fine collection of drawings made for the purpose of elucidating lectures on astronomy and architecture. There is also a good collection of philosophical apparatus there, which includes that wonderful piece of scientific mechanism, the planetarium of Doctor David Rittenhouse.¹ Through the politeness of Professor MacLean, I was permitted to examine its construction, and view the wonderful precision with which the machinery performed its difficult functions. On the front is inscribed, "INVENTED BY DAVID RITTENHOUSE, A.D. 1768; REPAIRED AND EXTENDED BY HENRY VOIGHT, 1806; BOTH OF PHILADELPHIA." Dr. Gordon, writing in 1790, says of this planetarium, "There is not the like in Europe. An elegant and neatly-ornamented frame rises perpendicular near upon eight feet, in the front of which you are presented, in three several apartments, with a view of the celestial system, the motions of the planets around the sun, and the satellites about the planets. The wheels, &c., that produce the movement are behind the wooden perpendicular frame in which the orrery is fixed. By suitable contrivances, you in a short time tell the eclipses of the sun and moon for ages past and ages to come; the like in other cases of astronomy." It is said that it was Lord Cornwallis's intention to carry this planetarium away, and take it to England with him; but the Americans kept him too busily engaged in affairs of greater personal moment, while in Princeton, to permit him to plunder the college of this great treasure. This intention on the part of an enemy was not as reprehensible as the proposition which Silas Deane, the American commissioner, made, who suggested the propriety of presenting it to the French government as a bonus for its good will!

I have mentioned that the first cannon-ball which entered Nassau Hall, when Washington opened a fire upon it, passed through the portrait of George the Second, and destroyed it. The frame was uninjured, and left suspended upon the wall. It is alleged that Wash-

¹ It consisted of four hundred and seventy-four volumes, many of them very rare and of great value. The Hall being used alternately by the American and British troops during the war, a large portion of the books were purloined or destroyed. The few that remained were destroyed by fire in 1802, when the Hall was burned, leaving nothing but the strong walls, which were not materially injured by the fire.

² David Rittenhouse was born near Germantown, Pennsylvania, on the 8th of April, 1732. His ancestors were from Holland. His early life was spent in agricultural pursuits, and was marked by a love of mathematical studies. Feeble health would not allow him to pursue the labor of a farm, and he became, by self-instruction, a proficient clock and mathematical instrument maker. It was while working at his trade he planned and executed his orrery, a piece of mechanism far superior, for its intended purposes, to any thing before constructed. It was purchased by the College of New Jersey. Another was made by him, after the same model, for the College of Philadelphia. He pursued his trade in that city for several years. His first philosophical publication was an account of his calculations of the transit of Venus, as it was to happen on the 3d of June, 1769. He observed the phenomenon, a spectacle never seen but twice before by an inhabitant of earth, and he was so much affected by its proof of the accuracy of his calculations, that he fainted. He was engaged in government surveys, fixing territorial boundaries, &c., during the Revolution, and became one of the leading practical philosophers of the day. On the death of Franklin in 1791, he was chosen president of the Philosophical Society, which office he held by annual election until his death. He was treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1777 to 1789. In 1792 he was appointed director of the Mint of the United States, but his ill health compelled him to resign the office in 1795. He died on the 26th of June, 1796, aged sixty-four years. His birth-place is yet standing, a mile west of Germantown.

Portraits of Washington and Mercer by Peale.

Character of the *College of New Jersey*.

White Hall.

ington, in order to make good to the college the damage sustained by the cannonade, made the trustees a present, from his private purse, of two hundred and fifty dollars, which sum



PEALE'S WASHINGTON.

they expended in procuring a full-length portrait of the commander-in-chief. It was painted by Charles Wilson Peale, and occupies the identical frame in which hung the king's portrait. The annexed sketch is an outline of this interesting picture. In the back-ground is seen Nassau Hall, and in the middle and fore-ground a sketch of the battle of Princeton, in which the death of Mercer is represented. The portrait of Mercer there given was painted from his brother, who sat for it, and who greatly resembled him. It was considered a good likeness by those who knew the general. The portrait given below I copied from Peale's picture, in which I have preserved the languid expression of a wounded man, as given him by the artist. On the left is seen a portion of the skirt of Washington's coat, and his chapeau. Many pleasing memories crowd upon the mind of the visitor to this ancient seat of learning, where so large a number of the active young men of the Revolution who lived in the Middle States were educated. Under the guidance of the learned and patriotic Dr. Witherspoon, who in the pulpit, academic hall, or legislative forum, was the champion of good,

it was the nursery of patriots. He was a lineal descendant of John Knox, the great English reformer, and, like that bold ancestor, he never shrunk from the post of danger, if called to it by duty. Like *Yale* under Daggett, and *Harvard* under Langdon, the *College of New Jersey*, under Witherspoon, made its influence felt in the council and the field during the war for independence.

Of the meetings of Congress at Princeton in 1783, and the Farewell Address of General Washington to the armies of the United States, written at Rocky Hill, a few miles distant, I shall hereafter write. Let us now return to Trenton.

As I hoped and anticipated, the storm that came down so furiously, on my return from M-Conkey's Ferry, subsid-

ed during the night, and the morning sun came forth, only half hidden by broken clouds. Accompanied by Mr. Smythe, my companion on the previous day when I visited the ferry, I went out early to view and sketch localities of interest about Trenton, all of which are given in preceding pages, except "White Hall," a large stone building, standing on the south side of Front Street. This was used for barracks by the Hessians during their occupancy of Trenton in 1776.



"WHITE HALL."



GENERAL MERCER.

The Floral Arch in Honor of Washington.

His triumphal Journey.

His Reception by the Ladies at Trenton.

I called upon Stacey G. Potts, Esq., who kindly permitted me to copy a picture in his possession, painted by G. W. Flagg, and illustrating the interesting scene of the capture of Emily Gieger, an incident of one of Greene's Southern campaigns. The picture and narrative will be found in another part of this work. Mr. Potts informed me that the floral arch erected in honor of Washington, while on his way from Mount Vernon to New York city to take the oath of office as President of the United States, was erected upon the bridge over the Assanpink, close by the "Stacey Mill," seen in the picture on page 233. The arch was preserved on the premises of the Misses Barnes, near the Episcopal church in Warren Street, until 1824, when it was placed in front of the State House to grace the reception of La Fayette. Remains of the arch, when I visited Trenton, were in the possession of Dr. Francis Ewing of that city, and supported the branches of a venerable rose-bush in his garden. With a notice of the events connected with that arch we will close the historic volume and bid adieu to Trenton.

The journey of Washington from Mount Vernon to New York was like a triumphal march. He had hardly left his porter's lodge, when he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who escorted him to that town. Every where the people gathered to see him as he passed along the road, and every town sent out its first citizens to meet him on his approach. Entertainments were given in his honor, and public addresses were received by him and answers returned. Militia companies escorted him from place to place, and his approach to the principal cities was announced by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. At Trenton, his reception was of a peculiar nature, full of pure sentiment and the most loyal patriotism. There, a little more than twelve years before, one of his most brilliant military feats was achieved, and it was a fitting place for an unusual display of respect and reverence. The ladies took the matter in hand, and upon Trenton Bridge they caused to be erected an arch, which they adorned with laurel leaves and flowers from the forests and their hot-houses, and the first spring contributions from their gardens. Upon the crown of the arch, in large letters, formed of leaves and flowers, were the words "DECEMBER 26th, 1776;" and on the sweep beneath was the sentence, also formed of flowers, "THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS." Beneath this arch the president elect was obliged to pass on entering Trenton. There he was met by a troop of females. On one side a row of little girls, dressed in white, and each bearing a basket of flowers, were arranged; on the other side stood a row of young ladies similarly arrayed, and behind them were the married ladies. The moment Washington and his suite approached the arch, the little girls began to strew flowers in the road, and the whole company of the fair sang the following ode, written for the occasion by Governor Howell:¹

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore.
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at THEE the fatal blow

"Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arm did save,
Build for THEE triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your HERO's way with flowers!"

After passing the arch, the general turned his horse's head toward the choir, and listened to this tribute of sweet voices with much emotion. After receiving the salutations of the citizens, Washington handed to the Reverend J. F. Armstrong a note acknowledging his

¹ Governor Richard Howell was a native of Delaware. He commanded a New Jersey regiment from 1776 to 1779, when, in consequence of a new arrangement of the army, he resumed the profession of the law. In 1788 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, which office he held until June, 1793, when he was chosen governor of the state. To this office he was elected eight years successively. He died, April 28th, 1802, aged forty-seven years.

Interest of the Scene.	Washington's Note to the Ladies.	Reflections.	Grave of Mr. Armstrong.
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obligations to the ladies of Trenton.¹ The whole scene was one of exceeding interest. A hundred-fold more glorious was that arch, erected by such hands, to greet the presence of such a hero, than the gorgeous triumphal arches under which passed the blood-stained Roman conquerors, with their pageants of misery, and the rich spoils of desolated kingdoms. It was the tribute of the pure in heart to the truly great—

“Great, not like Cæsar, stain’d with blood,
But only great as he was good.”

¹ The following is a copy of the note :

“General Washington can not leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments to the matrons and young ladies who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the triumphal arch in Trenton, and for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment. The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed choir* who met him with the congratulatory song, has made such an impression upon his remembrance as, he assures them, will never be effaced.

“Trenton, April 21, 1789.”

This note was read to the ladies, who were called together at the house of Judge Smith, and then deposited in the hands of that gentleman's wife. It passed into the hands of Miss Lydia Imlay, his adopted daughter, who preserved it with great care until just before her death, when she gave it to the late Chief-justice Ewing. It was placed in a handsome frame, and is now a precious relic in possession of his family.

The grave of Mr. Armstrong is in the old burial-ground of the Presbyterian church at Trenton. Upon his plain monument is the following inscription :

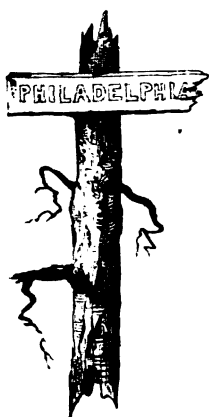
“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. JAMES FRANCIS ARMSTRONG, thirty years a pastor of the church at Trenton, in union with the church at Maidenhead. Born in Maryland, of pious parents, he received the elements of his classical education under the Rev. John Blair, finished his collegiate studies in the *College of New Jersey*, under the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, and was licensed to preach the *Gospel* in the year 1777. An ardent patriot, he served through the *War of Independence* as chaplain. In 1790 he was chosen a trustee of the *College of New Jersey*. A warm and constant friend, a devout Christian, a tender husband and parent, steady in his attentions on the judicatories of the Church, throughout life he was distinguished as a fervent and affectionate minister of the *Gospel*, and resigned his *soul* to his *Creator* and *Redeemer* on the 19th of January, 1816. ‘Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.’ Amen! Even so come, Lord Jesus.”

Departure from Trenton.	Buck's County.	St. Tammany.	Old Villages.	Frankford.
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CHAPTER X.

"Th' autumnal glories all have pass'd away!
 The forest leaves no more in hectic red
 Give glowing tokens of their brief decay,
 But scatter'd lie, or rustle to the tread,
 Like whisper'd warnings from the moldering dead.
 The naked trees stretch out their arms all day,
 And each bald hill-top lifts its reverend head
 As if for some new covering to pray."

MRS. E. C. KINNEY.



HE sun was shining in its noontide glory when I crossed the great Trenton Bridge over the Delaware to Morrisville, and reined my horse to the right into the Falsington road, for Philadelphia, twenty-eight miles distant. Unlike a summer rain, the storm developed no new beauties in the fields and orchards, but "a mantle dun" continued to overspread the landscape, and a cold north wind was heralding the approach of winter. I was now in the fertile region of "old Bucks" in Pennsylvania, and with a loose rein traversed the gentle undulating country over which the Continental battalions often marched and countermarched. It was the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British—the departure of the last hostile foot from our free shores. The mind, laden with the associations of the place and hour, its soul-stirring thoughts kept me such entertaining company, that the sun went down, and I entered the suburban district of Kensington, in the "Northern Liberties" of Philadelphia,

November 25,
1783.

before I was fairly conscious that a dozen miles had been traveled. It was but little more than four hours' journey with my strong and vigorous horse.

After leaving Falsington, the traveler obtains frequent glimpses of the Delaware and its white sails, on the left. The several small villages on the way (Falsington, Hulmeville, and Frankford being the largest) bear marks, in their dwellings, of considerable antiquity, if that word may properly be applied to American edifices. Many of them are small, steep-roofed stone houses, with little windows and wide doors, built before the war of the Revolution broke out, and presenting a great contrast with the New England villages, which seem as if just finished, with the white paint scarcely dry. It was almost sunset when I arrived at Frankford, quite a large town upon the Tacony Creek, five miles northeast of

¹ Tradition currently reports that the renowned Indian chief *Tamene*, or *St. Tammany*, was buried near a spring about three and a half miles west of Doylestown, in this county. He was an unequalled chief among the Delawares. Heckewelder says that when Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, visited the Western Indians, by order of Congress, in 1776, he was so beloved for his goodness, that the Delawares conferred upon him the name of their venerated chief. Morgan brought back to the whites such glowing accounts of the qualities of that ancient chief, that in the Revolutionary war he was dubbed a saint, and his name was placed on some calendars. He was called by politicians, *St. Tammany*, and established as the patron saint of republican America. Tammany societies were organized, and Tammany halls dedicated, and on the 1st of May (the festival of the saint), meetings of the societies were held. "On that day," says Beckewelder, "numerous societies of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with bucks' tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town, which they called the *wigwam*, where, after a long talk, or Indian speech, had been delivered, and the calumet of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth." The Tammany Society of New York is yet in existence. Its meetings are held regularly at Tammany Hall, on the east side of the City Hall Park.

Revolutionary Events at Frankford.

Kensington.

Arrival in Philadelphia.

Christ Church and its Sounding-board.

Philadelphia. Here the Americans kept quite a strong picket, during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British in 1777-8, after the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Near here was stationed the fine corps of light infantry guards under Colonel Twistleton (afterward Lord Say and Sele); and here, also, the active partisan corps called the *Queen's Rangers*, under Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe (afterward Governor of Canada), was recruited, and disciplined by actual service.

In November, 1777, the Rangers, in concert with Major Gwyn, attempted to surprise the American post at Frankford. They approached the town cautiously, and rushing in, expected to secure prisoners and booty; but the patriots had temporarily withdrawn. Some days afterward, another attempt to take the post was made. An American officer and twenty men were made prisoners. They were raw and undisciplined militia. Each man had the countersign, *Richmond*, written with chalk in his hat that he might not forget it. Soon after capturing these men, a patrol of cavalry, under Major Gwyn, which had pursued a party toward Bristol, came retreating in great confusion. They had been attacked, both in front and rear, by a troop of horsemen under Count Pulaski. Thoroughly alarmed, the whole British force at Frankford crossed the Tacony, and returned in haste to Philadelphia.

Parties of the *Queen's Rangers* were almost every day at Frankford, where the Americans did not keep a fixed post. Simcoe had trained his men to quick and energetic movements with the bayonet, and his standing order was, "Take as many prisoners as possible, but never destroy life unless absolutely necessary." On one occasion, a patrolling party of the Rangers approached Frankford undiscovered by an American sentinel at the bridge. They were so near that they might easily have killed the guard, but a boy was sent to warn him to run for his life. He did so, and no more sentinels were posted there afterward; "a matter of some consequence," says Simcoe, "to the poor people of Philadelphia, as they were not prevented from getting their flour ground at Frankford Mills."¹

Passing through a portion of the Kensington suburb of Philadelphia, its mud and wretchedness, its barking dogs and squalling babies, where society seems in a transition state from filth to cleanliness, and consequently from vice to godliness, I wheeled down Second Street, amid its glowing shops, and reined up at *Congress Hall*, just as the last hue of daylight faded away. It was Saturday night, a season as welcome to the traveler as a "cross day" in the calendar to the faithful. I was in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love; the quiet Sabbath near; a glorious harvest of Revolutionary reminiscences spread out around me, inviting the pen-sickle to reap for my garner; and the broad and sunny South, its chivalry and its patriotism, beckoning me onward. Busy thought kept sleep at bay until midnight.

The Sabbath morning dawned brilliant and frosty. As I went up to worship in the venerable *Christ Church*, around which cluster so many interesting associations of the past, I felt that it was a two-fold sanctuary—a sanctuary of religion and of patriotism. The exterior is the same as it was when the later colonial governors and officers of state—when Washington and Franklin—when Congress and the officers of the Continental army went there to worship; but the interior has been greatly changed by that iconoclast, *improvement*—that breaker of the images which patriotism delights to worship! One vestige of the olden time remains untouched—the pulpit *sounding-board*, the indispensable canopy of the old pastors.

"That *sounding-board*, to me it seem'd
A cherub poised on high—
A mystery I almost deem'd
Quite hid from vulgar eye
And that old pastor, rapt in prayer,
Look'd doubly awful 'neath it there."—E. OAKES SMITH.

¹ Simcoe's *Military Journal*, page 28. At that time the Philadelphians were dependent chiefly upon the Frankford Mills for their flour. It was with the pretense of going thither for flour, that Lydia Darrah left Philadelphia and hastened to the American camp at Whitemarsh, apprised Washington of an intended attack upon him, and, by her patriotic vigilance, doubtless saved the American army, under the commander-in-chief, from destruction or captivity. This circumstance is noted on pages 301—302.

The Grave of Dr. Franklin, and others.

His early-written Epitaph.

Description of Christ Church.

Within its wall-inclosed grave-yard in the rear is the dust of many of the early and distinguished citizens of Philadelphia, the most renowned of whom was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. His grave is beside that of his wife, and daughter (Mrs. Bache), in the northwest corner of the yard. "I wish," he said in his will, "to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small molding round the upper edge, and this inscription :

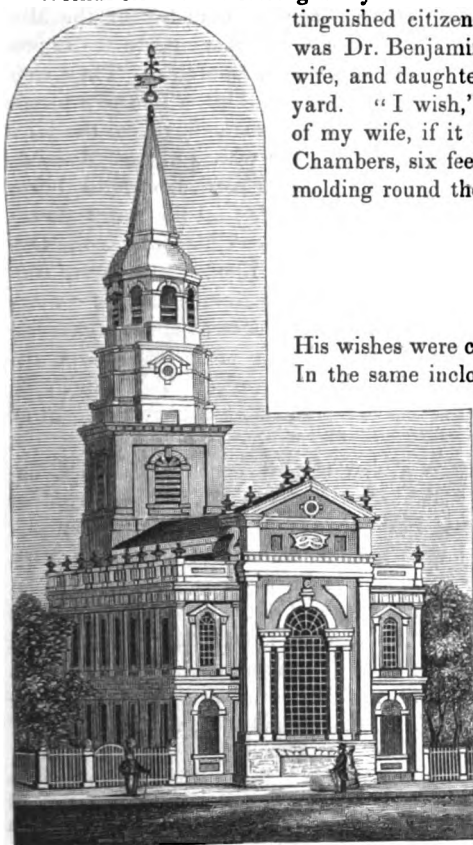
" BENJAMIN
and } FRANKLIN.
DEBORAH }
178—."

His wishes were complied with. The date on the stone is 1790.¹

In the same inclosure General Mercer, who was killed at Princeton, was first buried ; also Major-general Charles Lee, whose aversion to burial with Dissenters has been noticed. Standing amid its graves, and overshadowed by the venerable church, the American feels that he is upon consecrated ground indeed—consecrated by something holier than the voice of man setting it apart as a resting-place for the dead.

Here, wide open, is a broad page of our national history ; let us sit down this still Sabbath afternoon and peruse a portion of it preparatory to a ramble on the morrow.

On the beautiful banks of the Delaware²—the Indian's *Mack-er-isk-iskan*—dwelt for ages the powerful tribes of the LENNI LENA-PÉS³—the *Original People*. They claimed the broad land from the Hudson to the Poto-

CHRIST CHURCH.⁴

¹ As early as 1727, when Franklin was only twenty-two years of age, he wrote the following epitaph for himself :

The Body
of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
Printer,
Like the cover of an old Book,
Its contents torn out
(And stripped of its lettering and gilding),
Lies here, food for worms.
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new and more elegant edition,
Revised and corrected
by
THE AUTHOR.

This epitaph was first printed in a Boston newspaper (the *New England Courant*), established and printed by Dr. Franklin.

² This name was given to the bay and river in honor of Lord De la Ware, who was Governor of Virginia in 1611.

³ This has been sometimes used as a generic term, and applied to all the tribes of the Algonquin family.

⁴ This view is from Second Street, looking northwest. It was built at various periods. The first (western) end was erected in 1727 ; the eastern or front portion was raised in 1731 ; and a small steeple was reared in 1753-4. A small church edifice was built upon its site in 1695, and the later edifice was raised around the old one while worship continued in it. The bell of the old church was hung in the crotch of

The Natives on the Delaware and Schuylkill.

The Delawares

Their Character portrayed by William Penn.

mac as their grand council-house. While they called themselves the *original people*, they repeated the tradition that at some remote age their ancestors came from beyond the Mississippi, conquering, on their way, the more civilized nations, whose monuments are so profusely scattered over the rich valleys westward of the Alleghany Mountains. They were divided into three principal tribes, the *Turtle*, the *Turkey*, and the *Wolf*. The two former occupied the northern portions of New Jersey north of the Raritan, extending from the Hudson across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, and are known to the whites as the *Minsi* division; the latter, known as the *Delawares*, inhabited the southern portions of New Jersey and the entire valley of the Schuylkill.¹ Their settlement extended up the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, and they had a local council-fire at the Minisink flats, above the Delaware Water-gap. When these tribes first became known to the English, they were tributary to the Five Nations of New York, who applied to them the scornful epithet of "women." They were forbidden to sell lands or make war without the consent of their conquerors, and were reduced to absolute vassalage. In the course of time, however, the

1650. Delawares were enabled to throw off the yoke of the conquerors. At Tioga, in 1756, the great Teedyuscung extorted from the chiefs of the Six Nations an acknowledgment of the independence of his people.

When the whites first visited the Delaware with a view to settlement, the Lenni Lenapés, broken into many small tribes, were scattered along the shores of the river on either side.² They received the whites with open-handed hospitality. "In liberality they excel," wrote William Penn. "Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks. Light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live; feast and dance perpetually. They never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulates like the blood—all parts partake; and, though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property." Penn drew a charming picture of their hospitality, their liberal distribution of presents when received, and the universal happiness that prevailed among them; and then, with the hand of

a tree near by. The new church was furnished with an organ in 1729. The design of the church was made by Dr. John Kearsley, an eminent physician of Philadelphia. In 1752-3 it was proposed to build a fine steeple upon the church, and, in order to raise funds for the purpose, a lottery was established—"a scheme to raise £1012 10s. to finish the steeple to Christ Church, and to purchase a ring of bells, and a clock." The "Philadelphian Steeple Lottery" was successful, and the structure, as it now appears, was finished in 1754. A chime of bells, weighing eight thousand pounds, was purchased in England, at a cost of \$4500. These bells were taken down from the steeple by the commissary general, on the approach of the British to Philadelphia in 1777, and conveyed to Trenton for safety. They were returned, and hung again after the enemy evacuated the city. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, says that these bells were first tolled on the occasion of the funeral of Governor Anthony Palmer's wife, the mother of twenty-one children, all of whom died of consumption. On the top of the steeple is a miter, bearing the following inscription: "The Right Reverend William White, D.D., consecrated Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania, February 4th, 1787." The miter is four feet in circumference at the bottom, and has thirteen holes in it, indicative of the number of the original states. Bishop White was one of the first chaplains of the Continental Congress, and the first bishop of Pennsylvania. It is related that when he was a boy, living next door to a Quaker family in Market Street, he used to play with their little daughter. She often said, when she grew up, that Billy White was born for a bishop, for she never could persuade him to play any thing but *church*. He would tie her apron around his neck for a gown, and stand behind a chair for a pulpit, while she, seated before him on a low bench, was to be the congregation.

¹ The two most noted chiefs of the Delawares at the time of our Revolution, was Captain WHITE EYES and Captain PIPE. The former became chief sachem in 1776, and espoused the patriot cause. He was a firm friend to the missionaries, and earnestly desired the conversion of his people to Christianity, and the enjoyment of the accompanying blessings of civilization. He died of the small-pox, at Philadelphia, in 1780. Captain PIPE secretly favored the British at the opening of the Revolution, but the vigilant WHITE EYES frustrated all his plans for a while. The Delawares at length became divided, and most of them, under Captain PIPE, joined the British. We have met these chiefs once before (page 264, vol. i.), and shall meet them again when we consider the Indian war of the Revolution beyond the Alleghanies.

² The *Assanpink* Indians were at the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton); the *Rankokas* and *Andastakas* at Christina Creek, near Wilmington; the *Nishaminies* near Bristol; the *Shackamazons* about Kensington; the *Mantas*, or *Frogs*, near Burlington; the *Minseys*, or *Minisinks*, at the Forks of the Delaware; and three or four other tribes were in New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. A few Mingoes were among these.

First Settlements on the Delaware by the Dutch and Swedes.

Troubles with the Indians.

Gustavus Adolphus.

truth, holds up this record of the curse which boasted civilization carries with it as continually as its own shadow: "Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, '*Some more, and I will go to sleep*;' but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world."

In 1609, Captain Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, touched near Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay, but, finding shoal water, put to sea, and soon afterward sailed through the Narrows into New York Bay. The Dutch established a trading-post on Manhattan Island, now New York. The establishment increased, and in 1621 the Dutch West India Company was formed. In 1623, this company took formal possession of the country discovered by Hudson, including the Delaware, or South River, as they called it, in contradistinction to the North River, now the Hudson. The foundation of New Amsterdam was laid, and Captain Jacobus May was sent to take possession and colonize in the most southern part of New Jersey. He gave Cape May the name it still bears. Near where Gloucester, in New Jersey, now stands, he built Fort Nassau. This was the first white settlement on the shores of the Delaware, but it was not permanent. In 1631, Captain David Pieterse de Vries entered the Delaware River with two ships and about thirty colonists. He was associated with Godyn, Bloemart, and Van Rensselaer, wealthy Dutch *patroons*,¹ in establishing a permanent settlement on the Delaware for the purpose of cultivating tobacco and grain, and prosecuting the whale and seal fishing. He built Fort Oplandt, near Lewiston, Delaware. De Vries returned to Holland, and when he came back, in 1632, his colony was destroyed. The arms of Holland, emblazoned on a piece of tin, had been raised upon a pole. An Indian stole the metal to make a tobacco-box of it. Osset, the commander, quarreled with the Indians, and the latter fell upon the colonists, while at work in the fields, and butchered every one of them. De Vries made peace with the tribe, but, finding Fort Nassau deserted, and the whole settlement a desolation, he left the bay forever; for, before the Dutch could re-establish their power, the patent granted to Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, gave them an English com-
petitor for the lower portions of the territory on the west side of the Delaware. 1632.

The discoveries of the Dutch in the New World soon attracted the attention of the enlightened Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He conceived a scheme for planting a Swedish colony in America, an idea suggested and heartily seconded by William Usselinx, a wealthy and enterprising Netherlander. A commercial company was formed; the stock was open to all Europe, and Gustavus pledged four hundred thousand dollars to the enterprise. Slavery was repudiated as a disadvantage to the proposed colony. "Slaves," they said, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage. The Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children." America seemed to them a paradise, and Gustavus suggested that the proposed colony might prove an advantage to all oppressed and persecuted Christians. At that moment Germany, and indeed Protestant Christendom, was menaced with a total subversion of the principles of the Reformation; and against the increasing power of the pope—a power composed of religious influence and imperial soldiers—Gustavus took the field. All other considerations were, for the moment, absorbed by this one movement; and yet the idea of planting a free colony in the New World held a conspicuous place in the mind of the Swedish monarch. At Nuremberg, only a few days before the battle of Lützen, where he lost his life, he recommended the great scheme, "the jewel of his kingdom," to the Germans. His views were warmly seconded by Oxenstiern, the eminent statesman, who controlled the political affairs of Sweden during the minority of Queen Christina.

In 1638, a colony of Swedes from Gottenburg, under the command of Peter Minuits, a former governor of New Amsterdam, arrived in the Delaware, and landed at Cape Henlo-

¹ See page 391, vol. i.

pen. Charmed with the beauty of the place, they called it Paradise. They approached the Indians with kindness, and purchased from them their lands upon the Delaware from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton, and named the region New Sweden. They built a church and fort on the Minquaas, or Mingoes (now Christiana) Creek, where Wilmington now stands, and there laid out a town. The Dutch claimed a title to all this region by virtue of prior discovery and settlement, and Governor Keift protested against this intrusion. Other emigrants came; some from Maryland, who settled near the Schuylkill, and others from New Haven, who established themselves on the Jersey shore. These Keift promptly expelled, but did not disturb the Swedes.

John Printz succeeded Minuits as governor in 1643. With him came John Campanius, from Stockholm, as chaplain for the colony. They came in the ship *Fame*, accompanied by two war vessels, the *Swan* and the *Chantas*. Governor Printz selected Tinicum Island,¹ at the mouth of Darby Creek, for a residence. There he built a strong fort of hemlock logs, and a church, and beautified the neighborhood with orchards and pleasure-grounds. Quite a village of fine houses, for the times, sprung up, and New Gottenburg, as it was called, was for some years the metropolis of New Sweden. Emigrants continued to arrive in considerable numbers from Old Sweden, and they scattered neat dwellings and cultivated acres all along the Delaware, from the present Wilmington to Philadelphia.

In 1651, the Dutch determined to maintain their power on the Delaware, and erected Fort Kasimer, on the south of Minquaas Creek, now the site of New Castle, in Delaware. Printz protested, and also built Fort Elsinberg on the Jersey shore, near the mouth of Salem Creek. The garrison was soon put to flight by a foe more numerous and annoying than Indians or Dutch, and the place was significantly named *Mosquitoesburg*.

John Claudius Rising, or Risingh, succeeded Printz in 1652. Risingh was more belligerent than his predecessor, and captured Fort Kasimer, either by storm or stratagem, in 1654, hoisted the Swedish flag over it, and called it Fort Trinity. Sven Schute, a bold Swedish warrior, was appointed to the command of its garrison. This act excited the ire of the Dutch at New Amsterdam, and in 1655 Governor Stuyvesant, with seven ships, and six or seven hundred men, went up the Delaware, took all the Swedish forts, and desolated New Gottenburg, on Tinicum Island. The Swedes obtained honorable terms of capitulation, and the settlers prospered under the Dutch rule. The Indians remained the firm friends of the Swedes; and when the Dutch attempted to prevent a Swedish ship with emigrants from passing up the Delaware in 1656, the natives interfered, and the *Mercurius* sailed up unmolested. The Dutch and Swedes continued to occupy the Delaware in common for nine years, the former possessing the political authority. In 1664, Charles the Second, of England, having granted a charter to his brother James, the Duke of York, for the whole of the New Netherlands, including the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware, the English conquered the whole country, and changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York. Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret obtained a grant of the province of New Jersey from the Duke of York in 1665. The latter was appointed governor, and Bergen and other portions of East Jersey began to be settled. That province was divided into East and West Jersey in 1676. Lord Berkeley transferred his half of West Jersey, in 1677, to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge, both of them Quakers. Becoming embarrassed, Billinge transferred his interest to trustees, for the benefit of his creditors. William Penn was one of those trustees, and thus he became interested in the settlements in the New World. Between 1676 and 1680, the eastern shore of the Delaware, from Burlington to Salem, became quite populous with Quakers, who came chiefly from Yorkshire in England.

Admiral Sir William Penn, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania, left, at his death, claims to a considerable amount against the crown, for his services. His son, with the two-

¹ This is the island upon which the lazaretto now stands, and is not the low, sandy island in the middle of the Delaware above.

Charter granted to William Penn. Emigrations. Arrival of Penn. His Biography. Annexation of Delaware.

fold motive of settling these claims and providing an asylum for his persecuted Quaker brethren, applied to King Charles the Second for a grant of land in the New World. He was successful, and on the 4th of March, 1681, a charter was granted. The assent of the Duke of York on the north, and of Lord Baltimore on the south, was obtained to the provisions of the charter, and a province on the west side of the Delaware, three degrees of latitude in breadth by five degrees of longitude in length, was named by the king's proclamation, as well as April, 1681.

in the charter, PENNSYLVANIA, in honor of the illustrious Admiral Penn. The proprietor immediately published "certain conditions or concessions" to adventurers; and an association, composed principally of Quakers, was formed at London and Bristol, called "The Free Society of Traders," who emigrated to America to purchase lands in the new province. William Markham, a kinsman of Penn's, had been sent forward as his deputy to take possession of the country and prepare for the colonists.



WILLIAM PENN.¹
From an English Print.

On the 30th of August, 1682, Penn, and quite a large number of emigrants, chiefly Quakers, sailed in the *Welcome*, from England. They arrived at New Castle on the 7th of October. The settlers of every kind received the new proprietor with great joy, for the fame of his noble and excellent character had preceded him. At Upland (now Chester) he convened an assembly, where he made known his plans and benevolent designs. His words were heard with delight, and the people flocked around him with the affectionate feelings of children. The Swedes said, "It was the best day they ever saw." At this assembly an Act of Union was adopted, conformable to a deed which he had obtained, by which the "three lower counties," Essex, Kent, and Sussex (now the State of Delaware), were annexed to Pennsylvania. A few days afterward, Penn proceeded to Shackamaxon (now Kensington, in Philadelphia), where he entered into a treaty with the Indians, and established with them an everlasting covenant of peace and friendship. This was the memorable treaty held

¹ William Penn was born in London, October 14th, 1644, and in his fifteenth year entered, as a gentleman commoner, a college in Oxford. Brilliant talents and unaffected goodness characterized his early youth. While at Oxford, he heard an itinerant Quaker preach, and was so impressed with the doctrines which he taught, that he joined, with other students similarly impressed, in withdrawing from the established worship and holding meetings by themselves. He was fined for non-conformity and expelled from college when he was sixteen years of age. Parental discipline attempted to reclaim him, but in vain. He was sent to France, where he passed two years, and became a very polished young gentleman. He studied law in Lincoln's Inn until the breaking out of the plague in London in 1665. He was sent to Ireland in 1666, to manage an estate for his father, but, associating with Quakers there, he was recalled. He could not be persuaded to take off his hat in the presence of his father or the king, and for this inflexibility he was expelled from his father's house. He became an itinerant Quaker preacher, and made many proselytes. He suffered much "for conscience' sake," sometimes by revilings, sometimes by imprisonments. He wrote much, and preached with daily increasing fervor. In 1668 he wrote his *No Cross, no Crown*; and in 1670 he was tried at the Old Bailey, but acquitted by the jury. His father died soon afterward, leaving him a very large estate, but he continued to travel, preach, and write as usual. Having obtained a charter for a province in America, and settled his government on a sure basis, he formed a plan for a capital city, and named it Philadelphia—*brotherly love*. Two years after it was founded it contained two thousand inhabitants. On returning to England in 1684, he obtained the release of thirteen hundred Quakers then in prison. He resided mostly in England, but visited his colony occasionally. He was seized with a paralytic disorder in 1712, which terminated his life on the 30th of July, 1718, at the age of seventy-three. His posterity held his possessions till the Revolution. His last surviving son, Thomas Penn, died in 1775.

Penn's just Dealings with the Natives.

Effect of his Justice.

Treaty Monument.

beneath the wide-spread branches of a huge elm. "Under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn," says Bancroft, "Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware—from the border of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, from the Susquehanna—the same simple message of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell, and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk. The English and the Indian should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal, composed of an equal number of men from each race." "We meet," said Penn, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only; for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

TREATY MONUMENT.¹

"'Thou'lt find,' said the Quaker, 'in me and mine,
But friends and brothers to thee and to thine,
Who abuse no power and admit no line
'Twixt the red men and the white.'
And bright was the spot where the Quaker came
To leave his hat, his drab, and his name,
That will sweetly sound from the trump of Fame
Till its final blast shall die.
The city he rear'd from the *sylvan shade*,
His beautiful monument now is made;
And long have the rivers their pride display'd
In the scenes that are rolling by."

HANNAH F. GOULD.

The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine which the "Quaker king" avowed. They received the presents of Penn in sincerity, and in hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "'We will live,' said they, 'in love with William Penn and his children as long as the moon and the sun shall endure.'"

Thus was established the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, its foundations laid deep and broad upon the sacred rules of truth and justice, the cardinal principles of the Quakers, who formed the prime element of the new state. That sect stood out in bold relief as exemplars of moral purity in an age and among a people eminently licentious. The court, the fountain-head of example, was wholly impure in morals, skeptical in religion, and unscrupulous in politics. Unlike the other Puritan sects, which gave royalty so much trouble, the Quakers taught morality more by example than by precept; yet they were ever bold in the

¹ This monument stands near the intersection of Hanover and Beach Streets, Kensington, on the spot where the celebrated *Treaty Tree* stood. The tree was blown down in 1810, when it was ascertained to be 283 years old. When the British were in possession of Philadelphia, during the winter of 1778, their foraging parties were out in every direction for fuel. To protect this tree from the ax, Colonel Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, placed a sentinel under it. Of its remains, many chairs, vases, work-stands, and other articles have been made. The commemorative monument was erected by the Penn Society. Upon it are the following inscriptions:

NORTH SIDE.—"Treaty ground of William Penn and the Indian nation, 1682. Unbroken Faith."

SOUTH SIDE.—"William Penn, born 1644. Died, 1718."

WEST SIDE.—"Placed by the Penn Society, A.D. 1827, to mark the site of the great Elm Tree."

EAST SIDE.—"Pennsylvania founded, 1681, by deeds of Peace."

avowal of their principles. Their benevolence was as extensive as the round world; their plans designed no less than the establishment of universal religion. No station was too exalted for their faithfulness to reach. George Fox spoke boldly, face to face, to the king, as did Paul before Agrippa; and he did not fail to catechise, by letter, even Pope Innocent XI. No station was too low for their paternal care, and no instrument too humble to be made useful as a preacher of righteousness. "Plowmen and milk-maids, becoming itinerant preachers, sounded the alarm throughout the world, and appealed to the consciences of Puritans and Cavaliers, of the pope and the Grand Turk, of the negro and the savage. Their apostles made their way to Rome and Jerusalem, to New England and Egypt; and some were even moved to go toward China and Japan in search of the unknown realms of Prester John." Democracy, in its largest sense, was their political creed. "We lay a foundation," said Penn, "for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; FOR WE PUT THE POWER IN THE PEOPLE." With such views he framed his government; with the simplicity of honest truth and love he made the treaty with the Indians. This treaty was not confirmed by oath, nor ratified by signatures and seals; no written records were made, "and its terms and conditions had no abiding monuments but on the heart. There they were written like the laws of God, and were never forgotten." Kindness was more powerful in subduing than the sword, and justice had greater weight with the Indian warrior than gunpowder. "New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian." They themselves were conscious of the power of rectitude. "We have done better," they said, in the *Planter's Speech*, in 1684, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes whom the world admires blush for their shameful victories. To the poor dark souls round about us we TEACH THEIR RIGHTS AS MEN."

Near the close of 1682 Penn purchased lands lying between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at their confluence, for the purpose of founding a capital city. Already the Swedes had built a church there;⁴ and the situation was "not surpassed," in the estimation of Penn, "by one among all the many places he had seen in the world." With great joy and brilliant hopes they marked the boundaries of streets on the trunks of the chestnut, maple, ash, and walnut trees of the original forest, and gave them names derived from these natural landmarks. They called the city Philadelphia—*brotherly love*—and with unexampled rapidity the forest disappeared, and pleasant houses uprose upon the "virgin Elysian shore."

In March, 1683, the second Assembly of the province convened in the infant city, and, at the suggestion of Penn, the original "form of government" was so amended, that the "charter of liberties" signed by him at that time rendered the government of Pennsylvania, all but in name, a representative democracy. Penn soon afterward returned to England, having first appointed five commissioners, with Thomas Loyd as president, to administer his government during his absence. Every thing went on prosperously, and nothing occurred to disturb the quiet of the new state until 1691, when the "three lower

¹ Bancroft, ii., 337.

² *Ibid.*, ii., 382.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., 383.

⁴ Several years before the arrival of Penn, the upper Swedish settlement on the Delaware erected a block-house at *Wicaco*, now the district of Southwark. The block-house was converted into a church for the convenience of the settlement, the port-holes serving for windows. The first sermon was preached in it in 1677. This edifice stood upon a pleasant knoll sloping to the river. North of it, where Christian Street is, was an inlet, and beyond this was another knoll, on which was erected the house of three Swedish brothers, Sven, Oele, and Andries Swenson [Swanson], from whom Penn purchased the site of Philadelphia. This building was noticed by Kalm in 1748; and Mr. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, (i., 148), says, "the original log-house was standing until the British occupied Philadelphia, when it was taken down and converted into fuel." A brick church was built upon the site of the old block-house in 1700, and is still standing on Swanson Street, a little distance from the navy yard.

Secession of Delaware.

Penn's Difficulties.

His liberal Concessions.

Pennsylvania Charter.

Penn's Heirs.

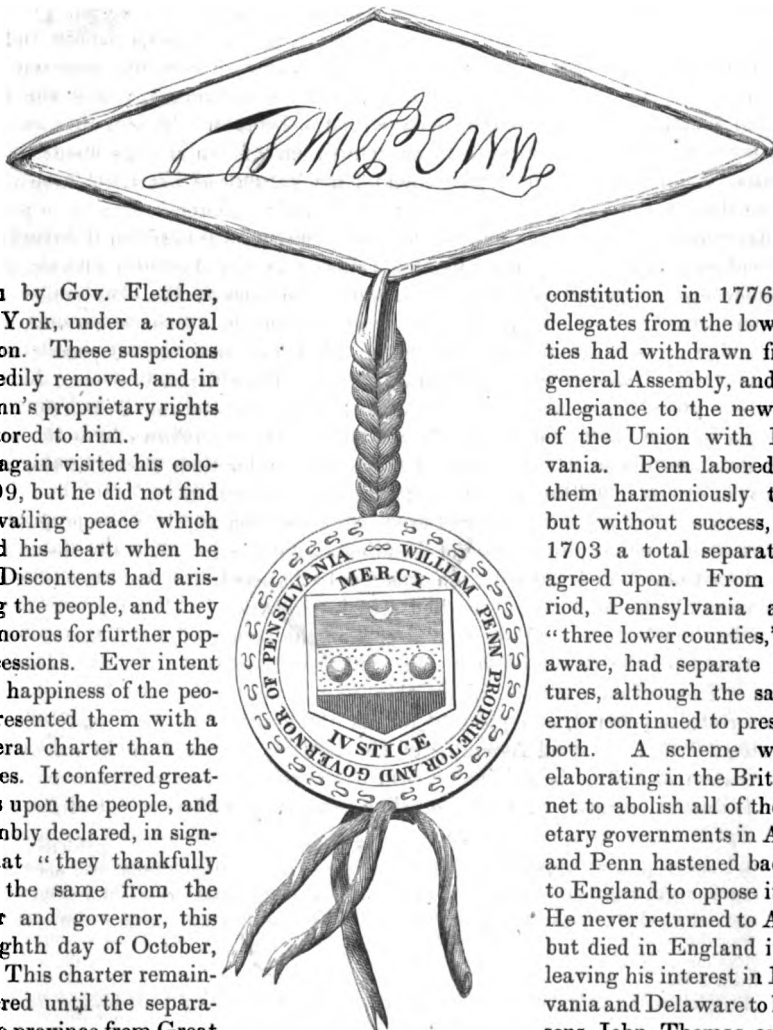
counties on the Delaware'' already mentioned, withdrew from the Union on account of some dissatisfaction with the proceedings of a majority of the council. With the reluctant consent of Penn, a deputy governor was appointed over them.

Charles the Second died in 1685, and his brother James, the Duke of York, ascended the throne. The bad private character of James, his duplicity, and his known attachment to the Roman Catholics, made him detested by a majority of the people of England, and, three years after his accession, he was driven into exile. His scepter passed into the hands of his daughter Mary and her husband William, prince of Orange. William Penn was suspected of adherence to the cause of the fallen monarch, and of secret efforts to effect his restoration. For this he was imprisoned; and in 1692 his provincial government was taken

from him by Gov. Fletcher, of New York, under a royal commission. These suspicions were speedily removed, and in 1694 Penn's proprietary rights were restored to him.

Penn again visited his colony in 1699, but he did not find that prevailing peace which gladdened his heart when he left it. Discontents had arisen among the people, and they were clamorous for further popular concessions. Ever intent upon the happiness of the people, he presented them with a more liberal charter than the former ones. It conferred greater powers upon the people, and the Assembly declared, in signing it, that "they thankfully received the same from the proprietor and governor, this twenty-eighth day of October, 1701." This charter remained unaltered until the separation of the province from Great Britain, and the adoption of a

constitution in 1776. The delegates from the lower counties had withdrawn from the general Assembly, and refused allegiance to the new charter of the Union with Pennsylvania. Penn labored to bind them harmoniously together, but without success, and in 1703 a total separation was agreed upon. From that period, Pennsylvania and the "three lower counties," or Delaware, had separate Legislatures, although the same governor continued to preside over both. A scheme was now elaborating in the British cabinet to abolish all of the proprietary governments in America, and Penn hastened back to England to oppose it.¹ 1701. He never returned to America, but died in England in 1781, leaving his interest in Pennsylvania and Delaware to his three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn (then minors), who



PENN'S SEAL AND SIGNATURE.¹

¹ This is a representation of the seal and signature of William Penn attached to the Pennsylvania charter. The names of the subscribing witnesses to the instrument are James Claypoole, Francis Plumsted, Thomas Barker, Philip Ford, Edward Pritchard, Andrew Soule, Christopher Taylor, Charles Lloyd, William Gibson, U. More, George Rudyard, Harbt. Springett.

² The parting message of Governor Penn to the Assembly is a pattern of brevity, and might be studied

Penn's Successors hostile to the Indians.

Popular Feeling against the Proprietaries.

Dr. Franklin.

continued to administer the government—by deputies, most of the time—until the Revolution. The commonwealth of Pennsylvania then purchased all their interest in the province for five hundred and eighty thousand dollars.¹

It would be a pleasant and profitable task to trace the history of Pennsylvania in detail, from the period of Penn's death to the commencement of the war for independence, but our plan and limits forbid it. Having taken a general view of the settlement and establishment of the province, we must be content with a consideration of leading events bearing directly upon the Revolutionary struggle.

John, a grandson of William Penn, and son of Richard, then one of the proprietors living in England, was lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania when the Stamp Act and kindred measures of government stirred up a rebellious spirit in the colonies. The province was then engaged in hostilities with the Delawares, Shawanese, and Seneca Indians, who were committing dreadful atrocities on the western frontier. It seemed necessary for Governor Penn to assume the attitude of an enemy toward the people with whom his grandfather lived so affectionately; and it is painful to contemplate the fact that he offered, by proclamation, in the city of Philadelphia, a bounty for the capture of Indians or their scalps!² The war was successful; and in the autumn of 1764 the hostile Indians sued for peace. July, 1764.

Internal commotions now became more frequent, and ominous of political disruption. For years the province had been agitated by quarrels between the Assembly and the proprietors on the subject of prerogatives. The popular mind was led by Dr. Franklin and his associates, who contended that the proprietary estates should be taxed in common with other property. The proprietors, resting upon the privileges of their charter, resisted the measure, and in John Penn they had a powerful, because interested, champion. All hope of a reconciliation through concession being at an end, Franklin and others had previously proposed to petition the king to purchase the jurisdiction of the province from the proprietors, and vest the government directly in the crown. The proposition was favorably considered by the people at large, and the petition was accordingly drawn up by Franklin. It set forth the increasing property, and, as a consequence, the increasing power of the proprietaries, and the danger to be apprehended from the influence of such a power in the state intervening between the crown and the people. This was the first great step toward revolution in Pennsylvania—an attempt to crush feudal power and remove all barriers between the supreme governor and the governed. Many leading men, whose relationship to the proprietaries, and attachment to things made reverend by age, opposed the petition; but the Quakers, whose principles had been set at naught by the successors of William Penn, were in favor of the measure. Several successive Assemblies favored the proposition, and Dr. Franklin was appointed provincial agent to urge the measure before the king. This November, 1764.

with profit by some of our chief magistrates. It was communicated just before his departure for England, and was as follows:

"10th month, 15th, 1708.

"FRIENDS,—Your union is what I desire; but your peace and accommodating one another is what I must expect from you; the reputation of it is something—the reality much more. I desire you to remember and observe what I say. Yield in circumstances to preserve essentials; and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for your friend, and proprietor, and governor,

WILLIAM PENN."

Just before leaving, Penn granted a city charter to Philadelphia, and Edward Shippen was appointed the first mayor. He appointed Andrew Hamilton, of New Jersey, lieutenant governor of his province, and James Logan secretary.

¹ The founder of Pennsylvania, by the expenses incident to the establishment of his government, together with many acts of private benevolence, so impaired his paternal estate as to make it necessary to borrow \$30,000, the most of which was secured by a mortgage on his province. This was the commencement of the state debt of Pennsylvania, now amounting to about \$40,000,000.

² The bounties were as follows: "For every male above the age of ten years captured, \$150; scalped, being killed, \$134; for every female Indian enemy, and every male under ten years, captured, \$130; for every female above the age of ten years, scalped, \$50!"

The Stamp Act.

Spirit of the People.

Party Rancor.

Franklin Lampooned.

William Bradford.

was the beginning of the system of colonial agencies which so efficiently aided the progress of the Revolution.

In Philadelphia, as in other commercial towns, opposition to the Stamp Act was a prevailing sentiment. Intelligence of its enactment, and the king's assent, produced great excitement; and, as the day on which it was to go into effect approached, open hostility became more and more manifest. Party spirit, at that time, was peculiarly rancorous in Pennsylvania, and the political opposers of Dr. Franklin asserted that he was in favor of the odious act. The fact that he had procured the office of stamp-master for Philadelphia for his friend John Hughes (as he did for Ingersoll of Connecticut), gave a coloring of truth to the charge, and his family and property were menaced with injury.¹ He was lampooned by caricatures² and placards; but they had little effect upon the great mass of the people, by whom he was admired and confided in.

The store-keepers of Philadelphia resolved to cease importing British goods while the Stamp Act was in force; the people resolved to abstain from mutton, so that wool for the purpose of domestic manufacture might be increased; and among other resolves concerning frugality in living, they determined to restrain the usual expenses of funerals. Benjamin Price, Esq., was buried in an oaken coffin and iron handles; and Alderman Plumstead was conveyed to the grave without a pall or mourning-dresses. When the commission for Hughes and the stamps arrived, all the bells were muffled and tolled; the colors were hoisted half mast, and signs of a popular outbreak appeared. The house of Hughes was guarded by his friends; but the current of popular feeling ran so high and menacing that he resigned his office. As in New York, the odious act was printed and hawked about the streets, headed *The Folly of England, and the Ruin of America*.³ The newspaper of William Bradford,⁴ the leading printer in Philadelphia, teemed with denunciations of the act; and on the

¹ His wife, in a letter written on the 22d of September, 1765, from "near Philadelphia," informs him that a mob was talked of; that several houses were indicated for destruction; and that she was advised to remove to Burlington for safety. "It is Mr. S. S.," she said, "that is setting the people mad, by telling them that it was you that had planned the Stamp Act, and that you are endeavoring to get the Test Act brought over here." The courageous woman declared she would not stir from her dwelling, and she remained throughout the election (the immediate cause of excitement at that time) unharmed.

² In one of these, called *The Medley*, Franklin is represented among the electors, accompanied by the Devil, who is whispering in his ear, "Thee shall be agent, Ben, for all my realm." In another part of the caricature is the following verse:

"All his designs concenter in himself,
For building castles and amassing pelf.
The public! 'tis his wit to sell for gain,
Whom private property did ne'er maintain."

³ Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, ii., 271.

⁴ William Bradford was a grandson of William Bradford, the first printer who settled in the colony.* He went to England in 1741, and the next year returned with printing materials and books. In December, 1742, he published the first number of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, which was continued until about the close of the century, when his son Thomas, who was his business partner, changed its name to the *True American*. While carrying on the printing business, he opened, in 1754, at the corner of Market and Front Streets, "The London Coffee-house," and in 1762 a marine insurance office, with Mr. Kydd. His republican bias was manifested during the Stamp Act excitement; and when the war of the Revolution began, he joined the Pennsylvania militia. As a major and colonel, he fought in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was at Fort Mifflin, below Philadelphia, when it was attacked. After the British army left Philadelphia, he returned with a broken constitution and a shattered fortune. A short time before his death, a paralytic shock gave him warning of its approach. To his children he said, "Though I bequeath you no estate, I leave you in the enjoyment of liberty." He died on the 25th of September, 1791, aged seventy-two years.

* His son, Andrew, was also a printer, and carried on business in Philadelphia after his father had retired to New York on a pension from government of sixty pounds a year. In a poetic effusion printed by Kelmer, the first employer of Dr. Franklin, in 1734, is the following allusion to the Bradfords:

"In Penn's wooden country type feels no disaster,
The printers grow rich; one is made their postmaster.
His father, a printer, is paid for his work,
And wallows in plenty, just now, in New York.
Though quite past his labor, and old as my gran'num,
The government pays him pounds sixty per annum."

The TIMES Are Doubtful Delectable Delicacies Dolorous, and DOLLAR-LESS.

of the STAMP of the Minister of the Interior of the United States of America

After

NUMB 1195

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

When the British Parliament devised other schemes for taxing the Americans, Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts and all the other colonies, was aroused, and the rights of the American people were every where freely discussed. John Dickenson sent forth his powerful "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer,"¹ and the circular letter from Massachusetts, recapitu-

² The *London Coffee-house*, established, as we have seen, by William Bradford ten years before, on the corner of Front and Market Streets, was the daily resort of the governor and other public functionaries, and there vendues were generally held. John Pemberton, a Quaker, owned the house in 1780; and in his lease to Gifford Dally, he stipulated that *swearing* should be discouraged there, and that the house should be closed on "*the first day of the week*." This would be an excellent clause in like leases at the present day.

³ See page 476, vol. i

Firmness of Pennsylvania.

Tea Ships.

Destruction of Tea at Greenwich.

Revolutionary Movements.

lating arguments against taxation, was received with loud acclaim. Alarmed at the progress of opposition in the colonies, Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, sent forth his countervailing circulars. Governor Penn was instructed to enjoin the Assembly to regard the Massachusetts circular as seditious and of a dangerous tendency, and to prorogue the Assembly if they should countenance it. The Assembly, firm in the right cause, practically asserted their privilege to correspond with the other colonies, and they heartily seconded the proposition of Virginia for a union of the provinces in a respectful petition to the king for a redress of grievances. Leagues, non-importation agreements, committees of correspondence, and other revolutionary machinery, such as were zealously engaged in New England, were equally active in Pennsylvania; and when the British government poured all its wrath upon Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, in word and deed, stood up as the bold champion and sympathizing friend of the New Englanders. Its course was more temperate than its sister colony, but not less firm. While a convention at Philadelphia recommended the people of Boston to try all lenient measures for relief, they assured them that "the people of Pennsylvania would continue firmly to adhere to the cause of American liberty."

In December, 1773, two of the "detested tea-ships" sailed up the Delaware as far as Gloucester Point. There they were ordered to anchor, and to proceed no further, at their peril. The authority acting on the occasion was a committee from a meeting of full eight thousand persons, then congregated in the State House yard. They allowed the captain of one of the ships (the *Polly*) to go up to the city and witness the manifested feelings of the people, by which he might determine which was the wiser course to pursue, to persist in landing the tea, or to weigh anchor for Europe. He chose the latter, and in the mean time the consignees of the tea were all forced to resign. In November, the following year, the brig *Greyhound*, bound to Philadelphia with a cargo of tea, landed at Greenwich, on the Jersey shore. There the cargo was discharged, and placed in the cellar of a house standing in front of the market grounds. On the evening of the 22d, about fifty men, disguised as Indians, took the chests from the cellar, piled them in a neighboring field, and burned them. Suits were brought against some of the leading young men who were engaged in this transaction, but the war breaking out, and courts of justice being abolished or suspended, they were abandoned.¹

On the 18th of June, 1774, another meeting of at least eight thousand persons convened in Philadelphia. The governor had been requested to call a special session of the Assembly, but refused.² John Dickenson and Thomas Willing were appointed chairmen of the meeting: the whole proceedings were revolutionary. They recommended a Continental Congress; formed a committee to correspond with the counties and with the other colonies in relation to the appointment of deputies to a general Congress, and to solicit subscriptions for the sufferers at Boston. A convention of deputies from all parts of the province was recommended, and, as peaceably as it convened, the mass meeting adjourned.

A meeting of deputies from the several counties was held on the 15th of July, in 1774, which the kindred sentiments of loyalty and patriotism glowed with intensity. They resolved "that they owed allegiance to George the Third; that they ardently desired the restoration of their ancient harmony with the mother country on the principles of the Constitution; that the inhabitants of the colonies were entitled to the same rights and liberties

¹ The following are the names of the leading young men who composed this *New Jersey Tea-party*: Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, Richard Howell (afterward major in the army and governor of the state), David Pierson, Stephen Pierson, Silas Whitecar, Timothy Elmer, Rev. Andrew Hunter, Rev. Philip Fithian, Alexander Moore, Jr., Clarence Parvin, John Hunt, James Hunt, Lewis Howell, Henry Starks, James Ewing, father of the late chief justice of New Jersey, Dr. Thomas Ewing, Josiah Seeley, and Joel Fithian.

² In 1771 Governor John Penn returned to England, leaving executive affairs in the hands of Andrew Hamilton, the president of the council. In the autumn of that year, Richard Penn, a younger brother of John, arrived with credentials as lieutenant governor. He held the office until September, 1773, when John Penn returned, and resumed the reins of government. It was during the latter part of the first administration of John Penn, and those of Hamilton and Richard Penn, that the hostilities in the Valley of Wyoming occurred, of which we have written in the first volume.

Members of Assembly instructed. Quakers Opposed to the Revolution. "Testimony" of their Yearly Meeting in 1775.

within the colonies as subjects born in England were entitled to within that realm, and that the right of representation in the British Parliament was implied by the asserted power of the government to tax them." The convention also adopted a series of instructions for the Assembly about to convene, in which, in the strongest terms, colonial rights were asserted. These were from the pen of John Dickenson, and, though loyal in spirit, they were firm in resistance to the arm of oppression.¹ When the Assembly met, these instructions were regarded as binding, and were faithfully carried out. Joseph Galloway (who afterward became a Tory), the speaker of the Assembly, Samuel Rhoades, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphries, John Morton, George Ross, Edward Biddle, and subsequently John Dickenson, were appointed delegates to represent Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress, to assemble in Philadelphia in September following. July 22, 1774.

We have seen that, from the founding of Pennsylvania, the Quakers held a commanding social and political influence in the commonwealth. Although this influence was much diminished at the commencement of the Revolution, a large influx of Germans and adventurers from New England having populated extensive districts of the province, their principles, precepts, and practices had great weight with the public mind. They had generally taken affirmative ground in the popular peaceable measures adopted to procure redress of political grievances, and warmly approved of the conduct of the first Continental Congress; but when an appeal to arms became an apparent necessity, and the tendency of action in popular conventions and legislative assemblies pointed to that dreadful alternative, their love of order, and their principles of non-resistance by force of arms, positively enjoined in their "Discipline," made them pause. They held extra and protracted meetings, even till after night, to determine what to do. There was a spirit abroad favorable to enforcing a compliance with the letter of the American Association recommended by the first Congress—an association designed to draw, in strong lines of demarcation, the separation between the friends of Congress and the friends of the king. To this spirit the Quakers were opposed, because it usurped the dearest prerogatives of conscience, and pronounced the exercise of honest opinions to be a political misdemeanor. They not only paused, but cast the weight of their influence into the scale of royalty, believing it to be the guardian of law and order.

While a Provincial Convention was in session in Philadelphia, in which the eloquence of Thomas Mifflin, a young Quaker, was urging his countrymen to a resort to arms, his sect, not sharing his enthusiasm, were holding their yearly meeting in the same city. That meeting, swayed in its opinions and action by James Pemberton, one of the most prominent and sound men of his day, put forth its "Testimony," in which the members of the society were exhorted to withhold all countenance from every measure "tending to break off the happy connection of the colonies with the mother country, or to interrupt their just subordination to the king." From that time until the close of the war, the May 1, 1775.

¹ "Honor, justice, and humanity," they said, "call upon us to hold, and to transmit to posterity, that liberty which we received from our ancestors. It is not our duty to leave our wealth to our children, but it is our duty to leave liberty to them. No infamy, iniquity, or cruelty can exceed our own, if we, born and educated in a country of freedom, entitled to its blessings, and knowing their value, pusillanimously deserting the post assigned us by Divine Providence, surrender succeeding generations to a condition of wretchedness from which no human efforts, in all probability, will be sufficient to extricate them, the experience of all states mercifully demonstrating to us that, when arbitrary power has been established over them, even the wisest and bravest nations that ever flourished have, in a few years, degenerated into abject and wretched vassals. To us, therefore, it appears, at this alarming period, our duty to God, to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity, to exert our utmost ability in promoting and establishing harmony between Great Britain and these colonies on a constitutional foundation."

² The following is a copy of that document, taken from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 402:

The TESTIMONY of the people called Quakers, given forth by a meeting of the Representatives of said people in PENNSYLVANIA and NEW JERSEY, held at Philadelphia the twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1775:

Having considered, with real sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Legislature of Great Britain and the people of these colonies, and the animosities consequent thereon, we have, by repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavors to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which, as we apprehended, so we now find, have increased contention, and produced great discord and confusion.

James Pemberton and others sent to Virginia.

Arrest and Removal of Governor Penn and Chief-justice Chew.



JAMES PEMBERTON.
From a print in "Watson's Annals."

Quakers, as a body, were friends of the king, though generally passive, so far as public observation could determine. But in secret, and through their "testimonies," they gave "aid and comfort to the enemy." To such an extent did they exert their influence against the patriots, that Congress thought it proper to recommend the executives of the several states to keep a watch upon their movements. That body also earnestly recommended the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania to apprehend and secure the persons of eleven of the leading Quakers of Philadelphia.¹ Among these was August 28, 1777. James Pemberton, whose likeness is here given. He remained two years in Virginia, where he wrote a journal, a portion of which is published in the "*Friends' Miscellany*," vol. vii.

Unlike other Tories, the Quakers were so passive that little positive evidence of their acting against the patriots could be

The Divine Principle of grace and truth which we profess leads all who attend to its dictates to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the king as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government, to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them, their spirit and temper being not only contrary to the nature and precepts of the Gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society, disqualifies men, in these times of difficulty, for the wise and judicious consideration and promoting of such measures as would be most effectual for reconciling differences or obtaining the redress of grievances.

From our past experience of the clemency of the king and his royal ancestors, we have ground to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail toward obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the Constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas and of settling in the wilderness.

We are therefore incited, by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by the conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice," we hope, through his assistance and favor, to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government, as by law established; earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have heretofore united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the Divine blessing on their labors.

Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting,

JAMES PEMBERTON, Clerk at this time.

This *Testimony* gave offense to many Friends in Philadelphia who were favorable to the patriots. Some left, and formed a separate meeting. They built themselves a brick meeting-house at the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets; and others so far seceded as to form a military company, under Captain Humphreys, which they called *The Quaker Company*.

¹ The reason given for this measure by Congress was, "that when the enemy, in the month of December, 1776, were bending their progress toward the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication, addressed 'To our friends and brethren in religious profession in these and the adjacent provinces,' signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the meeting of sufferings, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 26th of the 12th month, 1776," was published, and, as your committee is credibly informed, circulated among many members of the society called Quakers, throughout the different states." The paper originated in Philadelphia, and Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, senior, Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher, of that city, leading members of the society, were banished to Fredericksburg, in Virginia. The Board of War was also instructed to remove the Honorable John Penn, the governor, and Benjamin Chew, the chief justice of Pennsylvania, thither, for safe custody.—See *Journals of Congress*, iii., 290.

The papers and records of the yearly meeting of the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which were captured by Sullivan, in an expedition against the Loyalist regiments lying on Staten Island, opposite Perth Amboy, gave Congress the first positive proof of the general disaffection of the sect.

Execution of Roberts and Carlisle.

Justice of their Punishment.

Carpenters' Hall.

obtained ; and very few of them, suffering from confiscation of property or other penalties, became refugees at the close of the war. John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle, of Philadelphia, members of this sect, suffered death at the hands of the Whigs, in November, 1778. This act has been cited a hundred times as evidence against the claims to the exercise of uniform humanity on the part of the patriots, and magnified into a foul murder, justified by no plea of public expediency. The facts prove otherwise ; for if it was ever expedient to take the life of a dangerous citizen, then Roberts and Carlisle suffered justly. While they abstained from open hostility to the Revolutionary government, and refused to bear arms for the king, they gave secret aid, far more potent to the enemies of liberty. They were employed by Joseph Galloway and his loyal friends as secret agents in detecting foes to the government. While Howe had possession of Philadelphia, Carlisle granted permissions to pass the lines, watched at the entrance of the city to point out obnoxious persons coming from the country, and many were arrested and cast into prison on his bare suggestion. Under the meek garb and demeanor of the Quaker was a Torquemada, exercising the functions of an inquisitor general. When Howe ordered a detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, to go out upon the Frankford road, and fall upon a party of American militia, who, he was informed, were lying in the woods, Roberts and Carlisle, who would not *bear arms* for the wealth of the Indies, acted as guides in conducting Abercrombie to the massacre of their countrymen. According to the rules of war and of state policy, their execution was expedient and salutary in effect. It was a subject for bitter vituperation on the part of the Tories, and even those who would fain have saved them from death were charged with dishonorable motives. "Governor Livingston went to Philadelphia," wrote John Potts to Joseph Galloway, "and urged his endeavors to prevail on the banditti in power there to save Roberts and Carlisle, not from any principle of honor or conscience—you know him too well—but from motives, as he thought, of policy." I think it may be safely asserted that where one Tory lost his life at the hands of the Whigs during the Revolution, fifty Whigs were slain in cold blood by the Tories. The reason is obvious—a heart warmed with love of country is benevolent and humane ; its active opposers may fairly be presumed to be mercenary, and consequently cruel.

The supper-bell has rung ; let us close the chronicle for to-night, and in the morning go out in search of localities made memorable by events connected with our war for independence.

CARPENTERS' HALL.¹

On Monday morning I visited Carpenters' Hall, the building in which the first Continental Congress held its brief session. Having had no intimation concerning its appearance, condition, and present use, and informed that it was situated in "Carpenters' Court," imagination had invested its exterior with dignity, its interior with solemn grandeur, and its location a spacious area, where nothing "common or unclean" was permitted to dwell. How often the hoof of Pegasus touches the leafless tree-tops of sober prose when his rider supposes him to be at his highest altitude ! How often the rainbow of imagination fades, and leaves to the eye nothing but the forbidding aspect of a cloud of plain reality ! So at this time. The spacious *court* was but a short and narrow

¹ This building is constructed of small imported bricks, each alternate one glazed, and darker than the other, giving it a checkered appearance. Many of the old houses of Philadelphia were built of like mate-

Desecration of Carpenters' Hall.

Congress Hall.

Prevalence of a Desire for Union.

alley; and the *Hall*, consecrated by the holiest associations which cluster around the birth-time of our republic, was a small two-story building, of somber aspect, with a short steeple, and all of a dingy hue. I tried hard to conceive the apparition upon its front to be a classic frieze, with rich historic triglyphs; but it would not do. Vision was too "lynx-eyed," and I could make nothing more poetic of it than an array of impudent letters spelling the words

C. J. WOLBERT & CO., AUCTIONEERS

FOR THE SALE OF
REAL ESTATE AND STOCKS,
FANCY GOODS,
HORSES, VEHICLES, AND HARNESS.

What a desecration! Covering the façade of the very Temple of Freedom with the placards of groveling mammon! If sensibility is shocked with this outward pollution, it is overwhelmed with indignant shame on entering the hall where that august assembly of men—the godfathers of our republic—convened to stand as sponsors at the baptism of infant American Liberty, to find it filled with every species of merchandise, and the walls which once echoed the eloquent words of Henry, Lee, and the Adamses, reverberating with the clatter of the auctioneer's voice and hammer. Is there not patriotism strong enough and bold enough in Philadelphia to enter this temple and "cast out all them that buy and sell, and overthrow the table of the money-changers?"

The hall in which Congress met is upon the lower floor, and comprehends the whole area of the building. It is about forty-five feet square, with a recess in the rear twenty-five feet wide and about twelve feet deep, at the entrance of which are two pillars, eighteen feet high. The second story contains smaller apartments which were used by Congress, and occupied by the society as committee rooms. In



CONGRESS HALL.

one of these, emptied of all merchandise except a wash-tub and a rush-bottomed chair, let us sit down and consider the events connected with that first great Continental Council.

We have already, in former chapters, considered the causes which awakened a desire in the colonies for a political union, and which impelled them to resistance. For many years a strong sympathy had existed between the several colonies, and injuries done to one, either by the aggressions of the French and Indians, or the unkind hand of their common mother, touched the feelings of all the others, and drew out responsive words and acts which denoted an already strong bond of unity. Widely separated as some of them were from each other by geographical distance, and diversity of interest and pursuits, there were, nevertheless, political, social, and commercial considerations which made the Anglo-Americans really one people, having common interests and common hopes. Called upon as free subjects of Great Britain to relinquish, theoretically and practically, some of the dearest prerogatives guaranteed to them by Magna Charta and hoary custom—prerogatives, in which were enveloped the most precious kernels of civil liberty—they arose as one family to resist the insidious

rials. It was originally erected for the hall of meeting for the society of house-carpenters of Philadelphia. It stands at the end of an alley leading south from Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets.

First Movements toward a General Congress.	Election of Delegates.	Names of the Representatives of each Colony.
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progress of on-coming despotism, and yearned for union to give themselves strength commensurate to the task. Leading minds in every colony perceived the necessity for a general council, and in the spring of 1774, the great heart of Anglo-America seemed to beat as with one pulsation with this sublime idea. That idea found voice and expression almost simultaneously throughout the land. Rhode Island has the distinguished honor of first speaking out publicly on the subject. A general Congress was proposed at a town meeting in Providence on the 17th of May, 1774. A committee of a town meeting held in Philadelphia on the 21st, four days afterward, also recommended such a measure; and on the 23d, a town meeting in New York city uttered the same sentiment. The House of Burgesses of Virginia, dissolved by Lord Dunmore, assembled at the Raleigh Tavern,¹ in Williamsburgh, on the 27th, and on that day warmly recommended the assembling of a national council; and Baltimore, in county meeting, also took action in favor of it on the 31st. On the 6th of June, a town meeting at Norwich, Connecticut, proposed a general Congress; on the 11th, a county meeting at Newark, New Jersey, did the same; on the 17th, the Massachusetts Assembly, and, at the same time, a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, strenuously recommended the measure; and a county meeting at New Castle, Delaware, approved of it on the 29th. On the 6th of July, the committee of correspondence at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, expressed its approbation of the measure. A general province meeting, held at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of that month, urged the necessity of such a Congress; and a district meeting at Wilmington, North Carolina, held on the 21st, heartily responded affirmatively. Thus we perceive that, within the space of sixty-four days, twelve of the thirteen colonies spoke out decidedly in favor of a Continental Congress, Georgia alone remaining silent.² The Massachusetts Assembly designated the 1st of September, 1774, as the time, and Philadelphia as the place for the meeting of the Congress.³ Other colonies acquiesced, and at Philadelphia the delegates convened.

"Now meet the fathers of this western clime,
Nor names more noble graced the roll of Fame,
When Spartan firmness braved the wrecks of time,
Or Rome's bold virtues fann'd the heroic flame.

"Not deeper thought th' immortal sage inspired
On Solon's lips, when Grecian senates hung;
Nor manlier eloquence the bosom fired,
When genius thunder'd from the Athenian tongue."

TRUMBULL.⁴

On Monday, the 5th of September, fifty-four delegates, from twelve colonies, assembled in Carpenters' Hall.⁵ It was a congregation of men, viewed in every important aspect,

¹ A drawing of the Raleigh Tavern, and also of the *Apollo Room*, in which the Assembly met, will be found in another part of this work.

² Connecticut elected its delegates on the 3d of June; Massachusetts on the 17th; Maryland on the 22d; New Hampshire on the 21st of July; Pennsylvania on the 22d; New Jersey on the 23d; New York on the 25th; Delaware on the 1st of August; Virginia on the same day; South Carolina on the 2d; Rhode Island on the 10th; and North Carolina on the 25th.

³ See pages 510, 511, vol. i.

⁴ The author of *M'Fingal*. These lines are from his *Elegy on the Times*, published while this first Congress was in session.

⁵ The following are the names of the members who composed the first Continental Congress:

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.
MASSACHUSETTS.—Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.—Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.
CONNECTICUT.—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.
NEW YORK.—James Duane, John Jay, Isaac Low, John Alsop, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Henry Wisner.
NEW JERSEY.—James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, Richard Smith, John De Hart.
PENNSYLVANIA.—Joseph Galloway, John Morton, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, Samuel Rhodes, Edward Biddle, George Ross, John Dickenson.
DELAWARE.—Cesar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, George Read.

Character of the first Continental Congress.	Its Organization.	Peyton Randolph.	Charles Thomson.
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such as the world had never seen. "For a long time," says the eloquent Charles Botta, "no spectacle had been offered to the attention of mankind of so powerful an interest as this of the present American Congress. It was, indeed, a novel thing, and, as it were, miraculous, that a nation hitherto almost unknown to the people of Europe, or only known by the commerce it occasionally exercised in their ports, should, all at once, step forth from this state of oblivion, and, rousing as from a long slumber, should seize the reins to govern itself; that the various parts of this nation, hitherto disjointed, and almost in opposition to each other, should now be united in one body, and moved by a single will; that their long and habitual obedience should be suddenly changed for the intrepid counsels of resistance, and of open defiance to the formidable nation whence they derived their origin and laws.'

The men who composed that first Congress were possessed of the purest minds, the loftiest and most disinterested patriotism, and moral characters without spot or blemish. Instinctively the people had turned to their *best men* for counsel and action when the crisis arrived; and the representatives there assembled composed the flower of the American colonies. "There is in the Congress," wrote John Adams, "a collection of the greatest men upon this continent in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes." The sectional factions and personal ambitions, which afterward disturbed the harmony and injured the character of the Continental Congress,³ had no tangible shape in this first Assembly. They felt, with all the solemnity of wise and virtuous men, the weight of the momentous responsibility resting upon them. They knew that toward them all eyes were turned, all hearts were drawn; that not only America, but the whole civilized world, was an interested spectator of their acts; and that for posterity, more than for contemporaries, they held a trust of value infinitely beyond human estimation. Impressed with the consciousness of such responsibility, the delegates commenced their labors.

September 5, 1774. Congress was organized by the choice of Peyton Randolph,⁴ of Virginia, as president, and Charles Thomson,⁴ of Pennsylvania, as secretary. The credentials of

MARYLAND.—Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, Matthew Tilghman, William Paca.
 VIRGINIA.—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, Richard Caswell.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

¹ Otis's Botta, i., 128.

² In the opinion of Charles Thomson, who was Secretary of Congress for fifteen consecutive years, no subsequent national Assembly during the war could compare with the first in point of talent and purity. He represents the Congress that sat at York, in Pennsylvania, while Washington and his army were suffering at Valley Forge, as a body of weak men compared to former delegations. It was in that Congress that a faction favored the scheme for making Gates commander-in-chief of the army in place of Washington.

³ Peyton Randolph was a native of Virginia, descended from one of its oldest and most respected families. Like other young men of the aristocracy, he was educated in England. He chose the profession of the law, and such were his talents that he was appointed attorney-general of the province in 1756, at the age of twenty-seven years. In that year he engaged, with one hundred gentlemen, to band as volunteers, and march against the Indians on their Western frontiers. He was for some years a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and was at one time its speaker. He was one of the delegates from Virginia in the first Continental Congress, presided over that body with dignity, and was elected to the presidential chair by the second Congress, the following year. On account of ill health, he was obliged to resign his station on the 24th of May, 1775, and return to Virginia. He afterward resumed his seat in Congress. He died at Philadelphia, of apoplexy, on the 22d of October, 1775, aged fifty-two years.

The accompanying likeness of Mr. Randolph I copied from a miniature by Charles Wilson Peale, in the possession of his son, Titian R. Peale, Esq., of Washington City. The original portrait from life, painted by Peale, is in the Congress library; the miniature is a copy by the same artist. Mr. Randolph was a Free-mason; the scarf seen across his breast is a part of the regalia of a grand master. The portrait was painted for a lodge of the fraternity.

⁴ Charles Thomson was born in Ireland, in 1730, and came to America, with his three elder brothers, in 1741. They landed at New Castle, Delaware, with no other dependence than their industry. He was educated by Dr. Allison, the tutor of several of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was afterward a teacher at the Friends' Academy, at New Castle. From thence he went to Philadelphia, where he obtained the advice and lasting friendship of Dr. Franklin. He was called to the responsible duty of keeping the minutes of the proceedings of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and from that time until he resigned his office, in 1789, he was the sole secretary of that body. He married Hannah

Opening of the first Continental Congress.

Patrick Henry.

The first Prayer in Congress.

the various delegates were then presented, and now came a pause; who should take the lead? what measure should be first proposed? They had come together from distant provinces, some instructed by the power that appointed them, others left free to act as circumstances should require. There was a profound silence, and deep anxiety was depicted upon every countenance. No one seemed willing to break that silence, until a grave-looking member, in a plain,



Peyton Randolph

is it?" A few, who knew the stranger, answered, "It is PATRICK HENRY, of Virginia!"

There was no more hesitation; he who startled the people of colonial America, nine years before, by his bold resolutions against the Stamp Act, and, a few months afterward, by the cry of "Give me liberty or give me death!" now gave the impulse to the representatives of that people in grand council assembled, and set in motion that machinery of civil power which worked so nobly while Washington and his compatriots were waging war with the enemy in the field.

September 7. Two days afterward, another impressive scene occurred. It was the *first prayer in Congress*, offered up by the Reverend Mr. Duché.² The first day had been occupied in the reception of credentials and the arrangement of business; the second, in the adoption of rules for the regulation of the session; and now, when about to enter upon the general business for which they were convened, the delegates publicly sought Divine aid. It was a spectacle of great interest, for men of every creed

dark suit of "minister's gray" and unpowdered wig, arose. "Then," said Bishop White, who was present, and related the circumstance, "I felt a regret that a seeming *country parson* should so far have mistaken his talents and the theater for their display." But his voice was so musical, his words so eloquent, and his sentiments so profoundly logical, that the whole House was electrified, and the question went from lip to lip, "Who is it? who



Charles Thomson



THOMSON'S RESIDENCE.

Harrison, the aunt of General Harrison, late President of the United States. Mr. Thomson died at Lower Merion, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, August 16, 1824, aged ninety-four years. The likeness of Secretary Thomson here given I copied from a portrait painted from life by Charles Wilson Peale, and in the present possession of P. T. Barnum, Esq., of New York. It agrees with the description of him given by the Abbé Robin, who was attached to Rochambeau's staff. Alluding to those who paid their respects to Rochambeau when he was in Philadelphia, he says: "Among others, Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, the soul of that political body, came also to receive and present his compliments. His meager figure, furrowed countenance, his hollow, sparkling eyes, his white, straight hair, that did not hang quite so low as his ears, fixed our thorough attention, and filled us with surprise and admiration."

¹ See Watson's *Annals*, vol. i., 422.

² John Adams thus wrote to his wife on the 8th of September, concerning that first prayer in Congress.

Sessions with closed Doors. Sympathy with Massachusetts. Declaration of Rights. "American Association." Mr. Duché.

were there. In this service their creeds were forgotten, and the hearts of all united in the prayer which flowed from the pastor's lips; a prayer which came from a then patriot's heart, though timidity afterward lost him the esteem of his friends and countrymen.¹

The Congress resolved to sit with closed doors, for enemies were around them with open eyes and busy tongues, and nothing was to be made public without special orders. Having no means at hand to ascertain the relative importance of the colonies, it was agreed "that each colony or province should have one vote in determining questions." One of their first acts was to express an opinion that the whole continent ought to support Massachusetts in

• September 10. resistance to the unconstitutional change in her government;^a and they afterward resolved that any person accepting office under the new system ought to

• October 10. be held in detestation as a public enemy.^b Merchants were advised to enter

• September 22. into non-importation agreements;^c and a letter was addressed to General Gage, remonstrating against the fortifications on Boston Neck, and his arbitrary exercise of power.^d

• October 11. On the 14th of October, a *Declaration of Colonial Rights*, prepared by a committee of two from each province, was adopted, in which was set forth the grievances complained of, and the inalienable rights of British subjects^e in every part of the realm. As a means of enforcing the claim of natural and delegated rights, fourteen articles were agreed to as the basis of an *American Association*, pledging the associ-

October 20. ators to an entire commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and the non-consumption of tea and British goods. In one clause the slave trade was specially denounced, and entire abstinence from it, and from any trade with those concerned in it, formed a part of the association. Committees were to be appointed in every county, city, and town, to detect and punish all violations of it; and all dealings

"When the Congress met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments—some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists—that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose, and said 'that he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers before the Congress to-morrow morning.' The motion was seconded, and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our president, waited on Mr. Duché, and received for answer that, if his health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning, he appeared with his clerk, and in pontificals, and read several prayers in the Established form, and then read the Psalter for the seventh day of September, a part of which was the 35th Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we had heard the rumor of the horrible cannonade of Boston. *It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning.*

"After this, Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to every body, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess, I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such correctness, such pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, especially the town of Boston. It had an excellent effect upon every body here. I must beg you to read that Psalm. If there is any faith in the Sortes Virgillianæ, or Sortes Homericæ, or especially the Sortes Biblicæ, it would be thought providential." Bishop White, who was present, says that Washington was the only member who knelt on that occasion.

¹ Mr. Duché was at that time an ardent Whig, but subsequently became an enemy to his country. He was the son of a Huguenot, who came to America with William Penn. In youth he was a good orator, and, after taking holy orders in England, he became a very popular Episcopal clergyman in Philadelphia, his native city. He was appointed chaplain to Congress on the 9th of July, 1776, but resigned in October. When the British took possession of Philadelphia, Mr. Duché, alarmed at the gloomy aspect of affairs, forsook the patriot cause, and, in a letter to Washington, endeavored to persuade the general to do likewise, and to "represent to Congress the indispensable necessity of rescinding the hasty and ill-advised Declaration of Independence." Washington transmitted this letter to Congress, and Mr. Duché was obliged to leave the country. He became a preacher in the Lambeth Asylum, where he was greatly respected. He returned to America in 1790, and died in Philadelphia in 1794, aged about sixty years. Mr. Duché was a man of much benevolence of character. He gave the amount of his salary (\$150), while chaplain of Congress, to be distributed among families whose members had been slain in battle. He married a sister of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

^a This Declaration of Rights may be found in the Appendix.

State Papers issued by Congress.

Debates.

Diversity of Opinion.

Dartmouth's Circular.

Joseph Galloway.

with such enemies of American liberty were to be immediately broken off. One hundred and fifty copies of the Articles of Association were ordered to be printed.

A memorial to the inhabitants of the several British-American colonies, written by Richard Henry Lee, and an eloquent address to the people of Great Britain, from the pen of John Jay, were adopted by Congress on the 21st. A petition to the king, drawn by John Dickenson, was approved of on the 22d. Short letters to the colonies of St. John's Island (now Prince Edward's, Nova Scotia), Georgia, and the two Floridas, inclosing the doings of Congress, and inviting them to join the Association, were also adopted on that day; and on the 26th, the last day of the session, they approved of an elaborate address to the inhabitants of Canada. This was drawn up by Mr. Dickenson with his usual ability. Having made provision for another Congress to meet on the 10th of May following,¹ the first general council closed its session by adopting a second humble petition to the king, and a vote of thanks to the advocates of colonial rights in both houses of Parliament.

Congress was in actual session only thirty-one days out of the eight weeks of the term, the remainder of the time being occupied in preparatory business. It was a session of extraordinary activity, and a great amount of business of vast importance was transacted, notwithstanding many unnecessary speeches were evidently made.² They were certainly more to the purpose than are most of the harangues in Congress at the present day, or, considering the diversity of opinion that must have existed upon the sentiments of the various state papers that were adopted, the session would have continued for several months. We have no means of knowing what harmony or what discord characterized those debates. The doors were closed to the public ear, and no reporters for the press have preserved the substance of the speeches. That every resolution adopted was far from receiving a unanimous vote, is very evident; for we find, by the subsequent declarations and acts of delegates, that some of the measures were violently opposed. Many deplored the probability of an open rupture with the mother country, and refused acquiescence in any measure that should tend to such a result. Indeed, the sentiments of a large majority of the delegates were favorable to an honorable reconciliation, and the Congress was determined not to present the least foundation for a charge of rushing madly into an unnatural contest without presenting the olive branch of peace. Such was the tenor of its petitions and addresses; and every charge of a desire on the part of Congress for a war that might lead to independence rested solely upon inference. Galloway,³ Duane, and others, even opposed the American Association;

¹ The following circular letter was sent to all the royal governors in America, soon after the proceedings of the Continental Congress were received in England. It was a "bull" without horns, and did not alarm the patriots.

"Whitehall, Jan. 4th, 1775.

"Certain persons stiling" (sic) "themselves delegates of his majesty's colonies in America, having presumed, without his majesty's authority or consent, to assemble together, at Philadelphia, in the month of September and October last; and having thought fit, among other unwarrantable proceedings, to resolve that it will be necessary that another Congress should be held in this place on the 10th of May next, unless redress for certain pretended grievances be obtained before that time, and to recommend that all the colonies in North America should choose deputies to attend such Congress, I am commanded by the king to signify to you his majesty's pleasure, that you do use your utmost endeavors to prevent such appointment of deputies within the colony under your government; and that you do exhort all persons to desist from such unwarrantable proceedings, which can not but be highly displeasing to the king.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

DARTMOUTH."

² "Every man in this assembly," wrote John Adams to his wife, "is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man, upon every question, must show his oratory, his criticism, his political abilities. The consequence is, that business is spun out to an immeasurable length."

³ Joseph Galloway was one of the most popular of the leaders in Pennsylvania when the war of the Revolution broke out. He was once the confidential friend of Franklin, and had worked shoulder to shoulder with him against the proprietaries. He was elected a delegate to the first Continental Congress. In that body he submitted a plan, as a measure of accommodation, which seemed quite feasible. It proposed a union of the colonies, with a grand council authorized to regulate colonial affairs jointly with the British Parliament, each to have a mutual negation on each other.* This plan was favorably received, and on the

* This plan is printed in Sabine's *Lives of the Loyalists*, p. 309.

Opinions concerning the Adamases.

Sketch of Galloway's public Life.

Disposition of his Estate.

and they regarded the Adamases as men not only too much committed to violent measures by the part they had taken in Boston, but that they were desperate men, with nothing to lose, and hence unsafe guides to gentlemen who had estates to forfeit. And yet Galloway, when he became a proscriptive Loyalist, and one of the most active enemies of the Republicans, was forced to acknowledge the stern virtues of many of the patriots of that assembly, and among them Samuel Adams. "He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, and thinks much," he said, "and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was this man who, by his superior application, managed at once the factions in Congress at Philadelphia, and the factions in New England."¹

The proceedings of this first Congress went forth to the world with all the weight of apparent unanimity, and throughout the colonies they were hailed with general satisfaction. The American Association adopted and signed by the delegates was regarded by the people with great favor, and thousands in every province affixed their signatures to the pledge. These formed the fibers of the stronger bond of the *Articles of Confederation* afterward adopted, and may be considered the commencement of the American Union.

question of its adoption it was rejected by a majority of only one. The debates were very warm, and it was on this occasion that Samuel Adams, regarding the proposition as a concession to tyranny, exclaimed,

Is Galloway

"I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand were to survive and retain his liberty! One such freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he has so nobly preserved."² Before the meeting of the next Con-

gress, Galloway manifested lukewarmness; and in 1776 he abandoned the Whigs, and became the most virulent and proscriptive Loyalist of the time. He joined the royal army in New York, where he continued until 1778, when, accompanied by his only daughter,[†] he went to England. There he remained until his death in September, 1803, at the age of seventy-three years. His pen, for many years, was continually employed in correspondence with Loyalists in America, and upon subjects connected with the war. The prominent position which he at first held among the Whigs, and his virulence against them after his defection, made him the target for many an arrow of indignant wit. Trumbull, in his *M'Fingall*, gave him some hard hits; and a writer in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of February 5, 1777, thus castigates him with some lines, after saying to the printer,

"If you think them severe enough, print 'em, egad!"

"Gall'way has fled, and join'd the venal Howe,
To prove his baseness, see him cringe and bow;
A traitor to his country and its laws,
A friend to tyrants and their cursed cause.
Unhappy wretch! thy interest must be sold
For Continental, not for polish'd gold.
To sink the money thou thyself cried down,
And stabb'd thy country to support the crown.

Go to and fro, like Lucifer on earth,
And curse the *Being* that first gave thee birth.
Away to Scotland and thyself prepare,
Coal dust and brimstone is their only fare;
Fit materials for such Tory blood,
Who wrong their country and deny their God.
There herd with Bute, Mansfield, and his brother;‡
Bite, twist, sting, and poison one another."

Galloway's estate, valued at \$200,000, was confiscated by Pennsylvania. A large part of it was derived from his wife. A considerable portion was restored to his daughter.

¹ Galloway's *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*: London, 1780. In this pamphlet the writer handles Sir William Howe and other British commanders with severity.

* Mr. Adams reiterated this sentiment when debating the resolution for independence twenty months afterward.

† Just before he left Philadelphia he discovered that his daughter was about to elope with Judge Griffin, who was afterward president of Congress. This doubtless hastened his departure.

‡ Murray, confidential secretary to the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward.

The State House.

Independence Hall.

Hancock's Chair.

Portraits of Penn and La Fayette.

CHAPTER XI.

"This is the sacred fane wherein assembled
The fearless champions on the side of Right;
Men at whose Declaration empires trembled,
Moved by the truth's immortal might.

"Here stood the patriot—one union folding
The Eastern, Northern, Southern sage and seer,
Within that living bond which, truth upholding,
Proclaims each man his fellow's peer.

"Here rose the anthem which all nations, hearing,
In loud response the echoes backward hurled;
Reverberating still the ceaseless cheering,
Our continent repeats it to the world.

"This is the hallowed spot where first unfurling,
Fair Freedom spread her blazing scroll of light;
Here, from oppression's throne the tyrant hurling,
She stood supreme in majesty and might!"

GEORGE W. DEWEY.



FROM Carpenters' Hall I went up Chestnut Street to the venerable State House, situated upon its southern side, between Fifth and Sixth Streets.¹ Hallowed by so many patriotic associations, it has become a Caaba to every American when first visiting the city of Penn. It is cherished by the people of Pennsylvania because of the memories of colonial times, immediately antecedent to the Revolution, which embalm it; and it is cherished by the people of the whole Union as the most revered relic of the war for independence, because it contains the hall wherein the Declaration of that independence was discussed, and adopted in council, and signed, and sent forth to the world. Being used for public business, this edifice, unlike Carpenters' Hall, is free from the desecrations of mammon, and the Hall of Independence is kept closed, except when curious visitors seek entrance, or some special occasion opens its doors to the public.²

Nothing now remains of the old furniture of the hall except two antique mahogany chairs, covered with red leather, one of which was used by Hancock as president, and the other by Charles Thomson as secretary of Congress, when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the walls hang two fine paintings; one a full-length portrait, life size, of William Penn, by the late Henry Inman, and the other a portrait,



¹ The erection of this edifice was begun in 1729, and completed in 1734. The two wings were added in 1739-40, and it was then one of the largest and most costly edifices for civil purposes in America. Previous to its erection, the annual sessions of the Legislature of Pennsylvania were held at private houses. The first purchase of grounds for the building included only about half the depth to Walnut Street. In 1760 the other half square was purchased, and the whole space inclosed by a heavy brick wall. John Vaughan, who came from England to reside in Philadelphia, planted the grounds with elm-trees and shrubbery in 1783. Afterward the brick wall was removed, and the present neat iron railing erected in its place. The cost of the main building of the State House and its steeple was about \$28,000. The style of the architecture was directed by Dr. John Kearsly, Senior, the same amateur who gave architectural character to Christ Church. The glass and lead sashes cost \$850. The glazing was done by THOMAS GODFREY, afterward celebrated as the inventor of the quadrant.

² It was made the hall of audience for La Fayette in 1824, when, as the "nation's guest," he visited

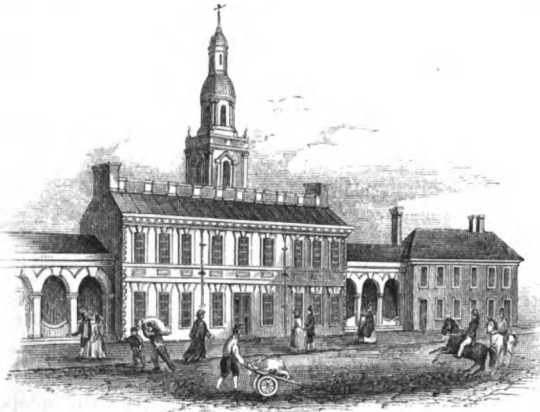
Picture of the Treaty Tree.

Statue of Washington.

Liberty Bell.

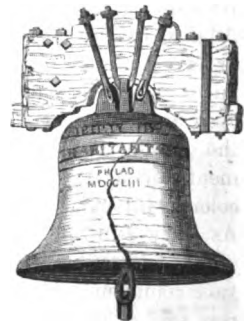
— Its History.

same size, of La Fayette; taken from life by the late Thomas Sully. The former is a superb picture, and exhibits, in the back-ground, a representation of the Treaty Tree. Upon the floor stands a statue of Washington, upon a high pedestal, wrought in wood by Mr. Rush, of Philadelphia. Near it is a piece of stone, said to be a part of the door-step of the balcony in the rear of the State House, upon which John Nixon stood and read the Declaration of Independence to the people¹ for the first time, on the 8th of July, 1776. These compose the *souvenirs* of Independence Hall.



THE STATE HOUSE AS IT APPEARED IN 1774.
From a vignette on an old map of Philadelphia.

the heaviest part. Its tone is destroyed by a crack, which extends from the lip to the crown, passing directly through the names of the persons who cast it. An attempt was made to restore the tone by sawing the crack wider, but without success; the melody of the "glory-breathed tone" that thrilled the hearts of the people on the birth-day of the nation could not be reawakened. The history of this bell is interesting. In 1752, a bell for the State House was imported from England. On the first trial-ringing, after its arrival, it was cracked. It was recast by Pass and Stow, of Philadelphia, in 1753, under the direction of Isacc Norris, Esq., the then speaker of the Colonial Assembly. And that is the bell, "the greatest in English America," which now hangs in the old State House steeple and claims our reverence.² Upon fillets around its crown, cast there twenty-three years before the Continental Congress met in the State House, are the words of Holy Writ, "*Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.*" How prophetic! Beneath that very bell the representatives of the thirteen colonies "proclaimed liberty." Ay, and when the debates were ended, and the result was announced, on the 4th of July, 1776, the iron tongue of that very bell first "proclaimed liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," by ringing out the joyful annunciation for more than two hours, its glorious melody floating clear and musical as the voice of an angel



LIBERTY BELL.

Philadelphia. The room had been materially altered by the removal of wainscoting and other architectural ornaments, yet its general features were sufficiently preserved to awaken in the bosom of the veteran the liveliest emotions. In that hall John Hancock signed the commission of the marquis as major general in the Continental army; and there, during the struggle, the young hero was frequently greeted by the supreme legislature as a public benefactor. It was there that he shared the honors (not on the same day) with Washington, of a grateful reception by Congress, after the capture of Cornwallis; and there he took leave of that body, for the last time during the war, and returned to France. In that room the body of the late ex-president, John Quincy Adams, lay in state while on its progress to the family vault at Quincy.

¹ Watson says that Captain Hopkins, of the navy, read the Declaration on that occasion, but testimony appears to predominate in favor of the claims of John Nixon to that honor.

² When the British army approached Philadelphia, in 1777, this bell was taken down and carried to a place of safety. Already the ancient steeple, on account of decay, had been taken down, and a simple belfry put in its place. The present steeple is quite modern.

³ Leviticus, xxv., 10.

Independence not Early nor generally Desired, except by a Few.

Patrick Henry's Prediction.

above the discordant chorus of booming cannon, the roll of drums, and the mingled acclamations of the people.

"That old bell is still seen by the patriot's eye,
And he blesses it ever, when journeying by;
Long years have pass'd o'er it, and yet every soul
Will thrill, in the night, to its wonderful roll;
For it speaks in its belfry, when kiss'd by the blast,
Like a glory-breathed tone from the mystical past.
Long years shall roll o'er it, and yet every chime
Shall unceasingly tell of an era sublime;
Oh yes! if the flame on our altars should pale,
Let its voice but be heard, and the freemen shall start,
To rekindle the fire, while he sees on the gale
All the stars and the stripes of the flag of his heart."

WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

Here, upon this dusty beam, leaning against the old "Liberty Bell," let us sit a while, and peruse that brilliant page in our history, whereon is written the record of the DECLARATION OF OUR INDEPENDENCE.

It is now impossible to determine the precise time when aspirations for political independence first became a prevailing sentiment among the people of the colonies. The thought, no doubt, was cherished in many minds years before it found expression; but it was not a subject for public discussion more than a few months before it was brought before Congress by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. A few men, among whom were Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Timothy Dwight, and Thomas Paine, seem to have had an early impression that political independence was the only cure for the evils under which the colonies groaned; yet these ideas, when expressed, met with little favor, even among the most ardent patriots.¹ English writers declare that, from the beginning, the colonies aimed at political independence; and Chalmers asserts that there were documents among the Board of Trade to prove that such had been the desire and intent of the colonies through every administration, from the time of the Revolution in England, in 1688. As early as 1773, according to Mr. Wirt, Patrick Henry, speaking of Great Britain, said, "She *will* drive us to extremities; no accommodation *will* take place; hostilities *will* soon commence; and a desperate and bloody touch it will be." This, Mr. Wirt asserts, was said in the presence of Colonel Samuel Overton, who at once asked Mr. Henry if he thought the colonies sufficiently strong to oppose successfully the fleets and armies of Great Britain. "I will be candid with you," replied Mr. Henry; "I doubt whether we *shall* be able, *alone*, to cope with so powerful a nation; but," continued he, rising from his chair with great animation, "where is France? where is Spain? where is Holland? the natural enemies of Great Britain. Where will they be all this while? Do you suppose they will stand by, idle and indifferent spectators to the contest? Will Louis XVI. be asleep all this time? Believe me, *no*! When Louis XVI. shall be satisfied, by our serious opposition and our *Declaration of Independence*, that all prospect of a reconciliation is gone, then, and not till then, will he furnish us with arms, ammunition, and clothing; and not with them only, but he will send his fleets and armies to fight our battles for us; he will

¹ Says Dr. Dwight, "I urged, in conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability, firm Whigs, and my intimate friends, the importance, and even the necessity, of a declaration of independence on the part of the colonies, and alleged for this measure the very same arguments which afterward were generally considered as decisive, but found them disposed to give me and my arguments a hostile and contemptuous, instead of a cordial reception. Yet, at this time, all the resentment and enthusiasm awakened by the odious measures of Parliament, by the peculiarly obnoxious conduct of the British agents in this country, and by the recent battles of Lexington and Breed's Hill, were at the highest pitch. These gentlemen may be considered as representatives of the great body of the thinking men in this country. A few may, perhaps, be excepted, but none of these durst at that time openly declare their opinions to the public. For myself, I regarded the die as cast, and the hopes of reconciliation as vanished, and believed that the colonists would never be able to defend themselves unless they renounced their dependence on Great Britain."—Dwight's *Travels in New England*, i., 150.

form a treaty with us, offensive and defensive, against our unnatural mother. Spain and Holland will join the confederation! Our independence will be established! and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth!" How literally these predictions were soon fulfilled the pen of history has already recorded.

Dr. Franklin talked of total political emancipation as early as 1774; and yet Jay, Madison, Richard Penn, and others positively assert that, until after the meeting of the second Congress in 1775, there was no serious thought of independence entertained. Washington, in a letter to his early friend, Captain Mackenzie, written in October, 1774, said, in reply to an intimation of that officer that the province of Massachusetts was seeking independency, "Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence."

Although smarting under the lash of ministerial aggressions upon their rights, the colonists, prompted by the pride of political and social birth-right, as children of Great Britain, maintained a loyal spirit, and a separation from the British empire was a proposition too startling to be readily embraced, or even favorably received by the great mass of the people, who regarded "Old England" with filial reverence. But when Britain sent fleets and armies hither to coerce submission to her injustice; "to plunder our seas, ravage our coasts, burn our towns, harass our people, and eat out their substance;" when king, Lords, and Commons became totally "deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity," the colonies were obliged to "acquiesce in the necessity which compelled them to dissolve the political bands which connected them with the parent state, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them." "The lightning of the Crusades was in the people's hearts, and it needed but a single electric touch to make it blaze forth upon the world," says James, in writing of an earlier disruption of political systems. Likewise, the flame of desire for absolute independence glowed in every patriot bosom at the beginning of 1776, and the vigorous paragraphs of *Common Sense*,¹ and kindred publications, laboring with the voice of impassioned oratory

¹ This was the title of a pamphlet written by Thomas Paine, and published about the commencement of 1776. It is said to have been prepared at the suggestion of Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia. It was the earliest and most powerful appeal in behalf of independence, and probably did more to fix that idea firmly in the public mind than any other instrumentality. After giving many and weighty reasons why the Americans should seek independence, he said, "It matters little, now, what the King of England either says or does. He hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet, and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty procured for himself a universal hatred. It is now the interest of America to provide for herself. . . . Independence is the only bond that will tie and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of an intriguing, as well as cruel, enemy. We shall then, too, be on a proper footing to treat with Great Britain; for there is reason to conclude that the pride of that court will be less hurt by treating with the American States for terms of peace, than with those whom she denominates "rebellious subjects" for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war. . . . O ye that love mankind! ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the Old World is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa hath long expelled her; Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh! receive the fugitive, and prepare, in time, an asylum for mankind." Such were the trumpet tones of *Common Sense* which aroused the people to action. So highly was its influence esteemed, that the Legislature of Pennsylvania voted the author \$2500. Washington, writing to Joseph Reed from Cambridge, on the 31st of January, 1776, said, "A few more of such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk [two towns burned by the British], added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet *Common Sense*, will not leave numbers at a loss to decide" upon the propriety of a separation. Again, writing to the same gentleman two months afterward, he said, "By private letters which I have lately received from Virginia, I find that *Common Sense* is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men." *Common Sense* was the signature which Paine usually affixed to his earlier political writings. Paine also wrote a series of political pamphlets called *The Crisis*, which were admirably adapted to the state of the times, and which did much toward keeping alive the spirit of determined rebellion against the unjust government of Great Britain. They were put forth at different times, from the close of 1776 until the end of the war. The first number was published in December, 1776. Paine was then in Washing-

First public Movements favorable to Independence. Paine's *Crisis*. The Ministry order it to be Burned. The Result.

at every public gathering of the people, uncapped the volcano, and its brilliant coruscations were seen and hailed with a shout throughout our broad land.

The colonial assemblies soon began to move in the matter. North Carolina was the first to take the bold progressive step toward independence. By a vote of a convention held on the 22d of April, 1776, the representatives of that state in the Continental Congress were authorized "to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independence."¹ Massachusetts took a similar step. On the 10th, the General Assembly requested the people of that colony, at the then approaching election of new representatives, to give them instructions on the subject of independence.² Pursuant to this request, the people of Boston, in town meeting assembled on the 23d, instructed their representatives to use their best endeavors to have their delegates in Congress "advised that, in case Congress should think it necessary, for the safety of the united colonies, to declare themselves independent of Great Britain, the inhabitants of that colony, with their lives and the *remnants* of their fortunes, would most cheerfully support them in the measure." The Convention of Virginia passed a similar resolution on the 17th of May,³ but going further, by instructing their representatives to *propose* a declaration of independence. So, also, did the Assembly of Rhode Island, during its session in that month.⁴ On the 8th of June the New York delegates asked for special instructions on that subject; but the Provincial Assembly, deeming itself incompetent to instruct without the previous sanction of the people, did no more than to recommend them to signify their sentiments at the new election just at hand. The Assembly of

ton's camp. The pamphlet was read to every corporal's guard, and its strong and truthful language had a powerful effect in the army and among the people at large.* The second *Crisis* was published in January, 1777. It was addressed to Lord Howe,† and ridiculed his proclamations, &c. The third number was published at Philadelphia on the 19th of April, 1777. This was devoted to an examination of events since the Declaration of Independence, and a reiteration of arguments in favor of that measure. In September, immediately after the battle on the Brandywine, the fourth *Crisis* was published. It was a cheering trumpet-blast for the army. In March, 1778, the fifth *Crisis* was published at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. It consisted of a letter to Sir William Howe, and an address to the inhabitants of America. The sixth *Crisis*, consisting of a letter to the British commissioners (Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden), was published at Philadelphia, in October, 1778. The seventh number was published at Philadelphia, on the 21st of November, 1778. It was addressed to the people of England. The eighth *Crisis*, which was a second address to the people of England, was published in March, 1780; in June following the ninth number was published; and in October of the same year, a long discussion on the subject of taxes, called *A Crisis extraordinary*, was published.‡ The last three numbers were written at the instigation of Robert Morris, the financier, with the knowledge and approval of Washington. Two others were published during the war; one discussed general topics, the other, published in May, 1782, considered "The present State of News."

When the first number of the *Crisis* reached England, it was seized and ordered to be burned near Westminster Hall by the common hangman. A large concourse of people assembled; the fire was put out by the populace, and dead dogs and cats were thrown on the ashes. Acts of Parliament were then cast upon the heap, and consumed. Sir Richard Steele wrote a political pamphlet called *The Crisis*, in 1714, for which he was expelled from his seat in the House of Commons.

¹ A portion of North Carolina made a much earlier and very important movement toward independence, of which I shall hereafter write in detail. I refer to the Mecklenberg Convention, in May, 1775.

² Bradford, p. 104.

³ After its adoption, the Convention proceeded to the establishment of a regular independent government, a course which Congress shortly afterward recommended to all the states.

⁴ The Assembly directed the oath of allegiance thereafter to be in the name of the *Colony of Rhode Island*, instead of to the King of Great Britain.

* Among other equally strong paragraphs was the following: "I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who had so earnestly and repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I can not see on what grounds the King of Great Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker has as good a pretense as he."

† Paine also wrote a poetical *Epistle* to Lord Howe, of which the following is the closing stanza:

"Since, then, no hopes to civilize remain,
And mild philosophy has preach'd in vain,
One pray'r is left, which dreads no proud reply,
That he who made you breathe will make you die."

‡ This was written in March, but was not published until Autumn.

Timidity in the State Legislatures.

State Governments Recommended.

Lee's Resolution for Independence.

Connecticut, on the 14th of June, instructed the delegates from that colony to give their assent to a declaration of independence; on the 15th the New Hampshire Provincial Congress issued similar instructions, and on the 21st, the new delegates from New Jersey were instructed to act in the matter as their judgments should dictate.

In the Pennsylvania Assembly, several months previously, the subject of independence had been hinted at. The Conservatives were alarmed, and procured the adoption of instructions to their delegates adverse to such an idea. In June these restrictions were removed, but the delegates were neither instructed nor officially permitted to concur with the other colonies in a declaration of independence. The Convention of Maryland, by a resolution adopted about the last of May, positively forbade their delegates voting for independence. Georgia, South Carolina, and Delaware took no action on the subject, and their delegates were left free to vote as they pleased. November, 1775.

Thus stimulated by affirmative action in various colonies, the desire for independence became a living principle in the hall of the Continental Congress, and that principle found utterance, albeit with timorous voice. Congress resolved, "That it be recommended to the several assemblies and conventions of the united colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath hitherto been established, to adopt such a government as shall, in the opinions of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."¹ This was certainly a bold step, yet not sufficiently positive and comprehensive as a basis of energetic action in favor of independence. The hearts of a majority in Congress yearned with an irrepressible zeal for the consummation of an event which they knew to be inevitable, yet there seemed to be no one courageous enough in that assembly to step forth and take the momentous responsibility of lifting the knife that should sever the cord which bound the American colonies to the British throne. The royal government would mark that man as an arch rebel, and all its energies would be brought to bear to quench his spirit or to hang him on a gibbet. May 10, 1776.

We have seen that Virginia instructed her representatives in Congress to *propose* independence; she had a delegate equal to the task. In the midst of the doubt, and dread, and hesitation which for twenty days had brooded over the national assembly, Richard Henry Lee² arose, and, with his clear, musical voice, read aloud the resolution, "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that all political connection between us and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." John Adams immediately seconded the resolution. To shield them from the royal ire, Congress directed its secretary to omit the names of its mover and seconder, in the Journals. The record says, "Certain resolutions respecting independence being moved and seconded, *Resolved*, that the consideration of them be deferred until to-morrow morning; and that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to take the same into their consideration." The resolution was not considered until three days afterward, when it was resolved to "postpone its further consideration until the first day of July next; and, in the mean while, that no time be lost, in case Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to that effect." This committee was appointed on the 11th, and consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; and Robert R. Livingston, of New York. On the evening of June 7, 1776.

¹ John Adams, Edward Rutledge, and Richard Henry Lee were appointed a committee to prepare a preamble to this resolution. See *Journals of Congress*, ii., 158. In this preamble it was declared "irreconcilable to reason and a good conscience for the colonists to take the oaths required for the support of the government under the crown of Great Britain." It was also declared necessary that all royal power should be suppressed, and "all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defense of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and civil depredations of their enemies."—*Journals*, ii., 166.

² A portrait of Mr. Lee will be found among those in the frontispiece to this volume, and a sketch of his life, with those of the other signers, in the Appendix.

Absence of R. H. Lee.

Jefferson's Draft of the Declaration.

Reasons why he was Chosen to Write it.

the 10th, Mr. Lee received intelligence by express that his wife was seriously ill, and he was compelled to ask leave of absence for a short time. He left Philadelphia the next morning, and this fact accounts for the omission of his name in the formation of the committee on that day. Mr. Jefferson was appointed chairman of the committee, and to him his colleagues assigned the task of preparing the draft of a declaration to be presented to Congress.¹ It was drawn with care, and was unanimously adopted by the committee, after a few verbal alterations by Adams and Franklin.

On the 1st of July, pursuant to agreement, Mr. Lee's motion was brought up in the committee of the whole House, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia (father of the late President Harrison), in the chair. The draft of a declaration of independence was reported at the same time, and for three consecutive days it was debated by paragraphs seriatim. Many alterations, omissions, and amendments were made. The following is a copy of that original draft, before any amendments were made in committee of the whole. The passages omitted by Congress are printed in italics, and the substitutions are given in notes at the bottom of the page.²

"A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general Congress assembled.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with *inherent and inalienable*³ rights; that among these are

¹ Mr. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence at his lodgings, in the house of Mrs. Clymer, on the southwest corner of Seventh and High Streets, Philadelphia.—See Watson's *Annals*, ii., 309. John Adams, in his autobiography, gives the following reasons why Mr. Jefferson was chosen to write the Declaration: "Mr. Jefferson had been now about a year a member of Congress, but had attended his duty in the House a very small part of the time, and when there had never spoken in public. During the whole time I sat with him in Congress, I never heard him utter three sentences together.

"It will naturally be inquired how it happened that he was appointed on a committee of such importance. There were more reasons than one. Mr. Jefferson had the reputation of a masterly pen; he had been chosen a delegate in Virginia in consequence of a very handsome public paper which he had written for the House of Burgesses, which had given him the character of a fine writer. Another reason was, that Mr. Richard Henry Lee was not beloved by the most of his colleagues from Virginia, and Mr. Jefferson was sent up to rival and supplant him. This could be done only by the pen, for Mr. Jefferson could stand no competition with him, or any one else, in elocution and public debate.

"The committee had several meetings, in which were proposed the articles of which the Declaration was to consist, and minutes made of them. The committee then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to draw them up in form, and clothe them in a proper dress. The sub-committee met, and considered the minutes, making such observations on them as then occurred, when Mr. Jefferson desired me to take them to my lodgings, and make the draft. This I declined, and gave several reasons for so doing:

"1. That he was a Virginian, and I a Massachusettensian. 2. That he was a Southern man, and I a Northern one. 3. That I had been so obnoxious for my early and constant zeal in promoting the measure, that every draft of mine would undergo a more severe scrutiny and criticism in Congress than one of his composition. 4. And lastly, and that would be reason enough, if there were no other, I had a great opinion of the elegance of his pen, and none at all of my own. I therefore insisted that no hesitation should be made on his part. He accordingly took the minutes, and in a day or two produced to me his draft."

² On the 8th of July, four days after the amended Declaration was adopted, Mr. Jefferson wrote the following letter, and sent it, with the original draft, to Mr. Lee:

"PHILADELPHIA, July 8, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—For news, I refer you to your brother, who writes on that head. I inclose you a copy of the Declaration of Independence, as agreed to by the House, and also as originally framed; you will judge whether it is the better or the worse for the critics. I shall return to Virginia after the 11th of August. I wish my successor may be certain to come before that time: in that case, I shall hope to see you, and not Wythe, in convention, that the business of government, which is of everlasting concern, may receive your aid. Adieu, and believe me to be your friend and servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"To Richard Henry Lee, Esq."

³ Certain unalienable

life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes. And, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, *begun at a distinguished period, and pursuing invariably the same object*, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to *expunge*¹ their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of *unremitting*² injuries and usurpations; *among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all have,*³ in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world; *for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.*

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has *neglected utterly*⁴ to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly *and continually*, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states: for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

*He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states,*⁵ refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made our judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices *by a self-assumed power*, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies *and ships of war*, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

¹ Alter

⁴ Utterly neglected

² Repeated

⁵ He has obstructed the administration of justice, by

³ Having

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us¹ of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these states ;²

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, *withdrawing his governors, and*³ declaring us out of his *allegiance and* protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy⁴ unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions of existence ; *he has excited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.*

He has constrained *others*,⁵ taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

*He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he obtruded them : thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.*⁶

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler

¹ In many cases

² Colonies

³ By

⁴ Scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally

⁵ Our fellow-citizens

⁶ It has been asserted that this paragraph was expunged because it was not palatable to those delegates who were slaveholders, and that it was stricken out lest it should cause them to cast a negative vote on the question. There is no proof that such selfish motives actuated any member of that assembly. It was a sacred regard for truth which caused it to be stricken out. No such charge as the paragraph contained could justly be made against George III., then under arraignment. The slave-trade was begun and carried on long before the reign of any of his house, and it is not known that he ever gave his assent to any thing relating to slavery, except to abolish it, and to declare the trade a piracy. By a resolution offered by Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia, and adopted by Congress in 1817, the slave-trade was declared "a piracy." Mr. Jefferson was the first American statesman, and probably the first writer of modern times, who denounced that infamous traffic as "a piratical warfare."—See *Life of Richard Henry Lee*, i., 176.

of a people who mean to be free.¹ Future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to build a foundation, so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend a² jurisdiction over *these* our states.³ We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension; that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain; that in constituting, indeed, our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them; but that submission to their Parliament was no part of our Constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited; and we⁴ appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to⁵ the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to⁶ interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over, not only soldiers of our common blood, but [Scotch⁷ and] foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them; we must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We might have been a free and great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation.

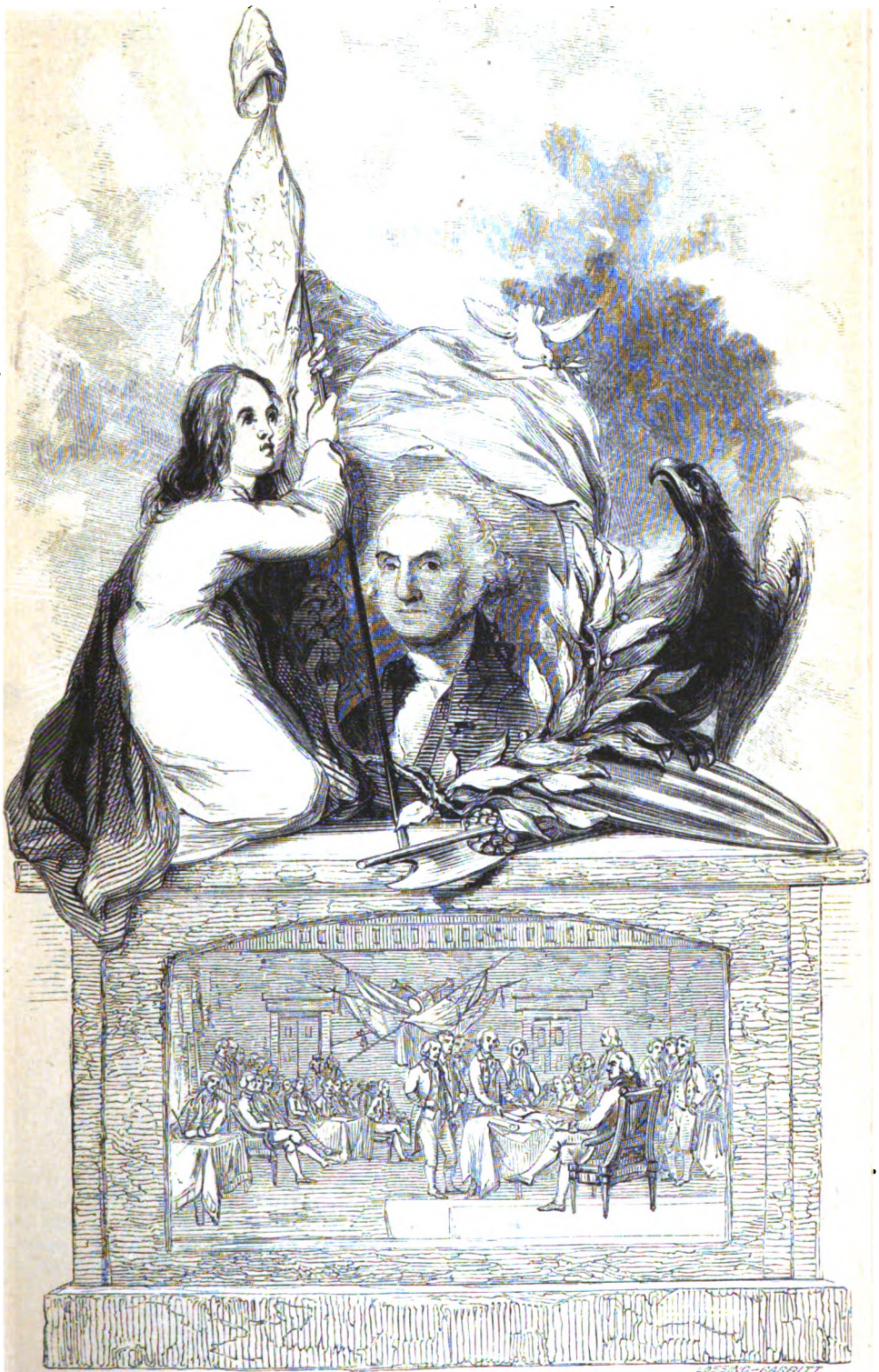
We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these states,⁸ reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the Parliament or people of Great Britain; and, finally, we do assert the colonies to be free and independent states; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Mr. Lee's resolution, declaring the colonies "free and independent states," was adopted on the 2d of July, and that day, rather than the 4th, should be celebrated as our national anniversary. It was only the *form of the Declaration*, which accompanied the resolution, that was adopted on the latter day.

The debates on the question of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence were long and animated, for there was very little unanimity in feeling and opinion when they began in June. Richard Henry Lee, the Adamses, of Massachusetts, Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, were the chief speakers in favor of the measure, and John Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, against it. Although it was evident, from

¹ Free people⁴ Have⁷ Doctor Witherspoon, who was a Scotchman by birth, moved the striking out of the word *Scotch*.⁸ Colonies² An unwarrantable⁵ And we have conjured them by³ Us⁶ Would inevitably





Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren: we have
 warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend ^{an unwarrantable} a juris-
 diction over ^{us} these our states we have reminded them of the circumstances of
 our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a
 pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure,
 unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting
 indeed our several forms of government, we had adapted one common king, thereby
 laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their
 parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea if history may be
 credited: and ^{we} ^{have} appealed to their native justice & magnanimity ^{by the same authority} [as well as to the ties
 of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which ^{would surely} ^{be} ^{likely} to interrupt
 our correspondence & amity. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice &
 of concinnity. ^{We must therefore} ^{on} such occasions have been given them by the regular course of

FAC SIMILE OF A PORTION OF THE ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

NOTE.—This draft is in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson. The amendments were made by Dr. Franklin and John Adams. The alterations, by interlining, in the portion here given, are in the handwriting of Mr. Adams. It will be perceived, by a comparison, that nearly the whole of this paragraph was omitted in the Declaration adopted on the 4th of July.

II.

T

Action of the several Colonies on the Subject of Independence.

Adoption of the Declaration.

the first introduction of the resolution, that a majority of the colonies would vote for it, its friends were fearful that a *unanimous* vote of the colonies could not be obtained, inasmuch as the Assemblies of Maryland and Pennsylvania had refused to sanction the measure, and South Carolina, Georgia, and New York were silent. The delegates from Maryland were unanimously in favor of it, while those from Pennsylvania were divided. On the 24th of June, at a convention held in Philadelphia, the people expressed their willingness, by resolution, "to concur in a vote of Congress, declaring the united colonies free and independent states;" and by the unwearied exertions and great influence of Charles Carroll, William Paca, Samuel Chase, and others, the Convention of Maryland recalled their former instructions on the 28th of June, and empowered their delegates "to concur with the other colonies in a declaration of independence." The most important barriers to unanimity were now broken down. When a vote was taken in committee of the whole House, all the colonies assented to the Declaration, except Pennsylvania and Delaware; four of the seven delegates of the former voting against it, and the two delegates who were present from Delaware were divided—Thomas M'Kean favoring it, George Read opposing it. Mr. M'Kean, burning with a desire to have his state speak in favor of the great measure, immediately sent an express after Cæsar Rodney, the other delegate from Delaware, then eighty miles distant. Rodney was in the saddle within ten minutes after he received Mr. M'Kean's letter, and arrived in Philadelphia on the morning of the 4th of July, just before the final vote was taken. Thus Delaware was secured. On that day the Declaration was taken up for final decision. Robert Morris and John Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, were absent. The former was in favor of, the latter was against the measure. Of the other five who were present, Doctor Franklin, James Wilson, and John Morton were in favor of it, and Thomas Willing and Charles Humphreys were opposed to it; so the vote of Pennsylvania was also secured in favor of the Declaration. The question was taken, and on the 4th of July, 1776, a unanimous vote of the thirteen colonies' was given in favor of the great Declaration which pronounced them FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.² The announcement was made in the following plain manner in the journal of Congress for that day:

"Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair,³ and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report.⁴ The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are

¹ Georgia was not represented in the Congress of 1774. On the 20th of July, 1775, Congress received a letter from the convention of that colony, setting forth that it had acceded to the general Association, and appointed delegates to attend Congress.—See *Journals of Congress*, i., 161.

² On the 9th of September, 1776, Congress resolved, "That in all Continental commissions, and other instruments, where heretofore the words 'United Colonies' have been used, the style be altered, for the future, to the 'United States.'"—*Ibid.*, ii., 328. From that day the word colony is not known in our history.

³ John Hancock was then President of Congress. He was chosen to that post on the 19th of May, 1775, as successor to Peyton Randolph, who was called to his home in Virginia. Randolph was now dead.

⁴ The great importance of this event does not seem to have been realized even by many men in public life. Anderson, in his *Constitutional Gazette*, announced the fact thus, as a mere *on dit*, without commentary or further reference to the subject: "On Tuesday last the Continental Congress declared the united Colonies free and independent States."

endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. .

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.¹

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states : that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

It was two o'clock in the afternoon when the final decision was announced by Secretary Thomson to the assembled Congress in Independence Hall. It was a moment of solemn interest ; and when the secretary sat down, a deep silence pervaded that august assembly.

¹ The undisputed records of our colonial history bear ample testimony to the truth of every charge contained in this indictment. These I have cited in a small volume containing *Biographical Sketches of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, and the *Declaration Historically Considered*.

Ring of the Liberty Bell.

Signers of the Declaration.

Its Reception in New York and elsewhere.

Thousands of anxious citizens had gathered in the streets of Philadelphia, for it was known that the final decision was to be made on that day. From the hour when Congress convened in the morning, the old bellman had been in the steeple. He placed a boy at the door below, to give him notice when the announcement should be made. As hour succeeded hour, the gray-beard shook his head, and said, "They will never do it! they will never do it!" Suddenly a loud shout came up from below, and there stood the blue-eyed boy, clapping his hands and shouting, "Ring! ring!" Grasping the iron tongue of the old bell against which we are now leaning, backward and forward he hurled it a hundred times, its loud voice proclaiming "Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." The excited multitude in the streets responded with loud acclamations, and with cannon-peals, bonfires, and illuminations, the patriots held a glorious carnival that night in the quiet city of Penn.

The Declaration of Independence was signed by John Hancock, the president of Congress, only, on the day of its adoption, and thus it went forth to the world. Congress ordered it to be entered at length upon the journals. It was also ordered to be engrossed upon parchment, for the delegates to sign it. This last act was performed on the second day of August following, by the fifty-four delegates then present; it was subsequently signed by two others,¹ making the whole number FIFTY-SIX.² A fac simile of their signatures, carefully copied from the original at Washington City, is given on the two following pages. The Declaration was every where applauded; and in the camp, in cities, churches, and popular assemblies, it was greeted with every demonstration of joy. Washington received it at head-quarters in New York on the 9th of July,³ and caused it to be read, at six o'clock that evening, at the head of each brigade. It was heard with attention, and welcomed with loud huzzas by the troops; and on that same evening the populace pulled down the leaden equestrian statue of George III., which was erected in the Bowling Green, at the foot of Broadway, in 1770, and broke it in pieces. The material was afterward consigned to the bullet-molds. Other demonstrations of mingled joy and indignation were made in New York then, which will be more fully noticed hereafter.

The Declaration was read to a vast assemblage collected in and around Faneuil Hall, in Boston, by Colonel Crafts, at noon, on the 17th of July. When the last paragraph escaped his lips, a loud huzza shook the old "Cradle of Liberty." It was echoed from without; and soon the batteries on Fort Hill, Dorchester, Nantasket, and Long Island boomed forth their cannon acclamations in thirteen rounds. A banquet followed, and bonfires and illuminations made glad the city of the Puritans. In Philadelphia, the grand demonstration was made on the 8th of July. From the platform of an observatory, erected near the Wal-

¹ These were Thomas M'Kean, of Delaware, and Matthew Thornton, of New Hampshire. The former, on account of absence with a regiment of *City Associates*, of which he was colonel, did not sign it until October. Doctor Thornton was not a member of Congress when the Declaration was signed, but, being elected in the autumn following, he obtained permission to sign the instrument, and affixed his signature to it in November.

² The delegates represented the several states as follows: *New Hampshire*: Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton. *Massachusetts*: John Hancock, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine. *Rhode Island*: Elbridge Gerry, Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery. *Connecticut*: Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott. *New York*: William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris. *New Jersey*: Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark. *Pennsylvania*: Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross. *Delaware*: Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean. *Maryland*: Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone, William Paca, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. *Virginia*: George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. *North Carolina*: William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn. *South Carolina*: Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton. *Georgia*: Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

³ On the same day, the Provincial Assembly of New York, then in session at White Plains, adopted a resolution expressive of their approbation of the measure, at the same time pledging their lives and fortunes in support of it. They also, by resolution, gave their delegates in Congress liberty to act in future, upon all public measures, in accordance with their best judgments. See *Journals of Congress*, ii., 250.

John Hancock
 Sam^l Adams Chas. Livingston
 Rob^t Treat Paine Wm Lloyd Garrison
 John Adams Fran.^s Lewis
 Elbridge Gerry
 Josiah Bartlett Richd Stockton
 Sam^l Huntington
 Ste^p Hopkins John Hart
 Abra Clark Lewis Morris
 John Morton
 Matthew Thornton
 Roger Sherman John Penn
 Wm Whipple Jas Wickerspoole
 William Ellery Wm Hooper
 Oliver Wolcott Rob^t Morris
 Ben^j Franklin Wm Williams
 Wm Paca
 Tra^s Hopkinson Tho^s Stone
 Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Th Jefferson Geo. Taylor
 Edward Rutledge Joseph Hewes
 Jas Smith Geo Ross
 Geo Lymer Tho M. Keane
 Bullon Gwinnett Geo Read
 James Wilson Thomas Lynch Jun^r
 Samuel Chas George Wythe
 Benjamin Rush Lyman Hall
 Richard Henry Lee
 Arthur Middleton Tho Nelson Jr.
 Casar Rodney Carter Braxton
 Wm Harrison Geo Walton
 Francis Lightfoot Lee
 Tho Mearns Jun^r

nut Street front of the State House, by Rittenhouse, many years before, for the purpose of observing a transit of Venus, John Nixon read the Declaration to a vast concourse of people gathered from the city and surrounding country. When the reading was finished, the king's arms over the seat of justice in the court room¹ were torn down and burned in the street; and at evening bonfires were lighted, the houses were illuminated, and it was not until a thunder-shower at midnight compelled the people to retire, that the sounds of gladness were hushed. Newport, New London, Williamsburgh, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, and other large towns, manifested their great joy; and from every inhabited hill and valley, town and hamlet of the old Thirteen States, arose the melodies of freedom, awakened by this great act of the people's proxies. Thousands of hearts in Europe, beating strongly with hope for the future, were deeply impressed. Bold men caught the symphony, and prolonged its glad harmony, even until it wooed sleeping slaves from their slumbers in the shadows of despot-

¹ The second story of the State House was occupied by the courts; and while the Continental Congress was in session below, the Provincial Assemblies met above.

The Principles of the Declaration, and their Effects.

Opinions of Raynal, Mirabeau, and Napoleon.

ism forth to the clear light, panoplied in the armor of absolute right. France was aroused, and turning in its bed of submission, like the Titans beneath old Ætna, to look for light and liberty, an earthquake shock ensued, which shook thrones, crumbled feudal altars, whereon



WALNUT STREET FRONT OF THE STATE HOUSE IN 1776.*

From an old Print of the Period.

equality was daily sacrificed, and so rent the vail of the temple of despotism, that the people saw plainly the fetters and instruments of unholy rule, huge and terrible, within the inner court. They pulled down royalty, overturned distinctions, and gave the first impulse to the revolutions which have since spread from that focus to purify the political atmosphere of Europe. Back to our glorious manifesto the struggling nations look, and, when they wish to arraign their tyrants, that indictment is their text and guide.¹ Its specific charges against George the Third of course are irrelevant, but the great truths set forth have no limit in their application and appositeness.

"Throughout the world its voice is sounding !
Life and death are in its call !
Kings and thrones in dust confounding ;
Millions rising o'er their fall !
Brothers, on ! till, bless'd as we,
They've plenty, peace, and LIBERTY !"

MRS. R. BALMANNO.

"E'en now the word that rous'd our land
Is calling o'er the waves, 'Awake !'
And pealing on from strand to strand,
Wherever ocean surges break.
Up to the quicken'd ear of toil
It rises from the teeming soil,
And bids the slave his bonds forsake.
Hark ! from the mountain to the sea,
The Old World echoes 'Liberty !'
Till thrones to their foundations shake."

MARY E. HEWITT.

It was an easy matter to *declare* the colonies free and independent ; it was not so easy

¹ "With what grandeur, with what enthusiasm, should I not speak of those generous men who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage !" wrote the Abbé Raynal in 1781. "Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene ; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show them to remotest ages. In beholding them, shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate with joy—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has been written, *HE WRESTED THUNDER FROM HEAVEN AND THE SCEPTER FROM TYRANTS.*" Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake."—Essay on *The Revolution in America*.

"I ask," exclaimed Mirabeau, on the tribune of the National Assembly of France, while descanting upon our Declaration, "I ask if the powers who have formed alliances with the States have dared to read that manifesto, or to interrogate their consciences after the perusal ? I ask whether there be at this day one government in Europe—the Helvetic and Batavian confederations and the British isles excepted—which, judged after the principles of the Declaration of Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, is not divested of its rights ?" And Napoleon afterward, alluding to the same scene, said, "The finger of God was there !"—See Bailey's Preface to *Records of Patriotism*.

² This gives the appearance of the shorter steeple, which took the place of the stately one taken down in 1774. This was its appearance during the Revolution. A huge clock case was upon each gable of the main building of the State House.

"Eripuit cælo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis."

This line was the exergue of a medal which was struck in Paris in honor of Franklin, when he was the United States ambassador at the court of Versailles in 1777. It was written by Turgot, the Contrôller-general of the Finances of France, who died four years afterward.

Organization of State Governments.

Adjournment of Congress to Baltimore.

Trip to Red Bank.

to *maintain* that declaration. The die being cast, Congress put forth all its energies to secure union and harmony among the confederated states, and these, in turn, perceived the necessity of prompt action in civil affairs. The resolves in Congress in May, recommending the several states to organize governments for themselves, based upon democratic principles, were heeded, and, soon after the publication of the Declaration of Independence, most of the states took action on the subject, and formed constitutions. New Hampshire had already formed a state government. The charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, being considered sufficiently democratic, were not altered. New Jersey had adopted a constitution two days before the Declaration of Independence was voted in Congress.^a Virginia adopted one on the 5th of July; Pennsylvania, on the 15th; Maryland, on the 14th of August; Delaware, on the 20th of September; North Carolina, on the 18th of December; Georgia, on the 5th of February, 1777; New York, on the 20th of April; South Carolina, on the 19th of March, 1778; and Massachusetts deferred the important work until the 1st of September, 1779. In the mean while, the necessity for Federal union became apparent, and this subject occupied the thoughts and active efforts of the statesmen of America. They finally elaborated a scheme of general government; and on the 15th of November, 1777, Congress adopted ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, having debated the subject three times a week for nearly seven months. Copies of these articles were sent to the various state Legislatures for approval, but they did not receive the sanction of all until March, 1781, when they became the organic law of the Union, and continued such until the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1787.

During the summer and autumn of 1776, military operations were active, and that session of Congress was one of the busiest during the war. The disastrous battle of Long Island or Brooklyn occurred in August; the skirmishes at Harlem, Kingsbridge, Throg's Neck, and White Plains; the fall of Forts Washington and Lee; the retreat of the American army under Washington across the Jerseys, and the menacing approach of a large British army toward Philadelphia, all occurred in rapid succession during the autumn. Disasters, gloom, and despondency were on every side; and Congress, alarmed at the proximity of British and Hessian troops, then only awaiting the freezing of the Delaware to march to the capture of Philadelphia, withdrew to Baltimore on the 12th of December, as we have already seen, where they resumed their deliberations on the 20th.

Let us close the record, and, like the fugitive Congress, leave the old State House for a season.

Toward noon, accompanied by a friend (Mr. Samuel Agnew), I left the city to visit the remains of the old forts at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore of the Delaware, a few miles below Philadelphia. Unable to gain positive information respecting a ferry, we concluded to drive down to Fort Mifflin, and obtain a passage there. We crossed the Schuylkill, and, passing through the cultivated country on its right bank, missed the proper road to Fort Mifflin, and reached the termination of the one we were traveling, at a farm-house. Here we ascertained that we could not obtain ferriage at the fort, so we crossed the Schuylkill again, upon a bateau, near its mouth, and, returning to the city suburbs, found the proper avenue to League Island,¹ whence we could be ferried to Red Bank. Our blunder consumed two hours, and then we had to wait almost another hour upon the dike which defends League Island from the waters of the Delaware, before a skiff, for which we telegraphed by a white handkerchief upon a ratan, came over to us. The river is there about a mile wide; and while the waterman was slowly rowing across, we dined upon bread and cheese, cold sausage, and grape jelly, which the kind consideration of my friend's wife had furnished at our departure. It was a rather uncomfortable pic-nic on that unsheltered dike in the keen November wind.

Leaving my horse in a stall at the ferry, we crossed to the great coal depôt, upon Eagle

¹ This is a low island just below the city suburbs, and, until protected by a heavy stone dike, was formerly almost covered with water at high tide. It is now a very fertile piece of reclaimed land, and is reached from the main by a bridge, the intervening channel being quite narrow.

Fort Mercer.

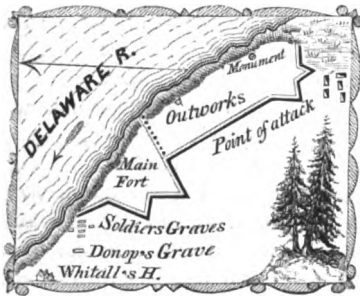
Donop's Grave.

Whitall's House.

De Chastellux's Visit there.

Point, on the Jersey shore, about half a mile above the site of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank. We met a resident gentleman on the way to the fort, who kindly turned back and pointed out the various localities. The embankments and trenches are quite prominent, and will doubtless long remain so, for a forest of young pines now covers and protects them from the

destroying hand of cultivation. The form of the fort and outworks, as denoted in the sketch, was easily distinguished, and the serried lines of the soldiers' graves were palpable along the brow of the high bank. These are the graves of those who were slain in the battle which occurred there in the autumn of 1777. They were buried in boxes, and now their remains are often exposed by the washing away of the banks. At the southern line of the fort, close by the bank, are the remains of the hickory-tree which was used as a flag-staff during the battle; and near it are traces of the gateway of the fort. A little below, and in the path leading to the house of Mr.

LOCALITIES AT RED BANK.¹

Whitall, is the grave of Count Donop, marked by a small, rough sandstone, about fourteen inches in height. Vandal fingers have plucked relic-pieces from it, and so nearly was the rude inscription effaced that I could only decipher a portion of the words, DONOP WAS LOST, as seen in the sketch.² Even his bones have not been allowed to molder in his grave, but are scattered about the country as *cherished relics*, his skull being in possession of a physician of New Jersey!



DONOP'S GRAVE.

A few rods south of Donop's grave, close by the river



WHITALL'S HOUSE.

bank, is the ancient residence of the Whitall family. It is a two-story house, built of brick, and is now (1851) one hundred and three years old. The date of its erection is given on the north gable, where the characters "I A W [James and Anna Whitall] 1748," are delineated by dark, glazed brick. The Whitalls were Quakers, and of course, although Whigs, took no part in the war. This fact made some suspect the old man of Toryism.³ I was informed by the present owner that, when the attack was made upon the fort, and his grandmother was urged to flee from the house, she refused, saying, "God's arm is strong, and will protect me; I may

¹ Red Bank, where these remains are, is in the township of Woodbury, in Gloucester county, New Jersey. The fortifications erected there were little more than earthen embankments, and a ditch covered by *abatis*. The arrow in the sketch denotes the direction of Fort Mifflin, on the opposite side of the Delaware.

² The Marquis de Chastellux, who visited this spot in 1781, says, in his Journal (i., 260), "We had not gone a hundred yards before we came to a small elevation, on which a stone was vertically placed, with this short epitaph: '*Here lies buried Colonel Donop.*'" M. de Manduit was the guide on the occasion. He acted in the double capacity of engineer and officer of artillery at the battle, and had the charge of arranging and defending the post, under Colonel Green. "He assured us," says the marquis, "we could not make a step without treading on the remains of some Hessian, for near three hundred were buried in the front of the ditch."

³ De Chastellux, in recording his visit, says: "On landing from our boat, he [Manduit] proposed conducting us to a Quaker's, whose house is half a musket-shot from the fort, or rather the ruins of the fort; for it is now destroyed, and there are scarcely any *relics* of it remaining. 'This man,' said M. de Manduit, 'is a little of a Tory; I was obliged to knock down his barn, and fell his fruit trees; but he will be glad to see M. de La Fayette, and will receive us well.' We took him at his word; but never was ex-

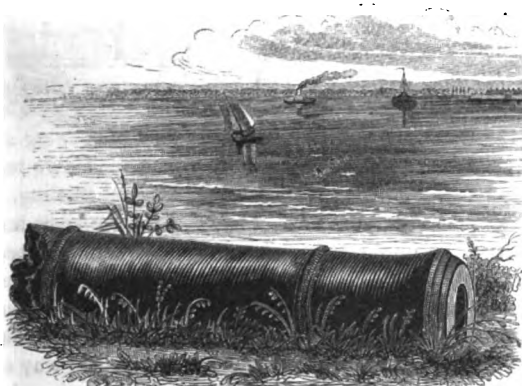
Anecdote of Mrs. Whitall.

Old Cannon.

Distant View of Fort Mifflin.

do good by staying." She was left alone in the house; and while the battle was raging, and cannon-balls were driving like sleet against and around her dwelling, she calmly plied her spinning-wheel in a room in the second story. At length a twelve-pound ball, from a British vessel in the river, grazing the American flag-staff (the walnut-tree) at the fort, passed through the heavy brick wall on the north gable, and with a terrible crash perforated a partition at the head of the stairs, crossed a recess, and lodged in another partition, near where the old lady was sitting. Conceiving Divine protection a little more certain elsewhere after this manifestation of the power of gun-powder, the industrious dame gathered up her implements, and with a step quite as agile as in youth, she retreated to the cellar, where she continued spinning until called to attend the wounded and dying who were brought into her house at the close of the battle. She did, indeed, "do good" by remaining; for, like an angel of mercy, she went among the maimed, unmindful whether they were friend or foe, and administered every relief to their sufferings, in her power. She scolded the Hessians for coming to America to butcher the people. At the same time, she bound up their wounds tenderly, and gave them food and water. The scar made by the passage of that iron ball is quite prominent in the gable; it is denoted in the engraving by the dark spot. I saw within the house where the missile cut off the wood-work in its passage, and where it lodged.

On the green, between the Whitall house and the river, lies a portion of an iron cannon



OLD CANNON AT RED BANK.

which was burst during the engagement. That event killed several of the Americans. The picture represents its present appearance, with its breech blown away. Beyond it is the Delaware, and in the distance, opposite, is seen Fort Mifflin, lying almost upon the water level on Fort or Great Mud Island, near the western shore. In the far distance, bound-

ing the view, are the hills of Pennsylvania, toward Valley Forge.

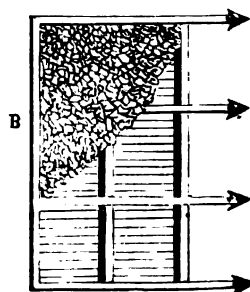
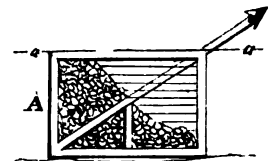
In the summer of 1777, Sir William Howe, the British commander-in-chief, sailed from New York^a with a large land force, and with a naval armament under his brother Richard, Earl Howe, and, landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay,^b commenced a victorious march toward Philadelphia. Washington, informed of the movement, went out from Philadelphia to meet him, and had proceeded beyond the Brandywine, in the neighborhood of Wilmington, when the van of the enemy appeared at Kennet Square. The battle of Brandywine occurred soon afterward,^c in which the Americans were defeated, and driven back toward Philadelphia. The enemy pushed steadily forward, and entered the city in triumph.^d In anticipation of the possibility of such an event, the Americans had applied themselves diligently to the erection of obstructions in the Delaware, to prevent the ascent of the British fleet, and also in rearing batteries upon the shores to cover them. Upon isolated marshes, or low islands of mud,

pectation more completely deceived. We found our Quaker seated in the chimney corner, busied in cleaning herbs. He recollected M. de Manduit, who named M. de La Fayette to him; but he did not deign to lift his eyes, nor to answer any of our introducer's discourse, which at first was complimentary, and at length jocular. Except Dido's silence, I know nothing more severe; but we had no difficulty in accommodating ourselves to this bad reception, and made our way to the fort.—*Travels*, i., 259.

made green by reeds, a little below the mouth of the Schuylkill, they erected a strong redoubt, with quite extensive outworks, and called it Fort Mifflin. These islands were called Great and Little Mud Islands. The former, on which the redoubt and main works were erected, has been called Fort Island ever since that time. On the opposite shore of New Jersey, a strong redoubt, called Fort Mercer, was also erected, and well supplied with artillery. In the deep channels of the river between, and under cover of these batteries, they sunk ranges of strong frames, with iron-pointed wooden spikes, called *chevaux de frise*, which formed almost invulnerable *stackadoes*. Three miles further down the river, at Byllinge's Point¹ (now Billingsport), was a redoubt with extensive outworks, covering strong *stackadoes*, which were sunken there in the navigable channel of the river, between the main and Billing's Island. In addition to these works, several armed galleys and floating batteries were stationed in the river, all forming strong barriers against the fleet of the enemy. This circumstance troubled the British general, for he foresaw the consequences of having his supplies by water cut off, and the danger to which his army would be exposed in Philadelphia if unsupported by the fleet.

Immediately after the battle at Brandywine, Earl Howe sailed down the Chesapeake, and entered the lower Delaware with several light vessels, among which was the Roebuck, commanded by Captain Hammond. That officer represented to General Howe, that if a sufficient force could be sent to reduce the fortifications at Billingsport, he would take upon himself the task of opening a passage for vessels through the *chevaux de frise*, or *stackadoes*, at that point. Howe readily consented to attempt the important measure. Two regiments, under Colonel Stirling, were dispatched from Chester, in Pennsylvania, for that purpose. They crossed the river a little below Billingsport, marched in the rear of the unfinished works, and made a furious assault upon the garrison. The Americans were dismayed at this unexpected attack, and believing themselves incompetent to make a successful defense, they spiked their cannons, set fire to the barracks, and fled. The English remained long enough to demolish the works on the river front; when Hammond, by the great exertions of his men, made a passage-way seven feet wide in the *chevaux de frise*, and, with six vessels, sailed through, and anchored near Hog Island. Stirling returned to Chester, and, with another detachment, proceeded to camp, as an escort of provisions, bearing to General Howe intelligence of his success.

Howe now determined to make a general sweep of all the American works on the Delaware, and, preparatory thereto, he called in his outposts and concentrated his whole army near to and within Philadelphia. Two Rhode Island regiments, belonging to General Varnum's² brigade, under Colonel Christopher Greene, garrisoned the fort at Red Bank, and

CHEVAUX DE FRISE.³

¹ So called in honor of Edward Byllinge, the purchaser of Lord Berkley's moiety of the province of New Jersey. Slight remains of this redoubt, it is said, yet remain.

² This cut, copied from an old print, shows the form of the *chevaux de frise*. A is a *profile view*, and B a *plan*. The spikes were made of heavy timbers, about thirty feet in length. Partially filled with heavy stone, they presented a formidable obstacle to vessels. It is said that these obstructions were mainly planned by Dr. Franklin, and constructed under the immediate supervision of M. Du Plessis Manduit, a French engineer.

³ James Mitchell Varnum was born at Dracut, Massachusetts, in 1749, and graduated in the first class at Providence College in 1769. He afterward studied law at East Greenwich, became an active politician in Rhode Island, espoused the patriot cause, and joined the army in 1775. In February, 1777, he was commissioned a brigadier in the Continental service. He served under Sullivan in the operations on Rhode Island, in 1778, and the next year resigned his commission and left the army. He was a delegate to Congress in 1786, and the following year was appointed a judge of the Northwestern Terri-

The American Fleet in the Delaware.

Hessian Expedition against Fort Mercer.

Storming of the Fort.

about the same number of the Maryland line, under Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith, occupied Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island. The American fleet in the river, consisting chiefly of galleys and floating batteries, was commanded by Commodore Hazlewood.¹ It was quite as important to the Americans to maintain these forts and defend the river obstructions as it was to the British to destroy them. It was therefore determined to hold them to the last extremity, for it was evident that such continued possession would force Howe to evacuate Philadelphia.

Count Donop, with four battalions, consisting of twelve hundred picked Hessians, was sent by Howe to attack Fort Mercer, at Red Bank. They crossed the Delaware, and landed at Cooper's Ferry, on the 21st of October. The same evening they marched to Haddonsfield, in New Jersey, a little above Gloucester. As they approached Timber Creek, on their way down the river, the Americans took up the bridge, and the enemy were obliged to march four miles up the stream to a shallow ford. They arrived at the edge of a wood, within cannon-shot of Fort Mercer, on the morning of the 22d. Their appearance, full-armed for battle, was the first intimation the garrison had of their approach. Although informed that the number of Hessians was twenty-five hundred, the little garrison of four hundred men, in a feeble earth fort, and with only fourteen pieces of cannon, were not intimidated. They made immediate preparations for defense. While thus engaged, a Hessian officer, who was permitted to approach the fort with a flag and a drummer, rode up, and insolently proclaimed, "The King of England orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms; and they are warned that, if they stand the battle, no quarters whatever will be given!" "We ask no quarters, nor will we give any!" was the prompt reply of Colonel Greene. The Hessian and the drummer rode hastily back to Donop, and the assailants began at once the erection of a battery within half cannon-shot of the outworks of Fort Mercer. All was activity and eagerness for combat within the fort. The outworks were unfinished, but the redoubt was a citadel upon which the garrison placed much reliance. Skill and bravery were called to combat fierceness, discipline, and overwhelming numbers.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when a brisk cannonade was opened from the Hessian battery, and at a quarter before five a battalion advanced to the attack, on the north part of the fort, near a morass that covered it. Finding the first advance post and the outworks abandoned, but not destroyed, the enemy imagined that they had frightened the Americans away. Filled with this idea, they raised the shout of victory, and, with the drummer just mentioned beating a lively march, rushed toward the redoubt, where not a man was to be seen. They were about to ascend the ramparts, to plant the flag of conquest upon a merlon, when, from the embrasures in front, and from a half-masked battery upon their left flank, formed by an angle of an old embankment, a shower of grape-shot and musket-balls poured upon them with terrible effect, driving them back to the remote intrenchments. Another division of the enemy, under the immediate command of the brave Donop, attacked the fort on the south side at the same time, passed the *abatis*, traversed the fosse or ditch, and some actually leaped the pickets, and mounted the parapet of the redoubt; but the fire of the Americans was so heavy and continuous that they were soon

tory. He died at Marietta, Ohio, January 10, 1790, aged forty-one. His brother, Joseph Bradley Varnum, was also an officer in the Revolution; a member, from Massachusetts, of the first Congress after the adoption of the Federal Constitution; was four years speaker of the Lower House, and succeeded Timothy Pickering as United States senator in 1811. He died on the 11th of September, 1821, aged seventy-one years.

¹ The following is a list and description of the American fleet: Thirteen galleys, one bearing a thirty-two pounder; two carrying each a twenty-four pounder; ten each an eighteen pounder. Twenty-six half-galleys, each carrying a four pounder. Two xebèques, each carrying in *bow* two twenty-four pounders; in *stern*, two eighteen pounders; in *waist*, four nine pounders. Two floating batteries (the *Arnold* and *Putnam*), one carrying twelve eighteen pounders, one ten eighteen pounders. One provincial ship, ten eighteen pounders. Fourteen fire-ships. The brig *Andre Doria*, of fourteen six pounders. One schooner-galley, in *bow* two eighteen pounders; in *stern*, two nine pounders. One brig-galley, in *bow* two eighteen pounders; in *stern*, two nine pounders. There were also a number of fire-rafts.

² De Chastellux, i., 262.

Repulse of the Hessians at Red Bank.

Count Donop.

Lieutenant-colonel Greene.

Monument at Red Bank.

forced back, and driven out with great loss. They retreated precipitately to Haddonfield, under Lieutenant-colonel Linsing, (Donop, and Mingerode, his second in command, being wounded), leaving between three and four hundred of their comrades behind. They were considerably galled, when first retreating, by the American galleys and floating batteries in the river. The conflict was short, but severe. The precise loss of the enemy is not known. Marshall estimates it at four hundred in killed and wounded. Colonel Donop, the commander of the expedition, fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire. After the engagement, while Manduit, the French engineer, who directed the American artillery on the occasion, was out with a detachment, fixing the palisades, he heard a voice among the slain, saying, "Whoever you are, draw me hence." It was the voice of Count Donop. Manduit had him conveyed into the fort, and the next day to Mr. Whitall's, where he attended him until his death, which occurred three days afterward. "It is finishing a noble career early" [he was thirty-seven], said Donop to Manduit, "but I die the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign."¹ The loss of the Americans within the fort was eight men killed, twenty-nine wounded, and a captain taken prisoner while reconnoitering. The number killed by the bursting of the cannon, mentioned on a preceding page, is not known. So close was the combat at one time, that several Hessians were pierced by the gun-wads of the Americans.²

The conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Greene³ on this occasion was highly applauded, and November 4, Congress ordered the Board of War to present him with an elegant sword.
1777.

This tribute was given to his family at the close of the contest, when Colonel Greene was no longer living to receive it. He had been basely murdered in his quarters, near Croton River, in Westchester county, New York, by a band of Tories, consisting of about one hundred and fifty dragoons, under Colonel Delancy, who surprised his post. Colonel Greene fell after his single arm had slain several of his assailants. They attempted to carry him off, but he died upon the road. Major Flagg, a meritorious officer, was killed at the same time; also two subalterns and twenty-seven men were killed or wounded.⁴

In commemoration of the battle at Red Bank and the valor of Colonel Greene, a monument of blue veined marble, about fifteen feet high, was erected in 1829, just within the northern line of the outworks of Fort Mercer, and within a few feet of the margin of the Delaware. This tribute to the memory of valor and patriotism was made by some New Jersey and Pennsylvania volunteers. While it is a testimony of one of the most noble traits in human character, it bears an exhibition of the existence of another of the most detestable. In the inscription were the words NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA, in a single prominent line. Some Jersey scoundrel almost obliterated the word PENNSYLVANIA; and afterward some Pennsylvania Vandal, in the fierceness of his retaliatory zeal for the credit of his state, disgraced it, so far as insignificance could do it, by obliterating the words NEW JERSEY. The whole line is destroyed; and that marble shaft perpetuates a remembrance of unknown barbarians as well as of honored patriots.⁵

¹ De Chastellux, i., 266.

² Marshall. Ramsay. De Chastellux. Major Ward's Letter.

³ Christopher Greene, a native of Rhode Island, was a brave and accomplished soldier. When the battles at Lexington and Concord awakened the nation, he went to the field. After the battle of Bunker Hill he was appointed colonel of a Rhode Island regiment, and in that capacity accompanied Arnold through the wilderness to Quebec, and fought bravely under the walls of that city, when beleaguered by Montgomery. In the autumn of 1777, he was placed in chief command at Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, with his own and Angell's regiments, which formed a part of General Varnum's brigade. He there behaved with gallantry, and received marks of approbation from Congress. He continued in active service until his death, which occurred on the 13th of May, 1781, at the age of forty-four years. Lieutenant-colonel Greene left a widow, with three sons and four daughters. She was the child of J. Lippitt, Esq., of Warwick, Rhode Island.

⁴ See Heath's *Memoirs*. Bolton, in his *History of Westchester County* (ii., 391), says that the house in which Greene was quartered belonged to Richard Davenport, and is situated at the end of a narrow lane which diverges from the Pine's Bridge road, about a mile below the residence of William Smith. When he wrote (1848) the house was in the possession of Joshua Carpenter, a grandson of Davenport.

⁵ The following is a copy of the inscriptions upon the monument:

Attack on Fort Mifflin.

American Flotilla.

Lieutenant-colonel Smith.

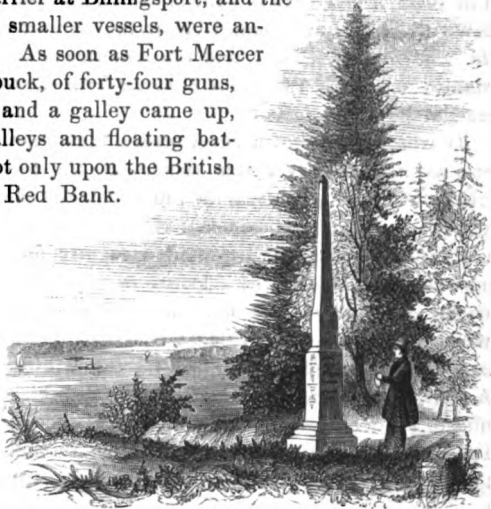
The firing of the first gun from the Hessian battery upon Fort Mercer was the signal for the British vessels to approach and attack Fort Mifflin. They had already made their way through the lower barrier at Billingsport, and the Augusta, a sixty-four gun ship, and several smaller vessels, were anchored just above it, waiting for flood tide. As soon as Fort Mercer was attacked, the Augusta, with the Roebuck, of forty-four guns, two frigates, the Merlin, of eighteen guns, and a galley came up, but were kept at bay by the American galleys and floating batteries. These galleys did good execution, not only upon the British vessels, but by flanking the assailants at Red Bank.

The attack upon Fort Mifflin was deferred

October 23, until next morning, when, the
1777.

Hessians being driven from Fort Mercer, the whole power of the American flotilla was brought to bear upon the British fleet. A heavy cannonade was opened upon Fort Mifflin, and attempts were made to get floating batteries in the channel in the rear of Mud Island. Lieutenant-colonel Smith,¹ the commandant at Fort Mifflin, who was vigilant and brave, thwarted every attempt thus to outflank

him (if the term may be used in reference to a garrison in a fort), and by a gallant defense essentially aided the American flotilla in repulsing the enemy. The fire was so fierce and incessant, that the British ships endeavored to fall down the river. A hot shot struck and set fire to the Augusta; and at noon, while lying aground upon a mud bank near the Jersey



MONUMENT AT RED BANK.²

SOUTH SIDE.—"This monument was erected on the 22d Octo., 1829, to transmit to Posterity a grateful remembrance of the Patriotism and Gallantry of Lieutenant-colonel CHRISTOPHER GREENE, who, with 400 men, conquered the Hessian army of 2000 troops (then in the British service), at Red Bank, on the 22d Octo., 1777. Among the slain was found their commander, Count Donop, whose body lies interred near the spot where he fell."

WEST SIDE.—"A number of the NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA Volunteers, being desirous to perpetuate the memory of the distinguished officers and soldiers who fought and bled in the glorious struggle for AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, have erected this monument, on the 22d day of October, A.D. 1829."

¹ Samuel Smith was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, July 27th, 1752. His education, commenced at Carlisle, was completed at an academy at Elkton, in Maryland, after his father made Baltimore his place of residence. He was in his father's counting-house five years, and then, in 1772, sailed for Havre in one of his father's vessels, as supercargo. Having traveled extensively in Europe, he returned home to find his countrymen in the midst of the excitements of the opening of the Revolutionary hostilities. The battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill had been fought. Fired with patriotic zeal, he sought to serve his country in the army, and in January, 1776, obtained a captain's commission in Colonel Smallwood's regiment. He was soon afterward promoted to the rank of major, and early in 1777 he received a lieutenant colonel's commission. In that capacity he served with distinction in the battles of Brandywine and Fort Mifflin, suffered at Valley Forge, and participated in the action on the plains of Monmouth. At the close of the war he was appointed a brigadier general of militia, and commanded the Maryland quota of troops in the "Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania. He served as major general in the war of 1812, and commanded the troops assembled for the defense of Baltimore in 1814. During a riot in Baltimore in 1836, when the civil power was inadequate to quell the violence of the mob, the aged general, then eighty-four years old, appeared in the streets with the United States flag, placed himself at the head of peaceful citizens, and very soon restored order and tranquillity. In the autumn of that year he was elected mayor of the city, which office he held until his death on the 22d of April, 1839, at the age of eighty-seven years. General Smith was elected a representative in Congress in 1793, and served until 1803. He was again elected in 1816, and served six years longer. He was also a member of the United States Senate for a period of twenty-three years. The accompanying portrait is from an engraving by St. Memin, an artist who engraved a large number of the distinguished men of our country at about the commencement of the present century. The signature is from a *frank*, kindly sent to me by his son, General Smith, president of the Maryland Historical Society.

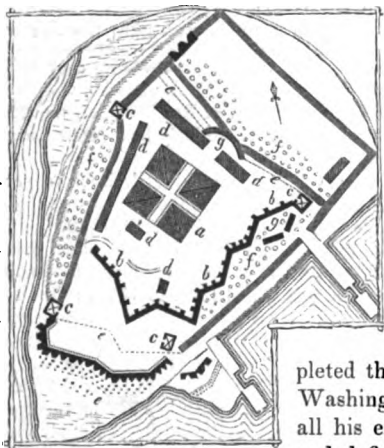
² This view includes the monument, a portion of the Delaware, and the mouth of the Schuylkill, on the western shore.

shore, she blew up. The engagement continued with the other vessels until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Merlin also took fire and blew up, near the mouth of Mud Creek. The conflict now ceased; the Roebuck dropped down the river, and passed below the *chevaux de frise*¹ at Billingsport, and the Americans remained masters of the Delaware forts for a short season.²

It was, indeed, but a short season that quiet possession of the river was vouchsafed the patriots. Although repulsed, his ships beaten back, and his mercenary allies decimated, Howe was not discouraged; and he labored eagerly and hopefully to dislodge the Americans from their strong posts upon the only avenue through which his army could receive food and clothing, and his magazine supplies for the winter. A timely re-enforcement from New York enabled him to act with energy. He took possession of Province Island, lying between Fort Mifflin and the main, and at different points works were thrown up to strengthen his power and annoy the patriots. This was on the 1st of November; and from that time never was a garrison more harassed than that at Fort Mifflin; and never was patience and true courage more nobly exhibited than was then shown by Lieutenant-colonel Smith and his compatriots.



1777.

PLAN OF FORT MIFFLIN.³

Old Fort Mifflin was upon the lower end of Mud (now Fort) Island, having its principal fortification in front, for the purpose of repelling ships that might come up the river. On the side toward Province Island (a low mud bank, nearly covered at high water, and separated from Mud Island by a narrow channel) the fort had only a wet ditch, without ravelin or *abatis*. This part was flanked by a block-house at each of its angles. These were not strong. When the Americans saw the enemy take possession of Province Island, and begin the planting of batteries to bruise their weakest points, they were sensible that Fort Mifflin would be untenable if the British completed their works. Such, too, was the painful conviction of Washington, and from his camp at Whitemarsh he put forth all his energies to prevent the evil. But, weak in numbers, and deficient in every thing which constitutes the strength of an army, he was obliged to see the enemy, day after day, rearing his battle-works, without being able to interpose. He had sent anxious requests to General Gates to forward re-enforcements from the North, Burgoyne's invading army being cap-

¹ The Merlin, like the Augusta, had got aground, and stuck so fast that it was impossible to get her off. The obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river had caused such a change in the channels, that the pilots of the British vessels were completely at fault.

² On the 4th of November, ten days after the battle, Congress honored Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Commodore Hazlewood, by voting each an elegant sword.—*Journals of Congress*, iii., 374.

³ EXPLANATION.—A, the inner work or redoubt; *bbb*, a high, thick stone wall, built by Montrossor, with indentations, where the men boiled their kettles. This wall was pierced with loop-holes for musketry. *cccc*, block-houses, built of wood, with loop-holes, and mounting four pieces of cannon each, two on the lower platform; *ddd*, barracks; *eee*, stockadoes; *fff*, trons de Loup; *gg*, ravelins. On the southeast side were two strong piers, and a battery mounting three cannons.

Washington's Efforts to Re-enforce his Army.

Conduct of Gates and Putnam.

Second Attack on Fort Mifflin.

tured, and no other formidable enemy requiring a large force in that quarter; but that officer, doubtless willing to see his *rival* unsuccessful, gave no heed to his orders until longer non-compliance would have been positive disobedience.¹ To break up the encampment at Whitemarsh, and move the army to the west side of the Schuylkill, would be to leave depositories of stores and hospitals for the sick within reach of the enemy. It would also leave the fords of the Schuylkill in the custody of the royal troops, and render a junction of the expected Northern forces with the main army difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, it might bring on a general engagement, which, with his weakened forces, the commander-in-chief knew might be fatal. Thus situated, Washington viewed the progress of the enemy in his designs upon Fort Mifflin with intense anxiety.

The British erected five batteries on Province Island, of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders, within five hundred yards of Fort Mifflin. They also brought up, by the new channel made between Hog Island and the main by the changing of the current by the *chevaux de frise*, a large floating battery, mounting twenty-two twenty-four pounders, within forty yards of an angle of the fort. They also brought to bear upon the fort four sixty-four gun ships, within nine hundred yards, and two forty gun ships. Altogether the enemy had fourteen strong redoubts, and these were well manned and furnished with heavy artillery. On the 10th of November, the enemy opened their batteries on land and 1777. water, and for six consecutive days poured a storm of bombs and round shot upon the devoted fortification. With consummate skill and courage, Lieutenant-colonel Smith directed the responses from the ordnance of the fort. The artillery, drawn chiefly from Colonel Lamb's regiment, were commanded by Lieutenant Treat, who was killed on the first day of the siege, by the bursting of a bomb. On that day the barracks alone suffered, but on the morning of the 11th the direction of the enemy's fire was changed; a dozen of the strong palisades were demolished, and a cannon in an embrasure was disabled. The firing did not cease until midnight, and many of the garrison were killed or wounded. Colonel Smith, the commander, had a narrow escape. He had just gone into the barracks to write a letter to General Varnum, when a ball passed through a chimney. He was struck by the scattered bricks, and for a time lay senseless. He was taken across to Red Bank, and the command devolved on Lieutenant-colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line. That officer was disabled by fatigue and ill health, and Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island line, volunteered to take his place. Major Henry, who sent daily reports to Washington of the progress of the siege, was also wounded on the 11th, but he continued with the garrison. On the 12th, a two-gun battery of the Americans was destroyed, the northwest block-house and laboratory were blown up, and the garrison were obliged to seek shelter within the fort. The enemy continued to throw shells at night, and fearful indeed was the scene. At

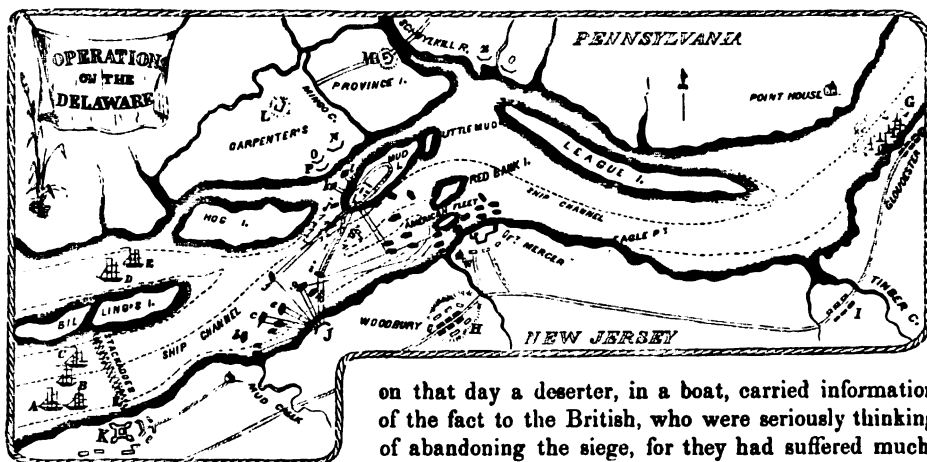
¹ Gates had ample stores and a formidable force; and had he acted with the energy of true patriotism, he might have re-enforced Washington, by which the Delaware forts could have been saved, and the enemy driven out of Philadelphia. But he was vainly expecting soon to supersede Washington in the chief command, and he treated his orders with indifference. So tardy were his movements, when he concluded to comply, that Washington sent Colonel Hamilton to hasten his march. When Hamilton arrived at Albany, he found Gates reluctant to part with any of his troops; but, after much persuasion, he consented to send Morgan's corps and some thin brigades to the commander-in-chief. Hamilton was indignant, and by plain speech caused Gates to send a stronger re-enforcement. These, on their march down the Hudson, encountered a check from Putnam, who, dreaming of glory to be derived from an attack on New York, had actually detained a part of the force sent forward by Gates, and had marched them to Tarrytown, while he had himself advanced to White Plains. Thus, by tardy movements in Congress, and the undutiful ambition of subordinate officers, Washington was often foiled. Hamilton, by advice of Governor Clinton, assumed the authority of issuing a peremptory order to Putnam to put the Continental troops in motion for Whitemarsh. "I now, sir," he wrote, "in the most explicit terms, by his excellency's authority, give it as a positive order from him, that all the Continental troops under your command may be immediately marched to King's Ferry, there to cross the river, and hasten to re-enforce the army under him." The Massachusetts militia and some new recruits were to replace the Continental soldiers thus sent away. So much did Hamilton censure Putnam when he returned to head-quarters, that it was thought a court martial would arraign the veteran; but the matter was passed over without notice, obedience having followed the peremptory order of Washington's representative.

Gallant Defense of Fort Mifflin.

Destructive Effects of Cannons and Bombs.

Plan of Operations on the Delaware

sunrise on the 13th, thirty armed boats made their appearance; and during that night the heavy floating battery was brought to bear upon the fort. It opened with terrible effect on the morning of the 14th, yet that little garrison of only three hundred men managed to silence it before noon. Hitherto the enemy did not know the real weakness of the garrison;



on that day a deserter, in a boat, carried information of the fact to the British, who were seriously thinking of abandoning the siege, for they had suffered much. Hope was revived, and preparations were made for a general and more vigorous assault. At daylight, on the 15th, the *Iris* and *Somerset*, men-of-war, passed up the east channel to attack the fort on Mud Island in front. Several frigates were brought to bear on Fort Mercer; and the *Vigilant*, an East Indiaman of twenty twenty-four pounders, and a hulk with three twenty-four pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the western side, and gained a position to act in concert with the batteries on Province Island, in enfilading the American works. At ten o'clock, while all was silent, a signal-bugle sent forth its summons to action, and instantly the land batteries and the shipping poured a terrible storm of missiles upon Fort Mifflin. The little garrison sustained the shock with astonishing intrepidity, and far into the gloom of evening an incessant cannonade was kept up. Within an hour, the only two cannons in the fort which had not been dismounted shared the fate of the others. Every man who appeared upon the platform was killed by the musketeers in the tops of the ships, whose yards almost hung over the American battery. Long before night not a palisade was left; the embrasures were ruined; the whole parapet leveled; the block-houses were already destroyed. Early in the evening Major Thayer sent all the remnant of the garrison to Red Bank, excepting forty men, with whom he remained. Among those sent was the brave Captain

NOTE. Explanation of the Map.—This shows the main operations upon the Delaware between the middle of October and the close of November, 1777. Fort Mifflin is seen on the lower end of Mud Island. A, B, two British transports; C, the *Experiment*; D, the *Vigilant* frigate; E, the *Fury* sloop; F, a passage opened through the stockadoes at Billingsport; G, American fleet burned at Gloucester; H, the village of Woodbury and Cornwallis's encampment on the 21st of November, 1777; I, camp on the 24th, between the branches of Timber Creek; J, a battery of two eighteen pounders and two nine pounders; K, fort at Billingsport, Colonel Stirling's corps, and Cornwallis's camp on the 18th of November; L, redoubt on Carpenter's Island; M, on Province Island, to cover the bridge in the direction of Philadelphia; N, a battery of six twenty-four pounders, one eight-inch howitzer, and one eight-inch mortar; O, a battery with one eight-inch howitzer and one eight-inch mortar; P, a battery with one thirteen-inch mortar; a, two twelve pounders; o, one eighteen pounder; S, stockadoes in the channel in front of Fort Mifflin; a, a small vessel; b, wreck of the *Merlin*; c, the *Liverpool*; d, Cornwallis's galley; e, the *Pearl*; f, the *Somerset*; g, the *Roebuck*; h, wreck of the *Augusta*; i, the *Iris*; j, ship sunk; k, the *Vigilant*; l, the *Fury*; W, the Whitall house, just below Fort Mercer. The parallelograms around Fort Mercer denote the attack by Donop, on the 22d of October. The small island between Red Bank Island and the Jersey shore is Woodbury Island, on which the Americans erected a small battery. The creek, just below Fort Mercer, is Woodbury Creek, a deep and sluggish stream, near the Delaware.

Retreat of the Garrison.

Destruction of the Fort.

Movements in New Jersey.

Fort Mercer Abandoned.

(afterward Commodore) Talbot, of the Rhode Island line, who was wounded in the hip, having fought for hours with his wrist shattered by a musket ball. At midnight, every defense and every shelter being swept away, Thayer and his men set fire to the remains of the barracks, evacuated the fort, and escaped in safety to Red Bank. Altogether it was one of the most gallant and obstinate defenses made during the war. In the course of the last day, more than a thousand discharges of cannon, from twelve to thirty-two pounders, were made against the works on Mud Island. Nearly two hundred and fifty men of the garrison were killed and wounded. The loss of the British was great; the number was not certainly known.¹

Fort Mercer was still in possession of the Continental troops. Howe determined to dislodge them; for, while they remained, the obstructions in the river could not, with safety, be removed. While a portion of his force was beating down Fort Mifflin, he was busy in fortifying Philadelphia. He had extended intrenchments across from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. Having received more re-enforcements from New York, he sent Cornwallis to fall upon Fort Mercer in the rear. That officer, with a detachment of about two thousand men, crossed the Delaware from Chester to Billingsport, where he was joined by some November 18,
1777. troops just arrived from New York. Washington had been apprised of this movement, and had detached General Huntington's brigade to join that of Varnum in New Jersey. He also ordered Major-general Greene to proceed with his division to the relief of the garrison, and to oppose Cornwallis. That able officer, accompanied by La Fayette, who had not yet quite recovered from a wound received in the battle on the Brandywine, crossed the Delaware at Burlington, and marched with a considerable force toward Red Bank. He expected to be re-enforced by Glover's brigade, then on its march through New Jersey, but was disappointed. Ascertaining that the force of Cornwallis was greatly superior to his own in numbers, General Greene abandoned the plan of giving him battle, and filed off toward Haddonfield. Colonel Greene, deprived of all hope of succor, evacuated Fort Mercer, leaving the artillery, with a considerable quantity of cannon-balls and stores, in the hands November 20 of the enemy. Cornwallis dismantled the fort and demolished the works. His

army was augmented by re-enforcements, and, with about five thousand men, he took post at and fortified Gloucester Point, whence he might have a supervision of affairs in Lower Jersey. Morgan's rifle corps joined General Greene, but the Americans were not strong enough to venture a regular attack upon Cornwallis. A detachment of one hundred and fifty riflemen, under Lieutenant-colonel Butler, and an equal number of militia, under La Fayette, attacked a picket of the enemy three hundred strong, killed between twenty and thirty of them, drove the remainder quite into the camp at Gloucester, and returned without losing a man. General Greene soon afterward withdrew from New Jersey and joined Washington, and Cornwallis returned to Philadelphia. The American fleet, no longer supported by the forts, sought other places of safety. On a dark night, the galleys, one November 21,
1777. brig, and two sloops, crept cautiously along the Jersey shore past Philadelphia, and escaped to Burlington. Seventeen other vessels, unable to escape, were abandoned by their crews, and burned at Gloucester.² The American defenses on the Delaware were now scattered to the winds; the obstructions in the river were removed; the enemy had full possession of Philadelphia; Congress had fled to the interior, and the broken battalions of the patriot army sought winter quarters on the banks of the Schuylkill, at Valley Forge.

Gloomy indeed were the November twilights of 1777 to the eye and heart of the patriot, for there were no brilliant omens of a pleasant to-morrow. Not so was the bright sunset and radiant twilight of that November evening in 1848, when we left the ruins at Red Bank and sought a waterman to convey us back to League Island. There was no cloud in the heavens; an orange glow suffused the chambers of the west where the king of day had gone to his couch, and promises of a fair to-morrow were revealed in the clear sky.

¹ Gordon, ii., 276. Botta, ii., 51. Washington's Official Letters.

² See plan on the preceding page.

CHAPTER XII.

"New streets invade the country; and he strays,
Lost in strange paths, still seeking, and in vain,
For ancient landmarks, or the lonely lane
Where oft he play'd at Crusoe, when a boy.

"All that was lovely then is gloomy now:
Then, no strange paths perplex'd him, no new streets,
Where draymen bawl, while rogues kick up a row,
And fish-wives grin, while fopling fopling meets."

WILLIAM ELLIOTT.

"But all are passing fast away;
Those abstruse thinkers too—
Old churches, with their walls of gray,
Must yield to something new.
Be-Gothic'd things, all neat and white,
Greet every where the traveler's sight."

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.



LET us stroll through ancient Philadelphia this clear frosty morn-
ing, and visit the few fossil remains of the primitive period that
lie amid the elegant structures and "be-Gothic'd things" of the present, like
trilobites in secondary limestone. We shall have little to do with the great
town stretching away to the Schuylkill; it is near the banks of the Delaware
that we must seek for the places hallowed by the remembrance of

November 28.
1848.

"The deeds of our fathers in times that are gone;
Their virtues, their prowess, the fields they have won;
Their struggles for freedom, the toils they endured,
The rights and the blessings for us they procured."

One of the most interesting buildings in Philadelphia is the "Slate-roof House," on the south-east corner of Norris's Alley and Second Street, a little south of Chestnut Street. It was built about 1690 for Samuel Carpenter, and was occupied by William Penn as his city residence in the year 1700.¹ There was the birth-place of John Penn, the governor of Pennsylvania when the Revolution broke out, the only child of William Penn born in this country. From that circumstance he was called "the American." There, in 1702, Lord Cornbury, then governor of New York and New Jersey, was magnificently entertained, with his suite of fifty persons. James Logan, William Penn's agent, also entertained him at Pennsbury, in a style quite in dissonance with the plain character of Quakers. This house was sold to William Trent, the founder of Trenton, in 1703. For nearly fifty years afterward it was occupied by some of the first men of Philadelphia (among whom was Deputy-governor Hamilton), when it became noted as a superior boarding-house. There General Forbes, the successor of Braddock, died in 1759. In 1764 it was rented by the Widow Graydon, mother of Captain Graydon, the author of "Memoirs of Sixty Years' Life in Pennsylvania." Captain Graydon describes the house as "a singular, old-fashioned structure, laid out in the style of a fortification, with abundance of angles, both salient and re-entering. Its two wings projected to the street in the manner of bastions, to which the main building, retreating from sixteen to eighteen feet, served as a curtain. It had a spacious

¹ Penn had a fine country residence, sometimes called "The Palace," in Bucks county, on the bank of the Delaware, nearly opposite Bordentown. It was constructed in 1683, at an expense of \$35,000.

Loxley's House.

Mrs. Darrah and the British Adjutant General.

yard half way to Front Street, ornamented with a double row of venerable, lofty pines, which afforded a very agreeable *rus in urbe* in the heart of the city."¹ John Adams and other members of the first Continental Congress boarded in the *Slate-roof House*; and there many British officers had lodgings while the city was in possession of the royal troops in 1778. A young ladies' boarding-school was kept there at one time, in which a daughter of General Wayne was educated.² General Arnold occupied it as his residence while military governor of Philadelphia in 1778; and there were given those splendid entertainments before and after his marriage with Miss Shippen, which contributed to involve him in those debts that aided in pro-

PENN'S HOUSE.³

ducing his defection to the American cause.

Strolling down South Second Street, I came to an antiquated building, at No. 177, known as "Loxley's House." Its gallery in front was sometimes used as a preaching-place by Whitefield. The house was then out of town, over "the Second Street Bridge." In front of it was a gentle hill, whose slopes afforded a fine resting-place for the immense audiences who listened to the great missionary. On that hill Captain (afterward General) Cadwalader used to drill his "silk stocking company."⁴ Mr. Loxley, the first owner of the house, was a lieutenant of artillery under Braddock, and was present at the defeat of that general at the Great Meadows.

During the Revolution, the Loxley House was the residence of a Quaker named William Darrah, or Darrach, whose wife, Lydia, was a true heroine and patriot. While the British had possession of Philadelphia, the adjutant general made his quarters at Darrah's; and it being a secluded spot, the superior officers of the army used frequently to hold their confidential meetings there. On one of these occasions, the adjutant general ordered Mrs. Darrah to make the upper back room ready for the reception of his friends, who were expected to stay late; "And," he added, in giving his order, "be sure, Lydia, your family are all in bed at an early hour."

His manner was emphatic; and Mrs. Darrah, fearing to disobey, prepared for their reception. The order impressed her quick perception with curiosity, and she resolved to know the purport of the meeting. When the officers came the family were in bed, Lydia alone being up to receive them. This done, she retired to her own couch without undressing. She was restless, and at length a higher impulse than mere curiosity determined her to become a listener. Softly she stole from her room, and, without shoes, traversed the passage to the door of the apartment where the officers were assembled. She applied her ear to the keyhole, when, after a few minutes of silence within, a voice read distinctly an order of Sir William Howe for the troops to quit the city the next night, and march out to an attack upon Washington's camp at Whitemarsh. Lydia had heard enough, and, gliding back to her room, she threw herself on her bed, but not to sleep. In a few minutes there



LOXLEY'S HOUSE.

¹ *Memoirs*, page 53.

² Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i., 163.

³ This view is from Second Street. The building is of imported brick, except the modern addition between the wings, which is now occupied as a clothing store by an Israelite. The house is suffered to decay, and doubtless the broom of improvement will soon sweep it away, as a cumberer of valuable ground.

⁴ Watson, i., 412.

Information sent to Washington's Camp by Mrs. Darrah.

Disappointment of the British.

was a rap at the door; she knew its meaning, and feigned deep slumber. At the third knock she arose quickly, and let the adjutant general and his friends depart.

Mrs. Darrah now possessed a momentous secret. She was a true friend to her country, and she felt that she had a duty to perform, and that quickly. In the still hour of the night she sent up a silent petition for heavenly guidance, and at dawn she was astir. She awoke her husband, and informed him that flour was wanted for family use, and that she must go immediately to Frankford for it, a common occurrence in those days.¹ It was a cold December

December 3, morning, the snow several inches deep
1777.

upon the ground. On foot, and with her bag in hand, she started on her errand, stopping at the head-quarters of General Howe² to obtain a passport to leave the city. Mrs. Darrah reached Frankford, nearly five miles distant, at an early hour, and, leaving her bag at the mill, pressed forward toward the American outposts to inform Washington of the intended night attack. She met Lieutenant-colonel Craig, who had been sent out by the commander-in-chief to gain information respecting the enemy. To him she told the secret, and, hastening back to the mill, shouldered the bag of flour, and returned home with a heart full of thankfulness for being made an instrument of usefulness to her country, as she believed, and as the result proved.



HOWE'S QUARTERS.

From her window, on that cold starry night which succeeded her morning mission, she watched the departure of the British troops to make the attack on Washington's camp. And again she watched from that window when the distant roll of a drum heralded their return from "a fool's errand," indeed; for, "forewarned, forearmed," the Americans were on the alert, and fully prepared to receive the enemy when they came. Foiled, the British returned to their encampment in the city. The adjutant general came to his quarters. He summoned Lydia to his room, and, locking his door with an air of mystery, bade her be seated. "Were any of your family up, Lydia," he asked, "on the night when I received company in this house?" "No," she unhesitatingly replied; "they all retired at eight o'clock." This was true, though Lydia afterward arose. "It is very strange," said the officer. "You, I know, Lydia, were asleep, for I knocked at your door three times before you heard me; yet it is certain that we were betrayed. I am altogether at a loss to conceive who could have given information to Washington of our intended attack! On arriving near his encampment, we found his cannon mounted, his troops under arms, and so prepared at every point to receive us, that we have been compelled to march back without injuring our enemy, like a parcel of fools." Mrs. Darrah enjoined Lieutenant-colonel Craig not to disclose her name, for she feared the fury of the enemy; history has therefore omitted the name of Lydia Darrah in its record of events at that time, and left well-authenticated tradition alone to embalm it.⁴

I walked down to the navy yard, and visited the old Swedes' Church, on Swanson Street, near by. Its present pastor, the Reverend Mr. Clay, permitted me to view its interior.

¹ See page 248.

² General Howe's quarters were in a house on High Street, one door east from the southeast corner of Sixth Street, where President Washington resided. Three houses, Nos. 192 to 194 High Street, now occupy the site of this mansion. This view is copied, by permission, from Watson's *Annals*.

³ Mrs. Ellett's *Women of the Revolution*, i., 171.

⁴ Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated "Whitemarsh, 10th December, 1777," mentions the fact that, on Thursday night previous, Howe, with all his force, left the city, and the next morning appeared on Chestnut Hill, in front of the American right wing. He says, "From a variety of intelligence, I had reason to expect that General Howe was preparing to give us a general action." Writing to Governor Livingston on the 11th, he says, Howe "came out with his whole force last Thursday evening, and, after maneuvering round us till the Monday following, decamped very hastily, and marched back to Philadelphia."

Swedes' Church.

Wharton's Mansion-house.

The *Mischianza*.

Immorality of the Army.

Within and without it has been too much modernized to give a very perfect idea of its original appearance. In its burial inclosure, among graves that were dugged a century and a half ago, rest the remains of Wilson, the great American ornithologist. Here was the first burial-place in Philadelphia; and here was offered the first Christian worship upon the western bank of the Delaware above the Schuylkill.

Near the Swedes' Church, and fronting the river at the present navy yard, stood *Wharton's Mansion-house*. It was of large dimensions, with broad lawns and stately trees around it. There, on Monday, the 18th of May, 1778, was given a great entertainment in honor of Sir William Howe and his brother Richard, earl Howe (the naval commander), then on the eve of their departure from America. It was called the *Mischianza*, an Italian word signifying a medley. This entertainment was probably the most magnificent exhibition of extravagance and folly ever witnessed in America. It very properly drew forth the indignant comments of not only the Whigs in America, but of the true friends of government here and in England, as an appropriate finale to the sensualities of the British army during its winter encampment in Philadelphia.¹ The loose discipline of the army, during those six months of idleness, did more to weaken the power of the enemy than all the battles they had yet experienced here, and fully justified the remark of Franklin, that "General Howe has not taken Philadelphia—Philadelphia has taken General Howe." Major André, in the subjoined letter² to a friend, has given a graphic picture of the *Mischianza*. It was published in a London magazine in August, 1782.

¹ The following advertisement, which appeared in a Philadelphia paper while the British had possession of the city, will serve to show the impudent profligacy of some of the English officers at that time: "Wanted to hire with two single gentlemen, a young woman, to act in the capacity of housekeeper, and who can occasionally put her hand to any thing. Extravagant wages will be given, and no character required. Any young woman who chooses to offer, may be further informed at the bar of the City Tavern." —*Watson's Annals*, ii, 288.

² Philadelphia, May 23, 1778.

"For the first time in my life I write to you with unwillingness. The ship that carries home Sir William Howe will convey this letter to you; and not even the pleasure of conversing with my friend can secure me from the general dejection I see around me, or remove the share I must take in the universal regret and disappointment which his approaching departure hath spread throughout the army. We see him taken from us at a time when we most stand in need of so skillful and popular a commander; when the experience of three years, and the knowledge he hath acquired of the country and the people, have added to the confidence we always placed in his conduct and abilities. You know he was ever a favorite with the military; but the affection and attachment which all ranks of officers in this army bear him can only be known by those who have at this time seen them in their effects. I do not believe there is upon record an instance of a commander-in-chief having so universally endeared himself to those under his command, or of one who received such signal and flattering proofs of their love. That our sentiments might be the more universally and unequivocally known, it was resolved among us that we should give him as splendid an entertainment as the shortness of the time and our present situation would allow us. For the expenses, the whole army would have most cheerfully contributed; but it was requisite to draw the line somewhere, and twenty-two field-officers joined in a subscription adequate to the plan they meant to adopt. I know your curiosity will be raised on this occasion; I shall therefore give you as particular an account of our *Mischianza* as I have been able to collect. From the name, you will perceive that it was made up of a variety of entertainments. Four of the gentlemen subscribers were appointed managers—Sir John Wrottesley, Colonel O'Hara, Major Gardiner, and Montresor, the chief engineer. On the tickets of admission which they gave out for Monday, the 18th, was engraved, in a shield, a view of the sea, with the setting sun, and on a wreath, the words *Luceo discedens, aucto splendore resurgam*. At the top was the general's crest, with *Vive vale!* All around the shield ran a vignette, and various military trophies filled up the ground.* A grand regatta began the entertainment. It consisted of three divisions. In the first was the Ferret galley, with Sir William and Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of their suites, and some ladies. The Cornwallis galley brought up the rear, having on board General Knyphausen and his suite, three British generals, and a party of ladies. On each quarter of these galleys, and forming their division, were five flat-boats, lined with green cloth, and with ladies and gentlemen. In front of the whole were three flat-boats, with a band of music in each. Six barges



SIR JOHN WROTTESELEY.†

* See next page.

† This is from a silhouette cut by Major André.

The *Wharton Mansion-house*, with its beautiful lawns and noble trees, the scene of the wicked folly of the enemies of freedom in the midst of a suffering people, has long since dis-

rowed about each flank, to keep off the swarm of boats that covered the river from side to side. The galleys were dressed out in a variety of colors and streamers, and in each flat-boat was displayed the flag of



MISCHIANZA TICKET.²

its own division. In the stream, opposite the center of the city, the *Fanny*, armed ship, magnificently decorated, was placed at anchor, and at some distance ahead lay his majesty's ship *Roebuck*, with the admiral's flag hoisted at the fore-topmast head. The transport-ships, extending in a line the whole length of the town, appeared with colors flying, and crowded with spectators, as were also the opening of the several wharves on shore, exhibiting the most picturesque and enlivening scene the eye could desire. The rendezvous was at Knight's Wharf, at the northern extremity of the city.¹ By half past four the whole company was embarked, and the signal being made by the *Vigilant's* manning ship, the three divisions rowing slowly down, preserving their proper intervals, and keeping time to the music that led the fleet. Arrived between the *Fanny* and the Market Wharf, a signal was made from one of the boats ahead, and the whole lay upon their oars, while the music played *God Save the King*, and three cheers given from the vessels were returned from the multitude on shore. By this time the flood-tide became too rapid for the galleys to advance; they were therefore quitted, and the company disposed of in different barges. This alteration broke in on the order of procession, but was

necessary to give sufficient time for displaying the entertainment that was prepared on shore. The landing-place was at the old fort,³ a little to the southward of the town, fronting the building prepared for the reception of the company, about four hundred yards from the water by a gentle ascent. As soon as the general's barge was seen to push from the shore, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the *Roebuck*, and, after some interval, by the same number from the *Vigilant*. The company, as they disembarked, arranged themselves into a line of procession, and advanced through an avenue formed by two files of grenadiers, and a line of light horse supporting each file. This avenue led to a square lawn of one hundred and fifty yards on each side, lined with troops, and properly prepared for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament, according to the customs and ordinance of ancient chivalry. We proceeded through the center of the square. The music, consisting of all the bands of the army, moved in front. The managers, with favors of blue and white ribbons in their breasts, followed next in order. The general, admiral, and the rest of the company proceeded promiscuously. In front appeared the building, bounding the view, through a vista formed by two triumphal arches, erected at proper intervals in a line with the landing-place. Two pavilions, with rows of benches, rising one above the other, and serving as the advanced wings of the first triumphal arch, received the ladies, while the gentlemen arranged themselves in convenient order on each side. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven of the principal young ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans the favors with which they meant to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor. These arrangements were scarce made, when the sound of trumpets was heard at a distance, and a band of knights, dressed in ancient habits of white and red silk, and mounted on gray horses, richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors, entered the list, attended by their esquires on foot, in suitable apparel, in the following order: four trumpeters, properly habited, their trumpets decorated with small pendant banners; a herald in his robe of ceremony; on his tunic was the device of his band; two roses intertwined, with the motto, *We droop when separated*. Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted on a managed horse, appeared as chief of these knights; two young black slaves, with sashes and drawers of blue and white silk, wearing large silver clasps round their necks and arms, their breasts and shoulders bare, held his stirrups. On his right hand walked Captain Hazard, and on his left Captain Brownlow, his two esquires, one bearing his lance, the other his shield. His device was Cupid riding on a lion; the motto, *Surmounted by Love*. His lordship appeared in honor of Miss Auchmuty.

¹ A little distance above the present Vine Street.

² This is a copy of the Mischianza Ticket, one half the size of the original, which, with the drawing of the head-dress upon page 306, were made by Major André. These were presented to John F. Watson, Esq., by Miss Craig, one of the ladies who participated in the *Mis*. These curious relics are attached to manuscript annals of Philadelphia, prepared by Mr. Watson, and by him generously presented to the Franklin Library of that city.

³ A little below the present navy yard.

appeared, and the streets and lanes of the expanding city cover the site. Let us turn from the spot and its associations, and make our way back to the city proper.

"Then came in order the knights of his band, each attended by his squire, bearing his lance and shield. "First knight, Honorable Captain Cathcart,¹ in honor of Miss N. White; squire, Captain Peters; device, a heart and sword; motto, *Love and honor*.



"Second knight, Lieutenant Bygrove, in honor of Miss Craig; squire, Lieutenant Nichols; device, Cupid tracing a circle; motto, *Without end*.

"Third knight, Captain André,² in honor of Miss P. Chew; squire, Lieutenant André; device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, *No rival*.

"Fourth knight, Captain Horneck, in honor of Miss N. Redman; squire, Lieutenant Talbot; device, a burning heart; motto, *Absence can not extinguish*.

"Fifth knight, Captain Matthews, in honor of Miss Bond; squire, Lieutenant Hamilton; device, a winged heart; motto, *Each fair by turns*.

"Sixth knight, Lieutenant Sloper, in honor of Miss M. Shippen;³ squire, Lieutenant Brown; device, a heart and sword; motto, *Honor and the fair*.

"After they had made the circuit of the square, and saluted the ladies as they passed before the pavilions, they ranged themselves in a line with that in which were the ladies of their device; and their herald (Mr. Beaumont), advancing into the center of the square, after the flourish of trumpets, proclaimed the following challenge: 'The knights of the Blended Rose, by me their herald, proclaim and assert that the ladies of the Blended Rose excel in wit, beauty, and every accomplishment, those of the whole world; and should any knight or knights be so hardy as to dispute or deny it, they are ready to enter the list with them, and maintain their assertions by deeds of arms, according to the laws of ancient chivalry.' At the third repetition of the challenge, the sound of trumpets was heard from the opposite side of the square, and another herald, with four trumpeters, dressed in black and orange, galloped into the list. He was met by the herald of the Blended Rose, and, after a short parley, they both advanced in front of the pavilions, when the black herald (Lieutenant More) ordered his trumpets to sound, and then proclaimed defiance to the challenge in the following words:

"The knights of the Burning Mountain present themselves here, not to contest by words, but to disprove by deeds, the vainglorious assertion of the knights of the Blended Rose, and enter these lists to maintain that the ladies of the Burning Mountain are not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accomplishments by any in the universe."

"He then returned to the part of the barrier through which he had entered, and shortly after, the black knights, attended by their squires, rode into the lists in the following order:

"Four trumpeters preceding the herald, on whose tunic was represented a mountain sending forth flames; motto, *I burn forever*.

"Captain Watson, of the Guards, as chief, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk, and mounted on a black, managed horse, with trappings of the same colors with his own dress, appeared in honor of Miss Franks. He was attended in the same manner as Lord Cathcart. Captain Scott bore his lance, and Lieutenant Lyttleton his shield. The device, a heart, with a wreath of flowers; motto, *Love and glory*.

"First knight, Lieutenant Underwood, in honor of Miss S. Shippen; squire, Ensign Haverkam; device, a pelican feeding her young; motto, *For those I love*.

"Second knight, Lieutenant Winyard, in honor of Miss P. Shippen; squire, Captain Boscawen; device, a bay leaf; motto, *Unchangeable*.

"Third knight, Lieutenant Delaval, in honor of Miss B. Bond; squire, Captain Thorne; device, a heart aimed at by several arrows, and struck by one; motto, *Only one pierce me*.

"Fourth knight, Monsieur Montluissant (Lieutenant of the Hessian chasseurs), in honor of Miss R. Redman; squire, Captain Campbell; device, a sunflower turning toward the sun; motto, *Te vise a vous*.

"Fifth knight, Lieutenant Hubbard, in honor of Miss S. Chew; squire, Lieutenant Briscoe; device, Cupid piercing a coat of mail with his arrow; motto, *Proof to all but Love*.

"Sixth knight, Brigade-major Tarlton, in honor of Miss W. Smith; squire, Ensign Heart; device, a light dragon; motto, *Swift, vigilant, and bold*.

"After they had rode round the lists, and made their obeisance to the ladies, they drew up fronting the White Knights; and the chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the chief of the Black Knights directed his esquire to take it up. The knights then received their lances from their squires, fixing their shields on their left arms, and, making a general salute to each other by a very graceful movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and, encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears. In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth, they fought with their swords. At length the two chiefs, spurring forward into the center, engaged furiously in single combat, till the marshal of the field (Major Gwyne) rushed in between the chiefs, and declared that the fair damsels of the

¹ Captain (afterward Earl) Cathcart was a son of Lord Cathcart, the chief of the knights on this occasion.

² Afterward Major André. The lady in whose honor he appeared was daughter of Chief-Justice Chew. His squire was his brother, a youth of nineteen, whom the king afterward knighted, as mentioned on page 199.

³ Afterward the wife of General Arnold.

On Walnut Street, near Sixth, was the prison used as the *British Provost* in 1778. It was under the charge of that infamously cruel scoundrel, Captain Cunningham, a burly,

Blended Rose and Burning Mountain were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love and the signal feats of valor given by their respective knights, and commanded them, as they prized the future favors of their mistresses, that they would instantly desist from further combat. Obedience being paid by the chiefs to this order, they joined their respective bands. The White Knights and their attendants filed off to the left, the Black Knights to the right, and, after passing each other at the lower side of the quadrangle, moved up alternately till they approached the pavilions of the ladies, when they gave a general salute.

"A passage being now opened between the two pavilions, the knights, preceded by their squires and the bands of music, rode through the first triumphal arch, and arranged themselves to the right and left. This arch was erected in honor of Lord Howe. It presented two fronts, in the Tuscan order; the pediment was adorned with various naval trophies, and at top was the figure of Neptune, with a trident in his right hand. In a niche on each side stood a sailor with a drawn cutlass. Three plumes of feathers were placed on the summit of each wing, and in the entablature was this inscription: *Laus illi debetur, et alma gratia major*. The interval between the two arches was an avenue three hundred feet long and thirty-four broad. It was lined on each side with a file of troops; and the colors of all the army, planted at proper distances, had a beautiful effect in diversifying the scene. Between these colors the knights and squires took their stations. The bands continued to play several pieces of martial music. The company moved



HEAD-DRESS FOR THE MISCHIANZA.²

From a Drawing by Major André.

forward in procession, with the ladies in the Turkish habits in front; as these passed, they were saluted by their knights, who then dismounted and joined them; and in this order we were all conducted into a garden that fronted the house, through the second triumphal arch, dedicated to the general. This arch was also built in the Tuscan order. On the interior part of the pediment was painted a plume of feathers, and various military trophies. At top stood the figure of Fame, and in the entablature this device, *I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocet; I pede fausto*. On the right-hand pillar was placed a bomb-shell, and on the left a flaming heart. The front next the house was adorned with preparations for fire-works. From the garden we ascended a flight of steps covered with carpets, which led into a spacious hall; the panels painted in imitation of Sienna marble,¹ inclosing festoons of white marble; the surbase, and all below, was black. In this hall, and in the adjoining apartments, were prepared tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors, to which the company seated themselves; during which time the knights came in, and on the knee received their favors from their respective ladies. One of these rooms was afterward appropriated for the use of the faro-table. As you entered it, you saw, on a panel over the chimney, a cornucopia, exuberantly filled with flowers of the richest colors; over the door, as you went out, another represented itself shrunk, reversed, and emptied.

"From these apartments we were conducted up to a ball-room, decorated in a light, elegant style of painting. The ground was a pale blue, paneled with a small gold bead, and in the interior filled with dropping festoons of flowers in their natural colors. Below the surbase the ground of rose-pink, with drapery festooned in blue. These decorations were heightened by eighty-five mirrors,³ decked with rose-pink silk ribbons and artificial flowers; and in the intermediate spaces were thirty-four branches with wax-lights, ornamented in a similar manner.

"On the same floor were four drawing-rooms, with side-boards of refreshments, decorated and lighted in the same style and taste as the ball-room. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies, and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent bouquet of rockets began the fire-works. These were planned by Captain Montessor, the chief engineer, and consisted of twenty different exhibitions, displayed under his direction with the happiest success, and in the highest style of beauty. Toward the conclusion, the interior part of the triumphal arch was illuminated, amid an uninterrupted flight of rockets and bursting of balloons. The military trophies on each side assumed a va-

¹ The chief portions of the decorations were painted by Major André and Captain Oliver Delancy, of New York. The Sienna marble was on canvas, in imitation of scene-painting in theaters. They also painted the scenery for the theater that was established in Philadelphia that winter, the proceeds of which were given to the widows and orphans of their soldiers.—Watson's *Annals*, ii., 292.

² The costume of the ladies was as follows: those of the *Blended Rose* a white silk, called a *Polonaise*, forming a flowing robe, and open in front to the waist; the pink sash six inches wide, and filled with spangles; the shoes and stockings also spangled; the head-dress more towering than the drawing, and filled with a profusion of pearls and jewels. The veil was spangled, and edged with silver lace. The ladies of the *Burning Mountain* wore white sashes edged with black, and black trimmings to white silk *Polonaise* gowns.

There were no ladies of British officers at the entertainment, except Miss Auchmuty, the new bride of Captain Montessor. There were not exceeding fifty American young ladies present; the others were married, and these were few, for most of the ladies had left the city on the approach of the British.—Watson's *Annals*, ii., 293.

³ All these mirrors and lustres, according to Mr. Watson, the annalist, were borrowed from the citizens, and were all sent back with the ornaments on. Mr. Watson derived much information on these points from Mrs. L.—, the "queen of the Mischianza."

Major André's Description of the Mischianza.

Philadelphia Provost Prison.

Cunningham.

ill-natured Irishman of sixty years, whose conduct as provost marshal here and in New York has connected his name with all that is detestable. There were confined the American prisoners taken at Brandywine and Germantown, many of whom died of starvation after feeling the lash of Cunningham's whip, or the force of his heavy boot, and were buried in the Potter's Field near by, now the beautiful *Washington Square*. It makes the blood curdle to read of the sufferings of those who fell under the sway of that monster, so devilish in all his ways. The miseries of others seemed to give him great delight; and often, in the sight of the starving prisoners, would he kick over a pail of soup, or scatter a basket of fruit or cold victuals which some benevolent hand had placed upon the door-stone with the hope that it might nourish the famished soldiers! We shall meet him hereafter as provost marshal in New York. Tradition says he was hung

THE WALNUT STREET PRISON.¹

riety of transparent colors. The shell and flaming heart on the wings sent forth Chinese fountains, succeeded by fire-pots. Fame appeared at top, spangled with stars, and from her trumpet blowing the following device in letters of light: *Les Lauriers sont immortels*. A sauteur of rockets, bursting from the pediment, concluded the *feu d'artifice*.

"At twelve supper was announced, and large folding-doors, hitherto artfully concealed, being suddenly thrown open, discovered a magnificent saloon of two hundred and ten feet by forty, and twenty-two feet in height, with three alcoves on each side, which served for side-boards. The ceiling was the segment of a circle, and the sides were painted of a light straw color, with vine leaves and festoons of flowers, some in a bright, some in a darkish green. Fifty-six large pier-glasses, ornamented with green silk artificial flowers and ribbons; one hundred branches, with three lights in each, trimmed in the same manner as the mirrors; eighteen lusters, each with twenty-four lights, suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented as the branches; three hundred wax tapers, disposed along the supper-tables; four hundred and thirty covers; twelve hundred dishes; twenty-four black slaves in Oriental dresses, with silver collars and bracelets, ranged in two lines, and bending to the ground as the general and admiral approached the saloon; all these, forming together the most brilliant assemblage of gay objects, and appearing at once as we entered by an easy descent, exhibited a *coup d'œil* beyond description magnificent.

"Toward the end of supper, the herald of the Blended Rose, in his habit of ceremony, attended by his trumpets, entered the saloon, and proclaimed the king's health, the queen, and the royal family; the army and navy, with their respective commanders; the knights and their ladies; the ladies in general. Each of these toasts was followed by a flourish of music. After supper we returned to the ball-room, and continued to dance till four o'clock.

"Such, my friend, is the description, though a very faint one, of the most splendid entertainment, I believe, ever given by an army to their general. But what must be more grateful to Sir William Howe is the spirit and motive from which it was given. He goes from this to-morrow; but, as I understand, he means to stay a day or two with his brother on board the Eagle, at Billingsport. I shall not seal this letter till I see him depart from Philadelphia. . . ."

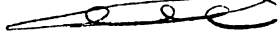
¹ This edifice was erected in 1774, and taken down in 1836. The beautiful new Athenæum occupies a portion of the ground on Sixth Street, and the remainder is covered by elegant dwellings. It is a singular fact that the architect who constructed it was the first person incarcerated in it. He was a Whig, and, having incurred the displeasure of the British, he was locked up in that prison. The *Public Ledger* of June 26th, 1837, gives an account of an armorial drawing, representing, in bold relief, a cuirass, casque, gorget, and Roman battle-ax, with radiating spears, which was made upon an arch of one of the second story cells, by Marshall, an English engraver, who was confined there for many years for counterfeiting the notes of the United States Bank. He was the son of the notorious "Bag and Hatchet Woman," of St. Giles's, London, who followed the British army in its Continental campaigns, and gathered spoils from the slain and wounded on the field of battle. Those who were dead were readily plundered, and the wounded as readily dispatched. This woman and son were master-spirits in the purlieus of St. Giles's, among robbers and counterfeiters. The gang were at length betrayed, and the parent and child fled to this country, bringing with them considerable wealth in money and jewels. They lived in splendid style in Philadelphia, riding in a gorgeous cream-colored phaeton, drawn by richly-caparisoned horses, driven tandem. Their means were soon exhausted, when the son married, and commenced business as an engraver. He counterfeited notes of the United States Bank, was detected, and in 1803 was sentenced to eighteen years' confinement and hard labor in the Walnut Street Prison, then the State Penitentiary. While he was in prison, his mother, who had wandered away from Philadelphia in poverty and destitution, was executed in another state for a foul murder and arson.

at Newgate, in England ; but the records of that prison, examined by Mr. Bancroft, exhibit no such name.

Washington Square, the finest promenade in Philadelphia, was inclosed and set apart as a "Potter's Field"—a place to bury strangers in—in 1704, and was used for that purpose until within the last thirty-five years. There a great multitude of soldiers, who died of the small-pox and camp diseases, were buried in 1776–7. It was indeed a Golgotha. Many of the bodies, buried in pits from twenty to thirty feet square, were piled upon each other, the topmost barely covered with earth. At least two thousand American soldiers were buried there within the space of eight months. The bodies of hundreds of victims of the yellow fever, in 1793, there found a resting-place. At that time, the ground being full, interments ceased. It was made a public walk in 1815 ; and that "city of the dead," shaded by sixty or seventy varieties of trees, is now traversed daily by thousands of the inhabitants of the teeming city of the living around it.

From Washington Square I walked to No. 13 South Sixth Street, to view the ancient edifice on the premises of the late P. S. Duponceau, Esq., mentioned by Watson, in his *Annals*, as the "Office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs."¹ I was disappointed, for improvement had demolished the venerated building, and stately edifices, dedicated to traffic, occupied its place. Referring to this building, Mr. Watson observes : "It is a house appropriately owned by such a possessor [Duponceau] ; for in it he who came as a volunteer to join our fortune, and to aid our cause, as a captain under Baron Steuben, became afterward one of the under secretaries to our minister of Foreign Relations, and in that building gave his active and early services. In the year 1782–3, under that humble roof, presided, as our then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Robert R. Livingston. Up stairs, in the small front room facing the street, sat that distinguished personage, wielding, by his mind and pen, the destinies of our nation. In the adjoining back room sat the two under secretaries—Louis R. Morris, since governor of Vermont,² and our venerated citizen, Mr. Duponceau. These having charge of the archives of the nation, they preserved them all within the inclosure of a small wooden press ! The only room down stairs, on the ground floor, was that occupied by the two clerks and the interpreter. One of

Duponceau



these clerks, Mr. Henry Remsen, was afterward president of a bank in New York ;³ and the other, Mr. Stone, has been governor of Maryland. The translator was the Reverend Mr. Tetard, the pastor of the French Reformed Church."⁴ The house, at that time, was quite beyond the verge of city population ; now the site is near the center of business. There are other localities of lesser note, made memorable by events of the Revolution. I can not note them all, for other scenes of more general interest demand our attention. The curious in such matters may find a full reward in perusing Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, which contain nearly all that is worth remembering of the past of that city.

The sites of many scenes of the Revolution are covered up and forgotten forever. I tried in vain to find some living person who could point out the localities of the intrenchments which Howe caused to be thrown up across the isthmus at Philadelphia, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, and the place of the encampment of the British army when they first occupied the city. I am enabled, however, to point out those localities through the aid of a more reliable cicerone than tradition, a rare and valuable map of Philadelphia,⁵ published in London in 1779, the year following the evacuation of that city by the British. It was drawn by competent engineers in the king's service. It is upon the same scale as the plan of Philadelphia published in Tanner's Atlas in 1843. By a careful comparison

¹ A picture of this building may be found in another part of this work.

² This is a mistake. Mr. Morris was never governor of Vermont. He was clerk of the lower branch of the Legislature of that state in 1790, and a member of Congress from 1797 to 1803.

³ Manhattan Bank.

⁴ *Annals*, i., 423.

⁵ This map is entitled, "A Plan of the City and Environs of Philadelphia, with the works and encampments of his majesty's forces, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir William Howe, K.B."

British Fortifications in Philadelphia.

The British Encampment.

Personal Appearance of the British Officers.

of the two I have obtained the following result, which I am satisfied is quite correct : The line of intrenchments from the Delaware to the Schuylkill extended from the mouth of Conoquonogue Creek, just above Willow Street, to the "Upper Ferry" on the Schuylkill, then nearly on a line with Callowhill Street. They consisted of ten redoubts, connected by strong palisades. The first redoubt, which was garrisoned by the Queen's Rangers, under Simcoe, was near the junction of Green and Oak Streets, and then near the forks of the roads leading to Frankford and Kensington. The second redoubt was a little west of North Second and Noble Streets ; the third, between North Fifth and Sixth, and Noble and Buttonwood Streets ; the fourth, on Eighth Street, between Noble and Buttonwood ; the fifth, on Tenth, between Buttonwood and Pleasant ; the sixth, on Buttonwood, between Thirteenth and North Broad ; the seventh, on North Schuylkill Eighth, between Pennsylvania Avenue and Hamilton Street ; the eighth, on North Schuylkill Fifth and Pennsylvania Avenue ; the ninth, on North Schuylkill Second, near Callowhill Street ; and the tenth, on the bank of the Schuylkill, at the "Upper Ferry."

The encampment extended westward from North Fifth, between Vine and Callowhill, as far as North Schuylkill Second. The Hessian grenadiers were encamped between Callowhill, Noble, Fifth, and Seventh Streets. The fourth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth British grenadiers, and a body of fusileers, were on the north side of Callowhill, between Seventh and Fourteenth Streets. Eight regiments lay upon high ground, known as Bush's Hills, extending from Fourteenth, nearly on a line with Vine, to the Upper Ferry. Near the redoubt at the Ferry was another body of Hessians. The Yagers, horse and foot, were encamped upon a hill near the junction of North Schuylkill Front and Pennsylvania Avenue. On the Ridge Road, near Thirteenth Street, and on Eighth, near Green, were corps of infantry. Light dragoons and three regiments of infantry were posted near a pond between Vine, Race, North Eighth, and Twelfth Streets. Gray's, or "Lower Ferry," was at the grounds of the Naval Arsenal, on the Schuylkill. A little below the "Middle Ferry," at the foot of Chestnut Street, on the Schuylkill, was a fascine redoubt, and near it the seventy-first regiment was encamped. Some Yagers were stationed at the "Point House" (see map on page 298), opposite Gloucester. These localities, with those of the redoubts mentioned on page 310, were all out of the city ; its extent then being from Christian Street on the south, to Callowhill Street on the north, or the boundary of Spring Garden. It was widest between Arch and Walnut Streets, where it extended from the Delaware to Ninth Street.¹

When winter set in, many of the troops, and all the officers, occupied the public buildings and houses of the inhabitants, also the old British barracks in the Northern Liberties. The artillery were quartered in Chestnut Street, between Third and Sixth Streets, and the State House yard was made a park for their use. During the winter, General Howe occupied a house on High Street, where Washington afterward resided ;² his brother, Lord

¹ The following composed the entire number of public buildings in Philadelphia at that time : State House ; Market ; Jail ; Work-house ; Barracks, built in 1755 ; College and Academy ; City Alms-house ; Quakers' Alms-house ; two Quaker meeting-houses ; Christ Church ; Anabaptist meeting-house ; Presbyterian meeting-house ; German Lutheran Church ; Roman Catholic Church ; St. Paul's Church ; St. Peter's Church ; the Swedes' Church ; Quakers' School-house ; and a small city court-house. The hospital and play-house were in the unsettled part of the town.

² See engraving, page 302. Watson has the following notice of the personal appearance of some of the British officers : "SIR WILLIAM HOWE was a fine figure, full six feet high, and well proportioned, not unlike in his appearance to General Washington. His manners were graceful, and he was much beloved by his officers and soldiers for his generosity and affability. SIR HENRY CLINTON, his successor, was short and fat, with a full face and prominent nose. In his intercourse he was reserved, and not so popular as Howe. LORD CORNWALLIS was short and thick-set, his hair somewhat gray, his face well formed and agreeable, his manners remarkably easy and affable. He was much beloved by his men. GENERAL KNYPSHAUSEN was much of the German in his appearance ; not tall, but slender and straight. His features were sharp ; in manners he was very polite. He was gentle, and much esteemed. He spread his butter upon his bread with his thumb ! COLONEL TARLETON was rather below the middle size, stout, strong, heavily made, large muscular legs, dark complexion, and his eyes small, black, and piercing. He was very active. GENERAL HOWE, while in Philadelphia, seized and kept for his own use Mary Pemberton's coach and horses, in which he used to ride about town."—*Annals*, ii., 287.

Loss of the Delaware Frigate.

Torpedoes sent down the River from Bordentown.

"Battle of the Kegs."

Howe, resided in Chestnut Street, in the building occupied by the Farmers and Mechanics Bank; General Knyphausen lived in South Second, opposite Little Dook Street; Cornwallis's quarters were in Second, above Spruce Street; and Major André dwelt in Dr. Franklin's mansion in a court back from High Street.¹

As soon as the British had taken possession of Philadelphia, they erected three batteries near the river, to protect the city against the American shipping.² Before the batteries were finished, Commodore Hazlewood ordered the Delaware and Montgomery frigates, each of twenty-four guns, and the sloop Fly, some galleys and gondolas, to move near and attack them. On the morning of the 27th of September, they opened a cannonade upon the works. The Delaware grounded, at the falling of the tide, near the present Upper Ferry to Camden from Kensington, and, before she could be got off, the guns of the British batteries compelled her colors to be struck. A schooner was driven ashore, and the remainder of the vessels escaped down the river. The affair was badly managed, and disaster followed. These batteries, as well as the lines of fortifications from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, have long since passed away.

During the occupation of the city, the enemy were annoyed by the patriots in various ways. In January, some Whigs at Bordentown sent a number of kegs down the Delaware, which were filled with powder, and furnished with machinery, in such a manner that, on rubbing against any object in the stream, they would immediately explode. These torpedoes were the invention of Mr. Bushnell, of Connecticut, and will be noticed hereafter. They were intended for the destruction of the British shipping then lying in the river opposite Philadelphia. It so happened that, on the very night when these kegs were sent down, the vessels were hauled into the docks to avoid the effects of the ice then rapidly forming. They thus escaped mischief. One of these kegs exploded near the city, and spread general alarm. Not a stick or chip floated for twenty-four hours afterward but it was fired at by the British troops. This *battle of the kegs* furnished the theme for a facetious poem from the pen of Francis Hopkinson, Esq., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.³

¹ Mrs. Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, occupied his house when the enemy approached Philadelphia. She left the city, and took refuge with a friend in the country. After her return in July, she thus wrote to her father, who was then in France: "I found your house and furniture, upon my return to town, in much better order than I had reason to expect from the hands of such a rapacious crew. They stole and carried off with them some of your musical instruments, viz., a Welsh harp, ball harp, the set of tuned bells which were in a box, viol-de-gamba, all the spare armonica glasses, and one or two spare cases. Your armonica is safe.* They took likewise the few books that were left behind, the chief of which were Temple's school-books, and the History of the Arts and Sciences in French, which is a great loss to the public. Some of your electric apparatus is missing; also, a Captain André took with him a picture of you which hung in the dining-room."

² One of these, with three guns, was on the site of the present navy yard; another, with four guns, was below the navy yard, near Reed and Swanson Streets; another, with three guns, was in front of Wharton's Mansion, upon an eminence below Front and Christian Streets.

³ Mr. Hopkinson was also the author of "Hail Columbia," one of our most popular national songs. The following is a copy of

"THE BATTLE OF THE KEGS.

"Gallants attend, and bear a friend
Trill forth harmonious ditty;
Strange things I'll tell, which late befell
In Philadelphia city.

"'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood on log of wood,
And saw a thing surprising.

* This was a musical instrument invented by Dr. Franklin. He saw, in London, a musical instrument, consisting of tumblers, and played by passing a wet finger around their rims. The glasses were arranged on a table, and tuned by putting water in them until they gave the notes required. Franklin was charmed by the sweet tones, and, after many trials, succeeded in constructing an instrument of a different form, and much superior. His glasses were made in the shape of a hemisphere, with an open neck or socket in the middle, for the purpose of being fixed on an iron spindle. They were then arranged, one after another, on this spindle; the largest at one end, and gradually diminishing in size to the smallest at the other end. The tones depended on the size of the glasses. The spindle, with its series of glasses, was fixed horizontally in a case, and turned by a wheel attached to its large end, upon the principle of a common spinning-wheel. The performer sat in front of the instrument, and the tones were brought out by applying a wet finger to the exterior surface of the glasses as they turned round. It became quite a popular instrument. A Miss Cecilia Davies acquired great skill in playing upon it, and, with her sister, performed in various cities in Europe. She performed in the presence of the imperial court of Vienna at the celebration of the nuptials of the Duke of Parma and the Archduchess of Austria. Metastasio composed an ode for the occasion, expressly designed to be sung by her sister, and accompanied by the *armonica*.—*Sparks's Life of Franklin*, page 264.

Alarm during the *Mischianza Fête*.

Boldness of Americans.

Interesting Places near Philadelphia.

On the night of the *Mischianza*, while the enemy were enjoying the festivities of the *fête*, Colonel Allen M'Lane, father of one of our ministers to the court of St. James, devised a stratagem to break them up. At ten o'clock he reached the *abatis* in front of the British works with one hundred and fifty men, in four divisions, supported by Clow's dragoons. They carried camp-kettles filled with combustibles, and at a given signal they fired the whole line of *abatis*. The British beat the long alarm roll, and the assailants were attacked and pursued by the strong guard along the lines. The officers at the *fête* managed to keep the ladies ignorant of the cause of the tumult without. M'Lane and his associates escaped to the hills of the Wissahicon, and bent their way toward Valley Forge. This was the last time the British felt the annoyance of the patriots while in Philadelphia; for they soon afterward evacuated the city, crossed the Delaware, and marched for New York. We shall overtake them on the plains of Monmouth.

Germantown, Whitemarsh, Barren Hill, and Valley Forge, lying within a short distance of Philadelphia, are all intimately connected, in their Revolutionary history, with the city, particularly in relation to its possession and final evacuation by the British in 1777-8. We will proceed to these interesting localities, after considering, for a moment, the patriotism of the *women* of Philadelphia, which beamed out, clear as Hesperus, at the darkest hour of the struggle for freedom.

In the summer of 1780 the distress of the American army was very great, on account of the scarcity of clothing, and the inadequate means possessed by the commissary depart-

"As in amaze he stood to gaze
(The truth can't be denied, sir),
He spied a score of kegs, or more,
Come floating down the tide, sir.

"A sailor, too, in jerkin blue,
The strange appearance viewing,
First d--d his eyes, in great surprise,
Then said, 'Some mischief's brewing.

"These kegs, I'm told, the rebels hold,
Pack'd up like pickled herring;
And they've come down t' attack the town
In this new way of ferry'ng.'

"The soldier flew, the sailor too,
And, scared almost to death, sir,
Wore out their shoes to spread the news,
And ran till out of breath, sir.

"Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted:
And some ran here, and others there,
Like men almost distracted.

"Some fire cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quaked;
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the streets half naked.

"Sir William* he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a snoring;
Nor dream'd of harm as he lay warm
In bed with Mrs. L . . . ng.†

"Now, in a fright, he starts upright,
Awaked by such a clatter;
He rubs both eyes, and boldly cries,
'For God's sake, what's the matter?'

"At his bed-side he then espied
Sir Erskine,‡ at command, sir;
Upon one foot he had one boot,
And t'other in his hand, sir.

"Arise! arise! Sir Erskine cries:
'The rebels—more's the pity—
Without a boat, are all afloat,
And ranged before the city.

"The motley crew, in vessels new,
With Satan for their guide, sir,
Pack'd up in bags, or wooden kegs,
Come driving down the tide, sir.

"Therefore prepare for bloody war;
These kegs must all be routed;
Or surely we despised shall be,
And British courage doubted.'

"The royal band now ready stand,
All ranged in dread array, sir,
With stomach stout to see it out,
And make a bloody day, sir.

"The cannons roar from shore to shore;
The small-arms loud did rattle;
Since wars began I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle.

"The rebel dales, the rebel vales,
With rebel trees surrounded,
The distant woods, the hills and floods,
With rebel echoes sounded.

"The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from every quarter;
Why sure (thought they), the devil's to pay
'Mong folk above the water.

"The kegs, 'tis said, though strongly made
Of rebel staves and hoops, sir,
Could not oppose their powerful foes,
The conqu'ring British troops, sir.

"From morn to night, these men of might
Display'd amazing courage,
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retired to sup their porridge.

"A hundred men, with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, sir,
It is most true, would be too few,
Their valor to record, sir.

"Such feats did they perform that day
Against these wicked kegs, sir,
That, years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, sir."

* Sir William Howe.

† The wife of a Boston refugee, who was then a commissary of prisoners in Philadelphia. He is represented by some as being second only to Cunningham in cruelty, while others speak of him as an honorable man.

‡ Sir William Erskine.

Patriotism of the Philadelphia Women.

Mrs. Reed and Mrs. Bache.

De Chastellux's Visit to Mrs. Bache.

ment to afford a supply. The generous sympathies of the ladies of Philadelphia were aroused, and they formed an association for the purpose of affording relief to the poor soldiers. Never was the energy of genuine sympathy more nobly exercised than by the patriotic women who joined hands in this holy endeavor. Mrs. Esther Reed, the wife of General Joseph Reed, though feeble in health, and surrounded by family cares, entered with hearty zeal into the service, and was, by the united voice of her associates, placed at the head of the society.¹ Mrs. Sarah Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, was also a conspicuous actor in the formation of the association, and in carrying out its plans. All classes became interested, and the result was glorious. "All ranks of society seemed to have joined in the liberal effort, from Phillis, the colored woman, with her humble seven shillings and sixpence, to the Marchioness De La Fayette, who contributed one hundred guineas in specie," and the Count-



MRS. ESTHER REED.

ess De Luzerne, who gave six thousand dollars in Continental paper.² Those who had no money to contribute gave the service of their hands in plying the needle, and in almost every house the good work went on. It was charity in its genuine form, and from its purest source—the voluntary outpourings from the heart. It was not stimulated by the excitements of our day—neither fancy fairs or bazars; but the American women met, and, seeing the necessity that asked interposition, relieved it. They solicited money and other contributions directly and for a precise and avowed object. They labored with their needles, and sacrificed their trinkets and jewelry.³ The Marquis De Chastellux, who was in Philadelphia while these efforts were in progress, was delighted with the event. In describing a visit to several of the American ladies, he says, "We began by Mrs. Bache. She merits all the anxiety we had to see her, for she is the daughter of Mr. Franklin. Simple in her manners, like her respectable father, she possesses his benevolence. She conducted us into a room filled with work, lately finished by the ladies of Philadelphia. This work consisted neither of embroidered tambour waistcoats, nor net-work edgings, nor of gold and silver brocade—it was a quantity of shirts for the soldiers of Pennsylvania. The ladies bought the linen from their own private purses, and took a pleasure in cutting them out and sewing them themselves. On each shirt was the name of the married or unmarried lady who made it, and they amounted to twenty-two hundred."⁴ The results of this effort



MRS. SARAH BACHE.

¹ Mrs. Reed was a daughter of Dennis de Berdt, a London merchant, and for some time agent for the colonies. De Berdt's house was the resort of many Americans in England, among whom was Joseph Reed, who afterward became his daughter's husband. They were married in London in 1780. Her father became a bankrupt, and died soon afterward. Esther accompanied her husband to America immediately after her marriage. The Revolution soon broke out, and, as Mr. Reed was an active participator in its earliest hostile scenes, the young wife and mother was kept, almost from her first residence in America, in a state of excitement and alarm. Fragile in body, and of nervous temperament, her health suffered; and, a few months after she became an active member of the association of ladies for the relief of the American army, she went down into the grave. She died on the 18th of September, 1780, aged thirty-four years.

² La Fayette contributed this sum in the name of his wife. In his letter to Mrs. Reed inclosing the amount, he remarked, "Without presuming to break in upon the rules of your respected association, may I most humbly present myself as her ambassador to the confederate ladies, and solicit in her name that Mrs. President be pleased to accept her offering."

M. De Marbois, the French secretary of legation, in a letter to Mrs. Reed on the occasion, said, "You have been chosen, madam, for that important duty, because, among them all, you are the best patriot, the most zealous and active, and most attached to the interests of your country."

³ Equal to nearly one hundred dollars in specie.

⁴ Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, i., 53. *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*.

⁵ *Travels in North America*, i., 197. The marquis, in his account of his social intercourse in Philadel-

Contributions of Clothing for the Soldiers.

Germantown.

James Logan.

Speech of Logan, the Indian Chief.

were great and timely. The aggregate amount of contributions in the city and county of Philadelphia was estimated at seven thousand five hundred dollars in specie value. Added to this was a princely donation from Robert Morris of the contents of a ship fully laden with military stores and clothing, which had unexpectedly arrived.¹ During the cold winter that followed, hundreds of poor soldiers in Washington's camp had occasion to bless the women of Philadelphia for their labor of love.

On the morning of the 29th of November, I left Philadelphia for Germantown, about six miles distant, accompanied by Mr. Agnew, who journeyed with me to ¹⁸⁴⁸ Whitemarsh, Barren Hill, Valley Forge, and Paoli. It was a delightful morning, the air a little frosty. The road from the city to its ancient suburban village passes through a pleasant, undulating country, and was swarming with vehicles of every kind a greater portion of the way. The village of Germantown extends along a fine Macadamized road for nearly three miles, having no lateral streets, and, though so near a great commercial city, few places in the United States present more striking appearances of antiquity. Twenty or thirty of the low, steep-roofed, substantial stone houses, with quaint pent-eaves and ponderous cornices, built by the early inhabitants, yet remain, and produce a picturesque feature in the midst of the more elegant modern mansions of a later generation.² It was first laid out and a settlement commenced under a grant to Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1684. He purchased six thousand acres from William Penn, and the whole was settled by Germans. James Logan, the confidential secretary of Penn, had a favorite country house upon a hill at the southern end of the village, which is still called Logan's Hill.³

phia, mentions a visit to Mr. Huntington, the President of Congress. "We found him," he says, "in his cabinet, lighted by a single candle. This simplicity reminded me of that of the Fabricius's and the Philopemens. Mr. Huntington is an upright man, and espouses no party." Mr. Duponceau relates that Mr. Huntington and himself often breakfasted together on whortleberries and milk. On one of these occasions Mr. H. said, "What now, Mr. Duponceau, would the princes of Europe say, could they see the first magistrate of this great country at his frugal repast?"—Watson, i., 424.

¹ De Chastellux, speaking of Robert Morris, says, "It is scarcely to be credited that, amid the disasters of America, Mr. Morris, the inhabitant of a town just emancipated from the hands of the English, should possess a fortune of eight millions. It is, however, in the most critical times that great fortunes are acquired. The fortunate return of several ships, the still more successful cruises of his privateers, have increased his riches beyond his expectations, if not beyond his wishes." Morris lost as many as one hundred and fifty vessels, most of them without insurance, during the war; but, as many escaped, and made immense profits, his losses were made up to him. In a letter to a friend in England, Mr. Morris remarked that, notwithstanding he lost immense sums, he came out of the difficulties, at the peace, "about even."

Among the numerous clerks employed by Mr. Morris was James Rees, who entered his service in 1776, then a lad in his thirteenth year. Mr. Rees died at his residence in Geneva, New York, on the 24th of March, 1851, at the age of eighty-seven years.

² Mr. Watson says (p. 19, vol. ii.), "Many of the old houses in Germantown are plastered on the inside with clay and straw mixed, and over it is laid a thin lime plaster. In a house ninety years of age, taken down, the grass in the clay appeared as green as when first out. Oldmixon describes Germantown in 1700 as composed of one street, a mile in length, lined on each side, in front of the houses, with 'blooming peach-trees.'"

³ James Logan was the Indian's friend, and, in remembrance of him, Shikellimus named his son Logan. Shikellimus was a Cayuga chief, and one of the converts to Christianity under the preaching of the Moravians. Logan became a chief among the Mingo, and dwelt in the present Mifflin county, in Pennsylvania. He was a friend of the whites, but suffered dreadfully at their hands. His whole family were murdered on the Ohio, a little below Wheeling, by a band of white men who feigned friendship, in the spring of 1774. In the autumn of that year his consent was asked to a treaty with Lord Dunmore. On that occasion he made the following speech to the white messenger, which Mr. Jefferson has preserved: "I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if he ever came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap,* the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For

* It has been satisfactorily demonstrated that Logan was mistaken in the name of the leader of those who slew his friends. This subject is noticed more in detail in a subsequent chapter.

Officers of Government at Germantown.

Chew's House.

Destructive Effects of War.

Benjamin Chew.

In various ways the history of Germantown is intimately connected with that of Philadelphia, particularly at the time of the Revolution. It was then the residence of several men distinguished in the annals of the war; and in 1793, when the yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, the officers of both the state and federal governments resided there for a short time. President Washington occupied the mansion of the Perot family, where General Howe had his quarters at one time. Jefferson, who was secretary of state, occupied the



CHEW'S HOUSE.

building afterward the Bank of Germantown; and other officers of the general government were in private houses. The trustees of the Academy agreed to rent that edifice "to the Congress of the United States, at their next session, for the sum of three hundred dollars." The whole building was only eighty feet long and fifty wide, yet it was considered sufficiently large to accommodate the representatives of the nation at that time.

We proceeded to the north end of the village, and reined up at the entrance gate of "Chew's House," the most noted and attractive relic of the Revolution now in Germantown. It stands back several rods

from the street, on the east side, and is surrounded by noble trees and shrubbery in profusion. The house is a spacious stone edifice with ample wings. In various parts of the grounds were the mutilated remains of several fine marble statues and vases, some standing, others lying upon the ground. They are evidences of the refined taste of its distinguished owner, Chief-justice Chew,¹ and at the same time melancholy mementoes of the destructive character of war. These fine specimens of sculpture were all perfect before the conflict known as the Battle of Germantown occurred; they were battered, broken, and cast down by the cannon-balls hurled on that occasion. We passed an hour with the venerable present owner of the mansion, the widow of a son of Chief-justice Chew. She received us with much courtesy, and seemed to take pleasure in leading us to various parts of the grounds. The walls of the large room on the south are covered with old paintings, chiefly family portraits, many of them by eminent artists, and possessing much merit. Mrs. Chew showed me several mementoes of the battle, among which are the scars seen at the head of the great stair-case, which were made by the passage of a cannon-ball through the house. In the stable we saw the old doors of the mansion, completely riddled by musket-balls. Mrs. Chew informed us that the house was so much injured, that four or five carpenters were employed a whole winter in repairing it.

The battle of Germantown was fought on the morning of the 4th of October, 1777. De-
^a September 11, seated on the banks of the Brandywine,^a Washington retreated, with his whole
 1777. army, back to Philadelphia, and encamped at Germantown. As soon as his

my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"—*Notes on Virginia*.

¹ Benjamin Chew was born in Maryland, November 20th, 1722. He studied law first with Andrew Hamilton, and afterward in London. He went to Philadelphia in 1754, where he held the respective offices of recorder of the city, register of wills, attorney general, and finally became chief justice of Pennsylvania. His course was doubtful when the Revolution broke out, and he was claimed by both parties. After the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, he took a decided stand against the Whigs, and retired to private life. In 1777 he refused to sign a parole, and was sent a prisoner to Fredericksburg, Virginia. In 1790 he was appointed president of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, and held that office until the abolition of the tribunal in 1806. He died on the 20th of January, 1810, aged nearly eighty-eight years. His father was the Honorable Samuel Chew, of Delaware, a member of the society of Friends, who was a judge and a physician.

Maneuvers of the two Armies on the Schuylkill.

The British Army at Germantown.

Preparations to Attack it.

soldiers were rested and refreshed,¹ he recrossed the Schuylkill, and marched to oppose the army of Howe, then pressing on toward Philadelphia. The two September 16. armies met near the Warren Tavern, on the Lancaster road, within twenty miles of the city. Washington made preparations to attack the left wing of the enemy, and an engagement was about to take place a little north of the Goshen meeting-house, when a violent storm of rain came on suddenly, wet the powder of both parties, and prevented a conflict. The storm continued all night, and before dawn the enemy left their position, and moved down the road leading to Swedes Ford. Perceiving this, Washington crossed the Schuylkill above them at Parker's Ford, hoping to be able to confront them while on their passage of the river. Howe did not cross, but wheeled and made a rapid march up the right bank of the stream toward Reading. Supposing Howe's design to be either to turn the right of his army, or to get possession of the American stores deposited at Reading, Washington moved his forces up the river near to Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), twenty miles above Norristown. Howe's march seemed to have been a movement to deceive Washington; for, as soon as the latter moved to Pottsgrove, the former wheeled his army, marched rapidly down the river, crossed it at the Fatland Ford and vicinity (a little above Norristown), and pushed forward to Philadelphia.² That whole region of country, awed by the September 18, 1777. presence of the British army, was disaffected toward the American cause, and Washington could obtain no reliable information of the enemy's movements. With correct intelligence, he probably would have foiled Howe by skillful maneuvers, and saved Philadelphia.³

On first taking possession of Philadelphia, Howe stationed the main division of his army at Germantown. Washington encamped near Pennibecker's mill, between Perkiomy and Skippack Creeks, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, where he remained until about the 1st of October, undetermined what movement to make next, when his forces were augmented by the arrival of troops from Peekskill on the Hudson, and a body of American militia. Advised of the weakened state of Howe's army, in consequence of his detaching a portion for the purpose of reducing Billingsport, and Forts Mercer and Mifflin, on the Delaware, the commander-in-chief conceived a plan for attacking the main division at Germantown. The British line of encampment there crossed the village at right angles, at about the center, the left wing extending westward from the town to the Schuylkill. It was covered in front by the German chasseurs, some mounted, and some on foot. The right extended eastward from the village, and was covered in front by the Queen's Rangers, a light corps under Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe. The center was posted in the town, and guarded by the fortieth regiment, and another battalion of light infantry was stationed about three fourths of a mile in advance.

At a council of officers called by Washington, it was arranged that the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chestnut Hill, while General Armstrong,⁴ with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down

¹ The condition of the American soldiers was, at that time, deplorable, on account of a want of shoes. Washington, writing to the president of Congress on the 23d of September, says, "At least one thousand men are barefooted, and have performed the marches in that condition."

² It was at this time that Washington wrote to Gates and Putnam to send on re-enforcements from the northern armies amid the Highlands. See page 297.

³ On the approach of the British toward the Schuylkill, Congress, then in session in Philadelphia, adjourned to Lancaster, where they assembled on the 27th of September. They adjourned the same day to York, where they met on the 30th, and continued their sittings there until the British evacuated the city the following summer.

⁴ John Armstrong, a native of Pennsylvania, was a colonel in the provincial forces of that state during the French and Indian wars. He headed an expedition against the Indians at Kittaning in 1756, which destroyed that settlement, dispersed



Approach of the Americans to Germantown.

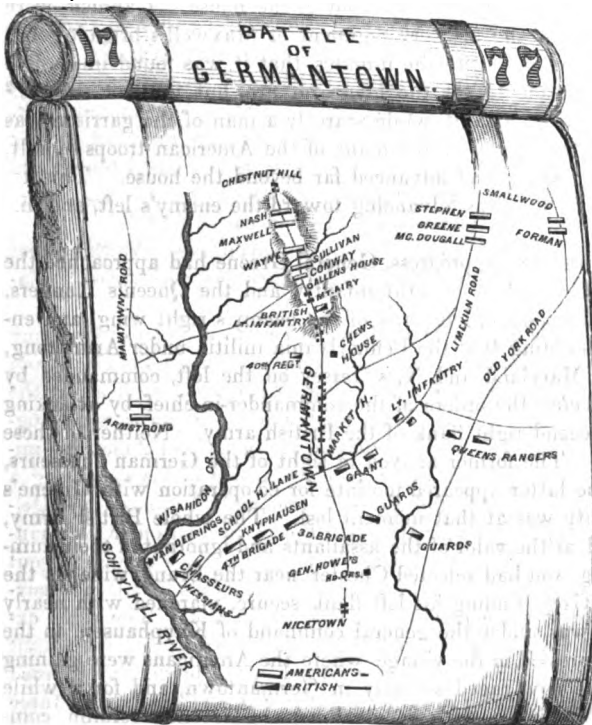
Attack on the British Pickets.

Chew's House a Defense.

the Manatawny road by Van Deering's mill, and get upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by M'Dougall's brigade, were to enter by making a circuit by way of the Lime-kiln road, at the market-house, and to attack the enemy's right wing; and the Maryland and Jersey militia, under Generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march by the old York road and fall upon the rear of their right. Lord Stirling, with the brigades of Nash and Maxwell, were to form a reserve corps.¹

After dark, on the evening of the 3d of October, Washington, with his army, moved silently from his camp on Metuchen Hill, upon Skippack Creek, toward Germantown. He accompanied the column of Sullivan and Wayne in person. Small parties were sent out

to secure every man who might give the enemy notice of his approach, and every precaution was taken to insure complete surprise. He tried to reach the British pickets at Chestnut Hill before daylight; but the roughness of the roads over which his army marched prevented, and it was almost sunrise when he emerged from the woods on that elevation. His approach had been discovered at early dawn by the British patrols, who gave the alarm. The troops were soon called to arms, and placed in battle order on Mount Airy, about a mile north of Chew's house in Germantown. At seven o'clock Sullivan's advanced party, drawn chiefly from Conway's brigade, and led by that officer, fell upon the British pickets at Allen's house, at Mount Airy, where they had two six-pounders, and drove them back to the main body near, which



consisted chiefly of the fortieth regiment and a battalion of light infantry. Sullivan's main body now left the road, moved to the right through the fields, formed in a lane leading from Allen's house toward the Schuylkill, and joined in the attack with so much vigor and such overwhelming numbers, that the enemy, after a sharp engagement of twenty minutes, gave way, and fell back to the village, closely pursued by the victors. Colonel Musgrave, who commanded the British center, thus furiously attacked, threw himself, with five companies of the fortieth regiment, into Judge Chew's large stone house, pictured on page 314, from which such a severe discharge of musketry was poured upon Woodford's brigade, which was

the savages, and took possession of the stores which the French had sent there for the use of their native allies. For this service the corporation of Philadelphia passed a vote of thanks to Armstrong and his three hundred men, and presented him with a medal and a piece of plate. He was appointed a brigadier general in the Continental army in 1776, and did gallant service in defense of Fort Mifflin, at Charleston, in the summer of that year. He was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in the autumn of 1777. Becoming dissatisfied concerning some promotions in the army, he resigned his commission at the close of 1777, and became a member of Congress afterward. He died at Carlisle, March 9, 1795. He was the father of Major John Armstrong, the author of the "Newburg Addresses," whose life and character is noticed on page 106.

¹ Sparks, v., 78.

Scenes at Chew's House.

Reinforcements of the Militia.

Victory lost to the Americans.

pursuing the flying enemy, that their progress was checked. The fire of the small arms of the patriots upon this refuge was quite ineffectual. General Reed, it is said, proposed to continue the pursuit of the remainder of the enemy, who were then in great confusion, and turning their faces toward Philadelphia; but General Knox, of the artillery, opposed the suggestion, as being against all military rule "to leave an enemy in a fort in the rear." "What!" exclaimed Reed, "call this a fort, and lose the happy moment!" They sought for Conway to decide the point, but he was not to be found. Knox's opinion prevailed, and pursuit was abandoned.

A flag was now sent by a young man¹ to demand a formal and immediate surrender. The bearer was slain by a bullet when within musket-shot of the house. Cannons were now brought to bear upon the house by the artillery regiment of Maxwell's brigade; but so strong were the walls and so courageous were the inmates, that it was found impossible to dislodge them. Attempts were made to set the house on fire, but without success.² Many of the Americans were killed in the assault, while scarcely a man of the garrison was wounded. The attempt to dislodge the enemy caused many of the American troops to halt, and brought back Wayne's division, which had advanced far beyond the house. This totally uncovered Sullivan's left flank, which was advancing toward the enemy's left, and disconcerted all their plans.

While this attack on Chew's house was in progress, General Greene had approached the enemy's right wing, and routed the battalion of light infantry and the Queen's Rangers. Turning a little to the right, he fell upon the left flank of the enemy's right wing, and endeavored to enter the village, not doubting that the Pennsylvania militia under Armstrong, upon the right, and the militia of Maryland and New Jersey on the left, commanded by Smallwood and Forman, would execute the orders of the commander-in-chief, by attacking and turning the first left and the second right flank of the British army. Neither of these detachments performed their duty. The former arrived in sight of the German chasseurs, but did not attack them; while the latter appeared too late for co-operation with Greene's movements. The golden opportunity was at that moment lost. The whole British army, as it appeared afterward, astonished at the valor of the assailants and ignorant of their numbers, were on the point of retreating, and had selected Chester, near the Brandywine, as the place of rendezvous; but General Grey, finding his left flank secure, marched with nearly the whole of the left wing, which was under the general command of Knyphausen, to the assistance of the center, then hard pressed in the village, where the Americans were gaining ground every moment. The battle now raged severely in Germantown, and for a while the issue was doubtful. Colonel Matthews, with a detachment of Greene's column, composed of a part of Muhlenberg's and Scott's brigades from the left wing, advanced to the eastward of Chew's house, assailed a party of English, took one hundred and ten prisoners, and drove the remainder before him into the town, whither he followed as far as the market-house. A thick fog, which began to form at daylight, now completely enveloped every thing, and the contending parties were unable to discover the movements of each other. Matthews, with his prisoners, was soon stopped at a breast-work near Lucan's mills. At the same time, the right wing of the enemy, after discovering that they had nothing to fear from the Maryland and New Jersey militia, fell back, and completely surrounded Matthews

¹ Lieutenant Smith, of Virginia, who was an assistant of Colonel Timothy Pickering in the office of adjutant general.

² Mrs. Chew informed me that, several years after the war, and soon after her marriage, while a young man named White was visiting her father-in-law, the old gentleman, in relating incidents of the battle in Germantown, mentioned the circumstance that a Major White, an aid of General Sullivan, and one of the handsomest men in the Continental army, attempted to fire the house for the purpose of driving out the British. He ran under a window with a fire-brand, where shots from the building could not touch him. He was discovered, and a British soldier, running into the cellar, shot him dead from a basement window. The young man was much affected by the recital, and said to Judge Chew, "That Captain White, sir, was my father." Mrs. Chew pointed out to us the window, near the northwest corner of the house, from which the shot was fired.

Battle of Germantown.

The Americans, deceived, abandon the field.

Washington's Chagrin.

The Loss.

and his party. This division of the enemy was composed chiefly of the fourth brigade, under General Agnew, and three battalions of the third. The prisoners were rescued; and Matthews, after a desperate defense, and when most of his officers and men were killed and wounded, was compelled to surrender, with his little remnant of about one hundred men. This event enabled two regiments from the enemy's right to march to the relief of Musgrave in Chew's house. These regiments attacked and repulsed a party of Americans who had just entered Germantown in flank. The patriots, unable to discern the numbers of the enemy on account of the intensity of the fog, retired precipitately, leaving a great many of their friends dead and wounded, but taking their artillery with them.

General Grey, now having absolute possession of the village, hastened to the aid of the right wing, which was engaged with the left of Greene's column. Sullivan's division, with a regiment of North Carolinians, commanded by Colonel Armstrong, and assisted by a part of Conway's brigade, having driven the enemy to School-house Lane, in the center of Germantown, found themselves unsupported by other troops, and their ammunition exhausted. They could dimly perceive through the fog that the enemy were collecting in force on the right. At that moment, hearing the cry of a light horseman that the enemy had surrounded them, and perceiving the firing at Chew's house, so far in the rear, the Americans became panic-stricken, and retreated with great precipitation.¹ The divisions under Greene and Stephen were the last that retreated, and these were covered by Count Pulaski and his legion. The prize of victory was abandoned at the moment when another effort might have secured it.²

The battle of Germantown, which lasted two hours and forty minutes, was a very severe one, and the loss on both sides was great, considering the numbers engaged and the nature of the conflict. The amount of loss has been variously computed; that of the Americans was estimated by Washington, a fortnight after the battle,³ at about one thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing.⁴ There were fewer killed on the part of the British, the number probably not exceeding one hundred; while their whole loss, according to Howe's official account of the affair, was, in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and thirty-five.⁵ Among these were several valuable officers, the most distinguished of whom were General James Agnew⁶ and Lieutenant-colonel Bird. Their remains lie inhumed together,

¹ Sullivan's letter to Mesheck Weare, president of New Hampshire, in the New York Historical Society; John Eager Howard's letter to Timothy Pickering; Gordon; Botta; Ramsay; Marshall. The latter author was in Woodford's brigade, and describes a portion of this battle from his own observation.

² Washington said, in a letter to the president of Congress, written on the 7th of October, three days after the battle, "It is with much chagrin and mortification I add, that every account confirms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring herself in our favor. The tumult, disorder, and even despair, which, it seems, had taken place in the British army, were scarcely to be paralleled; and, it is said, so strongly did the idea of a retreat prevail, that Chester was fixed on as a place of rendezvous. I can discover no other cause for not improving this happy opportunity than the extreme haziness of the weather." Writing, at the same time, to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, Washington said, "But the morning was so excessively foggy, that we could not see the confusion the enemy were in, and the advantage we had gained; and fearing to push too far through a strong village, we retired, after an engagement of two hours, bringing off all our artillery with us. We did not know until after the affair was over how near we were to gaining a complete victory."

³ See letter to his brother, dated October 17th, 1777.

⁴ According to the report of the Board of War, the Americans lost in killed, 25 Continental officers, commissioned and non-commissioned; wounded, 102, and an equal number missing. The militia officers were 3 killed, 4 wounded, and 11 missing. Of rank and file Continentals, 109 were killed, and 378 wounded; militia, 7 killed, and 19 wounded; artillery officers, 2 killed, and 11 wounded; and matrosses, 6 killed, and 7 wounded. Total of killed, 152; of wounded, 521. Gordon says (ii., 234), "Upward of 400 were made prisoners, among whom were 54 officers." It may here be remarked that the missing men from the army were not necessarily included in the list of the killed, wounded, or prisoners; for many of those were soldiers who took such opportunities to go home.

⁵ Gordon says that, when the British left Germantown, some torn papers with figures on them were found upon a chimney hearth by the Americans. On putting the pieces together, it was found that they contained the returns of the number and rank of the British killed in the battle. The total was about 800.

⁶ The following account of the death of General Agnew I copied from a manuscript letter of Alexander Andrew, a servant of that officer, written to the wife of the general from Philadelphia, on the 8th of March,

Letter of General Agnew's Servant to the Lady of that Officer concerning his Death.

in the south burying-ground at Germantown. Over their grave I saw a neat marble slab, erected to their memory by J. F. Watson, Esq., the annalist. In the north burying-ground



1778. I give it as an illustration of the character and duties of a body-servant of a British officer at that time. This letter, and several written by Agnew himself to his wife at various times, are in the possession of his grandson, Henry A. Martin, M.D., of Roxbury, Massachusetts. From one of these I copied the annexed signature of General Agnew.

"Philadelphia, 8th March, 1778.

"DEAR MADAM,—Though an entire stranger to your ladyship, yet, as I had the honor to wait on your beloved husband for a considerable time, which induced me to take the liberty of writing unto you, which I look upon as a duty of mine to you in memory of a good master, to whom I owe many obligations, is and will be always ready and willing to serve any of his if ever in my power. Dear madam, I came into the army in place of a brother of mine, who was cunning enough to persuade me, young and foolish enough, to go in his place. I joined the 44th in '72, then in Kilkenny, from which time I fancied Colonel Agnew took notice of me, and when the regiment embarked at Cork he took me to be his servant, with whom I had the honor to live very comfortably and happy until the day of his death. Being his principal servant, and the only one he ever would have to wait on him both in public and private, at home and abroad, and in all places wherever his person was exposed, I was there by his side, and an eye-witness to all his sufferings in Boston, in Halifax, Staten Island, Long Island, New York Island, on the expedition to Danberry, in the Jerseys, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and in three pitched battles, viz., 27th August, '76, the 11th of September, and 4th of October, '77, besides a number of skirmishes. On the expedition to Danberry, the general was knocked down by a ball, which left its mark for above a month. At the battle of Brandywine, the general had the misfortune to be grazed by a cannon-ball, but continued to head his brigade. It happened to be the last engaged that night, and, though he was very much indisposed, yet he commanded his gallant troops until they beat off and remained masters of the field. During the action the general retailed at the head of the 64th, which regiment suffered more than any of the brigade. The army then proceeded to that unfortunate place called Germantown, the 4th of October being the particular and fatal day of which your ladyship has cause to remember and I have much reason to regret. But to let you know the particulars of that day. [Being between the hours of 9 and 12, as the brigade was following the 3d in an oblique advancing line, the general, with the piquet at their head, entered the town, hurried down the street to the left, but had not rode above 20 or 30 yards, which was to the top of a little rising ground, when a party of the enemy, about 100, rushed out from behind a house about 500 yards in front, the general being then in the street, and even in front of the piquet, and all alone, only me, he wheeled round, and, putting spurs to his horse, and calling to me, he received a whole volley from the enemy. The fatal ball entered the small of his back, near the back seam of his coat, right side, and came out a little below his left breast. Another ball went through and through his right hand. I, at the same instant, received a slight wound in the side, but just got off time enough to prevent his falling, who, with the assistance of two men, took him down, carried him into a house, and laid him on a bed, sent for the doctor, who was near. When he came he could only turn his eyes, and looked steadfastly on me with seeming affection. The doctor and Major Leslie just came in time enough to see him depart this life, which he did without the least struggle or agony, but with great composure, and calmness, and seeming satisfaction, which was about 10 or 15 minutes after he received the ball, and I believe between 10 and 11 o'clock. I then had his body brought to his former quarters, took his gold watch, his purse, in which was four guineas and half a Johannes, which I delivered to Major Leslie as soon as he came home. I then had him genteelly laid out, and decently dressed with some of his clean and best things; had a coffin made the best the place could produce. His corpse was decently interred the next day in the church-yard, attended by a minister and the officers of the 44th regiment.]

"He during his life, in his good-humors, often told me that he would do better for me than being in the army; but, having no certificate from under his hand, I was ordered to join the regiment, which I am sure I never would have done. With regard to his effects that were present with him, were equally divided among all the servants, every thing being delivered over by Major Leslie to Major Hope. Payne was cook, and came to the general in Boston; but the other man, Seymour, was only part of one campaign, though he received an equal proportion of every thing the same as me. Agnew, even a pickt up negro received equal with me, who bore the burden and heat of the day, silver buckles excepted. Colonel Hope gave me them extraordinary as a reward (said he) for your good and faithful services to your master; and them I have, and am ready to part with them, if your ladyship or Captain Robert chuse to send for them. All the rest of the things which was in store has been all lately sold by vandue, ye, even two great-coats made for me and Payne almost a year ago, was sold, with several other things too tedious to mention, such as remains of cloth, stockings, &c.

"Dear madam, I beg you will excuse this liberty; and if your ladyship please to send me a few lines after the receival of this, I will be under a great obligation to you; and believe me to be, with sincerity and due respect, madam, your most obedient and humble servant while

"ALEX. ANDREW.

American Officers Killed.

Washington and his Officers Honored.

General Stephen.

Whitemarsh.

the same gentleman has set up a stone over the graves of Captain Turner, of North Carolina, Major Irvine, and six soldiers of the American army, who were slain in the battle, and buried there together. General Nash, of North Carolina,¹ and Majors Sherburne and White,² the two aids of General Sullivan, were also among the slain.

Although the Americans were defeated, or rather retreated from almost certain victory, no blame was attached to the commander-in-chief and the general officers under his command. On the contrary, when Washington's letter to Congress, describing the battle, was read, that body passed a vote of thanks to him for his "wise and well-concerted attack upon the enemy's army near Germantown," and to "the officers and soldiers of the army for their brave exertions on that occasion."³ A medal was also ordered to be struck and presented to General Washington.⁴ It was never executed.

Lord Cornwallis sped to the succor of the British camp at Germantown as soon as intelligence of the attack upon it reached General Howe. He took with him a corps of cavalry and grenadiers; but when he arrived, the Americans had left, and retired to their camp on Skipack Creek. There Washington remained until the 29th, when a council of war was held,⁵ and the next day he removed, with the whole army under his command, to the range of hills about three fourths of a mile northeast from the village of Whitemarsh, where he intended to go into winter quarters. Thither we also went on leaving Germantown at noon.

Whitemarsh is situated in a beautiful little valley north of Chestnut Hill, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, and six from Mount Airy, the upper part of Germantown. The sun glowed warm and bright at midday, and as we passed over Chestnut Hill it revealed many little hamlets in every direction, half hidden behind variegated groves. Descending the northern slope of Chestnut Hill, we passed through Whitemarsh village, and, turning eastward, passed over a lower ridge, crossed a narrow valley watered by the romantic Wissahicon, and skirting the base of a range of gentle, cultivated hills, and arrived at the spacious stone mansion, tottering with age and neglect, where Washington made his headquarters. The house stands upon the edge of a wet meadow, at the head of a fine valley, and was a sort of baronial hall in size and character when Elmar, its wealthy owner at the time of the Revolution, dispensed hospitality to all who came under its roof. It is sixty

¹ Francis Nash was a captain in North Carolina in 1771, where he distinguished himself in the movements in the western part of the state known as the *Regulator War*. At the commencement of the Revolution, the convention of North Carolina commissioned him a colonel, and in February, 1777, he was commissioned by Congress a brigadier in the Continental army. When the intelligence of his death at Germantown reached that body, it was resolved to request Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, "to erect a monument of the value of 500 dollars, at the expense of the United States," in honor of his memory. That monument, like many others, is yet to be erected.

² See note respecting his death at Chew's house upon page 317.

³ General Adam Stephen was an exception. He was accused of "unofficer-like conduct" during the action and the retreat. He was found guilty of being intoxicated, and was dismissed from the army. General Stephen had been a meritorious Virginia officer in the colonial wars. He was a captain in the Ohio expedition in 1754. Afterward raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel, he was intrusted with the command of Fort Cumberland. He was left in command of the Virginia forces while Washington went to Boston on an official errand to Governor Shirley in 1755. He was afterward dispatched to South Carolina to oppose the Creek Indians. On his return, he was placed at the head of troops for the defense of the Virginia frontier, and was commissioned a brigadier. Congress appointed him a major general early in 1777, and he behaved well in the battle of Brandywine. Yielding to a bad habit, he fell into disgrace at Germantown. On the 3d of December, 1777, the Marquis De La Fayette was appointed to the command of General Stephen's division.

⁴ *Journals of Congress*, iii., 335.

⁵ General Washington reported to that council that the troops under Sir William Howe at that time, who were stationed in Philadelphia and its immediate vicinity, fit for duty, numbered ten thousand rank and file; and that the force under his own command, and fit for duty, was eight thousand three hundred and thirteen Continental troops, and two thousand seven hundred militia. There were, in addition, seven hundred and fifty Continental troops at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, and a detachment of three hundred militia on their way to re-enforce these posts. A body of five hundred militia were likewise on the other side of the Schuylkill. This was his whole force, and it was likely soon to suffer a diminution of nearly two thousand by the expiration of the term of service of Maryland and Virginia levies.

Washington's Head-quarters at Whitemarsh.

American Encampment.

Skirmish at Whitemarsh.



WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS NEAR WHITEMARSH

of which measures fifteen feet in circumference. The present owner is Mr. John Fitzwater. With a little care and trifling expense, that venerated house might be preserved a century longer. Its roof was falling in when I visited it, and in a few years its stones will doubtless occupy mean places in the foundation of a more elegant modern mansion, or the partition walls of cultivated fields.

The American encampment was upon the hills north of Elmar's mansion, its right wing resting upon Wissahicon Creek, and its left upon Sandy Run. Near Mather's mill the remains of one of the redoubts are still quite prominent, and in various places in the vicinity may be seen vestiges of the chimneys of numerous huts of log and stone erected by the Americans. Here commenced those sufferings of the soldiers which became so intense during the winter at Valley Forge. Their chief privation was a want of shoes and other clothing. On the 22d of November, Washington, in general orders, offered a reward of ten dollars to any person who should, by nine o'clock on the morning following, produce the best substitute for shoes made of raw hides. The commissary of hides was to furnish the materials, and the major general of the day was to "judge of the essays, and assign the reward to the best artist." I have seen no record of the result. Raw-hide shoes were worn by a few soldiers on their march to Valley Forge. 1777.

Several expeditions were suggested and planned, but a want of shoes rendered a large portion of the army unfit for marching. A council of war was called on the 25th of November, to consider the propriety of making an attack upon Philadelphia while Cornwallis was absent in New Jersey, whither he had gone to take possession of Red Bank and the neighboring region. The decision of the council was a negative, and the scheme was abandoned. Early in December, the enemy attempted to surprise Washington in his camp, but success was denied them by the patriotic service of Lydia Darrah of Philadelphia, noticed on page 301. The British appeared upon Chestnut Hill, about three miles from Washington's camp, at dawn on the morning of the 5th of December. As soon as their position was discovered, the Pennsylvania militia were ordered out to skirmish with their light advanced parties. Brigadier-general Irvine, who led the detachment, was wounded and made prisoner. On the next day (Friday) the enemy changed ground, and approached within a mile of the American lines, where they remained until Sunday, when they moved further to the left, and seemed to be preparing for a general attack. Their advanced and flanking parties were warmly attacked by Colonel Morgan and his rifle corps, and Colonel Gist with the Maryland militia. The battle was quite severe. Twenty-seven men in Morgan's corps were killed and wounded, besides Major Morris, a brave and gallant officer, who was badly maimed. Sixteen or seventeen of the Maryland militia were wounded. The loss of the enemy was considerable. On Monday, the 8th, when 1777.

¹ The Reverend Zachariah Greene, now (1851) living at Hempstead, Long Island, was wounded in this

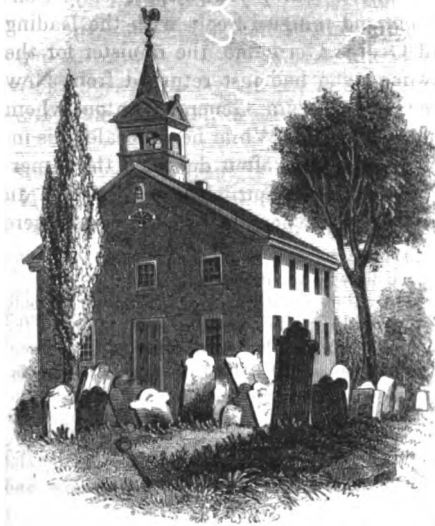
Retreat of the British to Philadelphia.

Departure of the Americans from Whitemarsh.

Barren Hill

the movements of the British gave Washington every reason to believe that an immediate attack was to be made, he was surprised to perceive them, instead of advancing, commence a precipitate march, by two routes, for Philadelphia. As their adjutant remarked to Mrs. Darrah, they had been on a fool's errand and accomplished nothing. "I sincerely wish," wrote Washington to the president of Congress, "that they had made an attack, as the issue, in all probability, from the disposition of our troops and the strong situation of our camp, would have been fortunate and happy. At the same time, I must add, that reason, prudence, and every principle of policy, forbade us from quitting our post to attack them." General Howe, in his dispatches, said, "They were so strongly intrenched that it was impossible to attack them." They had no other intrenchments than two small redoubts, one on each hill near the head-quarters. Three days afterward Washington broke up his encampment at Whitemarsh, and, in the midst of a deep snow, marched to the Schuylkill, crossed it at Swedes' Ford, and established his winter quarters at Valley Forge. Hundreds of the soldiers made that dreary march of nineteen miles with bare feet, and the pathway of the patriot army might have been traced all the way by hundreds of foot-marks in the snow stained with blood. Let us follow them thither, and in the head-quarters of the chief, which stands near the banks of the Schuylkill, sit down and ponder upon the wondrous love of country which kept that suffering army together during the winter and spring of 1778.

We left Whitemarsh at about two o'clock for the Schuylkill, passing, on our way, over Barren Hill, the scene of a skillful military movement by La Fayette, with a body of Americans, in May, 1778. Barren Hill is a small village lying upon the western slope of a rough eminence, about four miles west of Whitemarsh. From its summit a fine view of the surrounding country may be obtained. There, on the right of the road leading toward the Schuylkill from Chestnut Hill to Conshohocken (Matson's Ford), is the old Lutheran church which La Fayette occupied as quarters during his brief tarry on the hill. According to an inscription upon a tablet in the western gable, its title is "St. Peter's," and the time of erection 1761. By the road-side near the church is a quaint-looking school-house, covered with stucco. The church, the school-house, and two strong stone houses composed this settlement, then in the wilderness, when La Fayette made it his point of observation, and out-manuevered General Grant. Within the old church-yard, sitting upon a recumbent sand-stone slab, with half-effaced inscription, I made this sketch; and here let us open the record and receive instruction from the chronicler.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BARREN HILL.

As this is the first time in the course of our journey that we have met La Fayette as commander-in-chief of an expedition, it is a proper

engagement, and carried to Washington's quarters. Mr. Greene was the father-in-law of the late Mr. Thompson, the historian of Long Island.

¹ Gordon says that, while at Washington's table, in 1784, the chief informed him that bloody foot-prints were every where visible in the course of their march. Such was the distress of the soldiers from want of clothing, that Washington, as a last resort, authorized the proper officers to take by force, for the use of the army, such articles of clothing as the people refused to sell. It must be remembered that the people generally, throughout that section of Pennsylvania, were opposed to the patriots, and did every thing in their power to distress them.

La Fayette.

His first impulses favorable to the Americans.

His Liberty.

Visit to England.

place to consider the circumstances attending his espousal of the cause of freedom, and his connection with the American Continental army. He was a young man, not yet nineteen years old, when our Declaration of Independence went over the seas, and commanded the admiration of thinkers in the Old World. La Fayette was of noble ancestry. He had just married the Countess Anastasia de Noailles, daughter of the Duke De Noailles, a lady of great personal beauty, immense fortune, and brilliant accomplishments.¹ When the story of America's wrongs, and of her holy struggle for the right, just begun, reached his ears, it inflamed his young heart with the most passionate sympathy, and an ardent desire to aid them with his purse and sword.² He openly espoused the cause of the patriots, and resolved to hasten to their support. Not all the blandishments of rank and fortune, the endearments of conjugal love, made doubly so by promise of offspring, nor the sad tales of reverses to the American arms at the close of 1776, which every vessel from our shores carried to Europe, could repress his zeal or deter him from the execution of his noble purpose. He had just offered his services to Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners at Paris,³ when the news arrived that the remnant of the American army, reduced to two thousand insurgents, as they were called, had fled toward Philadelphia through the Jerseys, before an army of thirty thousand British regulars. This news frustrated all the plans of Deane for the moment, for it utterly destroyed the little credit which America then had in Europe. Franklin arrived at this juncture, and was greatly pleased with the young marquis and the disinterested zeal which he exhibited, but honestly advised him to abandon his design until better hope for success should appear. But this candid advice was of no avail. The commissioners had not sufficient credit to command the means to fit out a vessel for the purpose of conveying the marquis and his friends, with arms, ammunition, and stores. La Fayette offered to purchase a ship with his own funds. "Hitherto," he said, in the spirit of true heroism, "I have only *cherished* your cause; now I am going to *serve* it. The lower it is in the opinion of the people, the greater effect my departure will have; and since you can not get a vessel, I shall purchase and fit out one, to carry your dispatches to Congress, and me to America."⁴ He went over to London, and mingled freely with the leading politicians there. He danced at the house of Lord George Germaine, the minister for the affairs of America, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York, paid his personal respects to the king, and met, at the opera, General Clinton, whom he was afterward to meet on the field of battle at Monmouth.⁵ While he concealed his intentions of going to America, he openly avowed his sentiments; often defended the Americans; rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and his opposition spirit obtained for him an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne. He refused invitations to visit sea-ports where

¹ La Fayette himself had an independent revenue of 200,000 livres—about \$37,000.

² In the summer of 1776, La Fayette was stationed on military duty at Mentz, being then, though only a little past eighteen years of age, an officer in the French army. The Duke of Gloucester, brother to the King of England, visited Mentz, and a dinner party was given to him by the commandant of that place. La Fayette was at the table. The duke had just received dispatches from England relating to the Declaration of Independence, the resistance of the colonies, and the strong measures adopted by the British ministry to crush the rebellion, and he made their contents the topic for conversation. The details were new to La Fayette, and he had a long conversation with the duke. The idea of a people fighting for liberty had a strong influence upon his imagination. He regarded their cause as just, their struggle noble, and from that hour his chivalrous enterprise was the chief burden of his thoughts. He returned to Paris, and there perfected his plans.—Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, v., 445.

³ "When," says La Fayette, "I presented my boyish face to Mr. Deane, I spoke more of my ardor in the cause than my experience; but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our agreements."—See *Memoirs*, written by himself. La Fayette was accompanied by the Baron De Kalb as interpreter. De Kalb had been commissioned by the Duke De Choiseul to proceed to America for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the revolted colonies. He came over with La Fayette, and did good service in our army. We shall meet him again on the field of battle near Camden, in South Carolina. La Fayette persuaded Count Segur and Viscount De Noailles to accompany him, but their friends kept them at home. Count Segur accompanied Bonaparte to Moscow in 1812, and has left a thrilling account of that memorable campaign.

⁴ Gordon, ii., 219

⁵ *Pictorial History of the Reign of George the Third*, i., 302

La Fayette's Attempts to leave France.

Sketch of his Career.

Sword presented to him by Congress.

vessels were fitting out against the Americans, for he was unwilling to do aught that might afterward be construed into an abuse of confidence.¹



La Fayette

LA FAYETTE IN 1777.
From a French Print.

After remaining three weeks in England, La Fayette returned to France, but not to Paris. Information had gone abroad that he was fitting out a vessel for America, at Bordeaux. It was not good policy for the government to allow it. He proceeded to Passy, then the residence of Dr. Franklin, where he found the Baron De Kalb. He remained concealed in the baron's house a few days, and then proceeded to Bordeaux. His vessel was not ready, but he felt it necessary to sail immediately. He left Bordeaux toward the close of February, and proceeded to Passage, a Spanish port, where he awaited the receipt of the ship's papers. There two officers reached him, with an order from the king (*lettre de cachet*) prohibiting his departure, and commanding him to repair to Marseilles. He was charged by ministers with violating his oath of allegiance, and by his family with conduct calculated to bring ruin on himself and them. His young wife, however, did not join in their reproaches; she approved of his project, and urged him to persevere.

La Fayette obeyed orders, and returned to Marseilles. He pleaded the justice of the

¹ *Memoirs*, written by himself.

² The Marquis (Gilbert Mottier*) De La Fayette was born on the 6th of September, 1757, and in 1774, when a little more than seventeen years old, married the Countesse Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the Duke de Noailles, a young lady possessing an immense fortune. He joined our Revolutionary army in 1777, and with his purse, sword, and counsel, and his influence with the French court, he greatly aided us in our struggle for political independence. In October, 1778, he asked and obtained leave of absence, and returned to France. Congress, in connection with the resolution for granting him a furlough, also resolved, "That the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made, and presented, in the name of the United States, to La Fayette. Franklin, then minister at the French court, procured the sword, and sent it to the marquis in August, 1779, accompanied by a very complimentary letter from his hand, to which La Fayette feelingly replied.† La Fayette returned to America in the spring of 1780, bringing joyful news [see

* In the *Biographie des Hommes* his name is written *Marie-Paul Joseph-Rock-Yves-Gilbert-Mottiers de La Fayette*.

† The following is a copy of the correspondence:

"Passy, 24th August, 1779.

"Sir,—The Congress, sensible of your merit toward the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you. For this, figures, and even words, are found insufficient. I therefore only add, that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

"P.S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honor of presenting it to you."

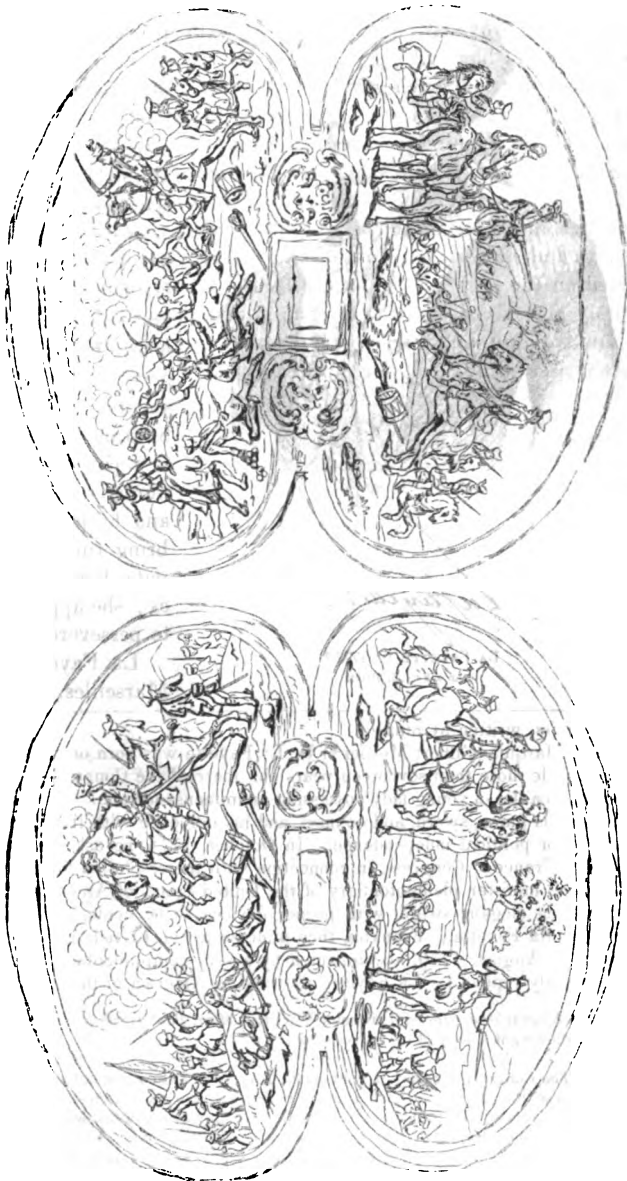
The marquis, in reply, after acknowledging the presentation of the sword, said:

"In some of the devices I can not help finding too honorable a reward for those slight services which, in concert with my fellow-soldiers, and under the god-like American hero's orders, I had the good luck to render. The sight of these actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I shall ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for their glory and happiness. Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your excellency, are much too inadequate to my feelings, and nothing but those sentiments may properly acknowledge your kindness toward me. The polite manner in which Mr. Franklin was pleased to deliver that estimable sword, lays me under great obligations to him, and demands my particular thanks. With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

"LAFAYETTE."

cause in which the Americans were engaged ; their declared independence as a people, and various precedents which might justify his course, and petitioned for leave to proceed. His pleadings were in vain, and he resolved to risk the displeasure of his king. Stealthily mak-

page 87], and was received with great affection. After the capture of Cornwallis, in which he performed a conspicuous part, he again went to France, and, by his own exertions, was raising a large army of allies for America, when intelligence of peace reached him. He returned to America in 1784, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm by his old companions in arms. Again he returned to his native land, bearing the honors and blessings of a free people. From that time until his death he was often a conspicuous actor in the great scenes of his country's history. He was an active member of the Legislative Assembly of France during the stormy period of the incipience and development of its first Revolution, from 1789 to 1793. He was always the advocate of civil liberty, but conservative in his country, where representatives and constituents were alike inordinately radical. When the Revolution was at its height, he was obliged to flee from France, because of his moderation, and, being caught, he was for three years confined in a dungeon at Olmutz, in Germany. He suffered much in person and fortune during the convulsions in France, and for several years previous to 1814 he lived in comparative retirement. The first downfall of Bonaparte brought him again into public life, and in 1815 he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. In that assembly he offered the resolution for the appointment of a committee to demand the abdication of the emperor. He was again a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1818. In 1824 he accepted an invitation to visit the United States as the guest of the nation. The



DEVICES FOR LA FAYETTE'S SWORD-GUARD.¹

¹ I here give a fac simile of the pen-and-ink sketches, made by a French artist, of devices for the guard of the sword presented to La Fayette. I copied from the originals in the archives of the State Department at Washington. Accompanying the sketches is the following description :

"On one side of the Pommel are the Marquis's arms in low relief, and on the other the device of a New Moon reflecting Rays of Light on a Country partly covered with wood and partly cultivated—Symbol of the Republic of the United States—with this motto: *Crescam ut proximis*. By this it was intended modestly to express,

"1. The present Mediocrity of Strength ; as the Light of the Moon, though considerable, is weaker than that of the Sun.
 "2. Her expectation of becoming more Powerful as she increases, and thereby rendering herself more useful to Mankind.
 "3. The gratitude with which she remembers that the Light she spreads is principally owing to the kind aid of a great Lu-

Arrival of La Fayette in America.

His Biography continued.

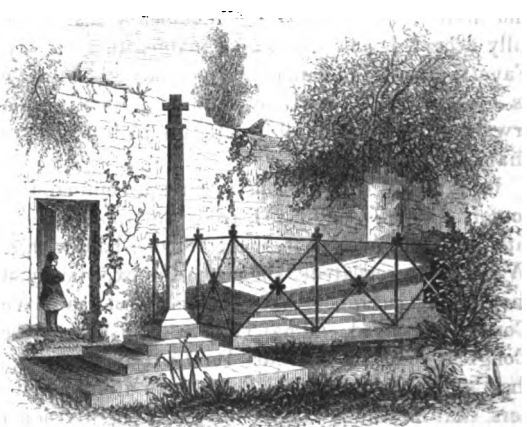
His Burial-place.

ing his way back to Passage, he set sail with a favorable wind, accompanied by De Kalb, and eleven other French, German, and Polish officers, who were about seeking service in America. He arrived safely at Georgetown, in South Carolina, on the 19th of April, after a boisterous passage of seven weeks, where he and his company were entertained by Major Huger, who provided horses to convey them to Charleston. His vessel likewise was taken to Charleston harbor.¹

Although the French government secretly favored the plans of La Fayette, as it had not yet publicly expressed even a friendly intention toward America, policy required that it should act in seeming good faith toward Great Britain, with which it was then on terms of amity. Vessels were accordingly dispatched to the West Indies to intercept La Fayette. The marquis apprehended this movement, and avoided the islands in his voyage. His proceedings, in opposition to positive orders, were rash; for the loss of all his property in France, and an indefinite term of imprisonment, might have been the consequence had he been arrested on the high seas. In the face of all this immediate and prospective danger, he resolutely persevered, and the French government winked at his disobedience.

La Fayette and his companions traveled by land from Charleston to Philadelphia. When arrived at the latter place, he put his letters into the hands of Mr. Lovell, the chair-

United States vessel of war *Brandywine* bore him to our shores, and his journey among us was a continued ovation. He was every where received with the most affectionate demonstrations of regard, as next to Washington in the great American heart. Even his grandson, who is now (1850) traveling in this country, has been received with marked public attention on account of his relationship to the great and good man. La Fayette was conspicuous in the Republican Revolution in France in 1830, and generously refused the proffered crown of constitutional monarch, and designated the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe) as a proper recipient of the trust. It was unworthily bestowed; for the ungrateful monarch not only treated La Fayette with coldness and disdain, but, by a despotic course, betrayed the confidence of the people. La Fayette died in 1834, at the age of seventy-seven years. His remains rest in the cemetery of Pigpères, a private burial-ground of several families of the nobility of Paris, back of the gardens of what was once a dormitory, but now a boarding-school for young ladies. The sketch here given is from a French picture by Champin, which the artist dedicated "To the Americans, the friends of La Fayette." The monument is inclosed by an iron railing. It is about eight feet square, and composed of dark sandstone. The tablets slope from a ridge upon which is a cross. The inscriptions are in French. On one side of the tablet is an inscription referring to La Fayette; on the other, to his wife. The cross seen in the picture stands over the grave of another.



LA FAYETTE'S TOMB.

¹ This vessel was afterward laden with rice for the French market, but was foundered on going out of the harbor, and vessel and cargo were lost.



DEVICES ON THE HANDLE.

minary [the King of France, whose symbol is the Sun] in another Hemisphere.

"On the Bow is the Legend, 'FROM THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE, 1779.'

"The Handle is ornamented with two medallions. In one, America, represented by a Woman, presents a Bunch of Laurel to a Frenchman. On the other, a Frenchman is treading on a Lion.

"On the Guard are separately represented, in fine Relievo,

"The affair at Gloucester [Yorktown];

"The Retreat off Rhode Island;

"The Battle of Monmouth;

"And the Retreat at Barren Hill.

"The Hilt is of massive gold, and the Blade two-edged. Cost two hundred Louis. Made by Liger, Sword-cutter, Rue Coquillière, at Paris.

La Fayette's Application to Congress.

His Appointment.

Interview with Washington.

Attached to the Army.

man of the committee of Congress on foreign affairs. The next day his papers were handed back to him by Mr. Lovell, with the remark that so many foreigners had offered themselves for employment that Congress was embarrassed with their applications, and he was sorry to inform him that there was very little hope of his success. The marquis was convinced that his papers had not been read. He immediately sent a note to the president of Congress, in which he asked permission to serve in the Continental army upon two conditions; first, that he should receive no pay; secondly, that he should act as a volunteer. These conditions were so different from those demanded by other foreigners, that they were at once accepted by Congress. Although he was not yet twenty years of age, the peculiar position in which his wealth, fervent zeal, and social eminence at home, placed him before the American people, gave him great importance, and on the 31st of July Congress appointed him a major general in the Continental army. This appointment was considered by Congress as merely honorary, but such was not the intention of the recipient, as subsequent events will show.¹

Washington arrived in Philadelphia soon after La Fayette's appointment, and they were first introduced to each other at a dinner party, where several members of Congress were present. When they were about to separate, Washington took the marquis aside, complimented him upon the noble spirit he had manifested toward the cause of the Americans, and invited him to become a member of his military family. His kind invitation was joyfully accepted, and while he remained in America the closest intimacy existed between La Fayette and the commander-in-chief. The marquis joined the army, and continued in it as a volunteer, without any command, until the battle on the Brandywine, two months afterward, where we shall meet him presently fighting with all the zeal of a champion of liberty.

September 11,
1777.

La Fayette was anxious to have a command suitable to the rank which his commission conferred; but Congress, fearing his appointment to the command of a division might excite the jealousy of American officers, had withheld the coveted honor from the marquis. Washington repeatedly suggested the expediency of a different course; but it was not until the 1st of December that the wishes of La Fayette were gratified. On that day Congress resolved, "That General Washington be informed it is highly agreeable to Congress that the Marquis De La Fayette be appointed to the command of a division in the Continental army."² Three days afterward it was proclaimed, in public orders, that he was to take command of the division recently under General Adam Stephen, who, as we have seen, was dismissed from the army.

December 4.

La Fayette was engaged in various important services during the winter and spring of 1778, while the American army was at Valley Forge; and about the middle of May we find him on Barren Hill, our present point of view. Intelligence had reached Washington in his camp that the British were making preparations to evacuate Philadelphia. They were frequently sending out foraging parties between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers; and on the 7th of May an expedition went up the Delaware to destroy all the American shipping between Philadelphia and Trenton. Forty-four American vessels were burned; a considerable quantity of provisions and stores were destroyed, and a number of the inhabitants killed and wounded. To restrain these depredations; to cut off all communication in that direction between the country and Philadelphia; to obtain correct information concerning the movements of the enemy; and to be ready to follow with a considerable force immediately in the rear of the British army, when it should leave Philadelphia, Washington

¹ The following preamble and resolution were adopted: "Whereas the Marquis De La Fayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his services to the United States, without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

"Resolved, That his service be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he have the rank and commission of major general in the army of the United States."—*Journals of Congress*, iii., 247.

² *Journals*, iii., 429

³ See page 320.

La Fayette on Barren Hill.

Maneuvers of the two Armies.

The British deceived

detached La Fayette, with about twenty-one hundred troops and five pieces of cannon, across the Schuylkill on the 18th of May. He took post at Barren Hill (nearly twelve miles from Valley Forge), a little west of the church. It was a position skillfully chosen. On his right were rocky ledges of considerable extent, and the Schuylkill; on his left were thick woods, several strong stone houses, and the substantial stone church seen in the engraving. His cannon were placed in front; and at about three hundred yards in advance of the left wing were Captain M'Lane's company and fifty Indians. Picket-guards and videttes were stationed upon the woods leading to Philadelphia, and six hundred Pennsylvania militia were posted near Whitemarsh. The church was at the forks of the road, one branch of which led to Valley Forge, by the way of the Swedes' Ford, and the other to Matson's Ford.¹

La Fayette at first quartered at the house of a Tory Quaker, who sent a messenger with the information to Sir Henry Clinton, then in the chief command of the British army in Philadelphia, Howe having returned to England. Clinton immediately formed a plan for surprising La Fayette. On the night of the 19th, he sent out a detachment of May, 1778. five thousand of his choicest troops, under General Grant, assisted by Sir William Erskine. They marched toward Frankford, and at dawn the next morning turned toward the left, passed Whitemarsh, and proceeded on the road leading to Swedes' Ford, to a position in the rear of the Americans. Another strong force, under General Grey, crossed to the western bank of the Schuylkill, and took post about three miles below Barren Hill; while Sir Henry Clinton led, in person, a third division through Germantown, and before daylight halted on Chestnut Hill.

The situation of La Fayette was now critical. Owing to the disobedience of orders on the part of the militia, on leaving Whitemarsh, General Grant's approach was undiscovered, and the little band of Americans were nearly surrounded by a greatly superior force before they were aware of their danger. Early in the morning, scarlet coats were seen through the trees in the distant forest; and an officer, sent by La Fayette to reconnoiter, came back in haste with the information that a large British force was on the road leading from Whitemarsh to Swedes' Ford, a little more than a mile from his encampment. The marquis at once comprehended the full extent of the danger, and a skillful maneuver was instantly conceived. He changed his front without disorder, stationed a large party in the church-yard, around which was a strong wall,² and drew up the remainder in such a manner as to be protected by the stone houses and thick woods. Ascertaining that the only road leading to Swedes' Ford was in possession of the enemy, he resolved to retreat to Matson's Ford, although the distance from his position was greater than from that of Grant. The road lay along the southern slope of hills, and was concealed by woods from the view of the enemy. The marquis dispatched several small parties through the woods, with orders to show themselves, at different points, as heads of columns, that the enemy might be deceived into the belief that he was marching to an attack. The maneuver was successful; and, while General Grant was halting, and preparing troops to meet these supposed attacks upon his flank, the Americans made a quick march to Matson's Ford—General Poor³ leading the advanced guard, and the marquis bringing up the rear. The heads of

¹ Matson's Ford was at the present village of Conshohocken, and Swedes' Ford was at or near Norristown, four miles above. They were about equally distant from Valley Forge.

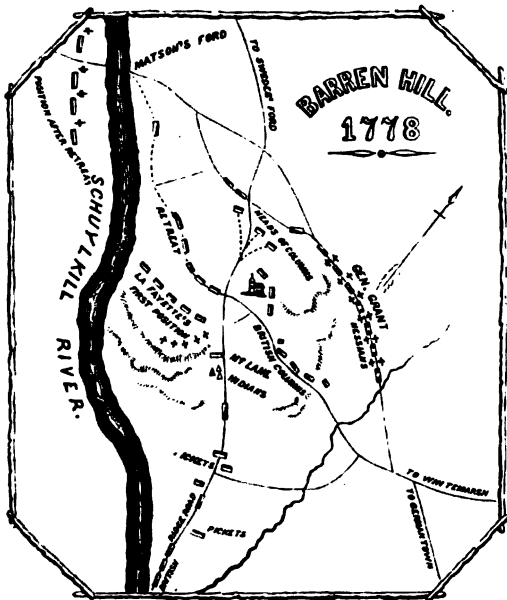
² This wall yet surrounds the old church-yard, and is sufficiently perfect to form a strong breast-work. British writers, following the narrative of Stedman (ii., 337), assert that Washington, from his camp upon the high hills of Valley Forge, discovered the peril of La Fayette, and discharged heavy alarm-guns to apprise him of his danger. None of the earlier historians of the war, except Stedman, mention this circumstance; it must have been inferential on the part of that generally correct and fair writer. Barren Hill may be distinctly seen from the highest point of Washington's encampment at Valley Forge. Though twelve miles distant, I saw the church on Barren Hill from the observatory, hereafter to be noticed, which stands upon the site of Washington's marquee at Valley Forge.

³ Brigadier-general ENOCH POOR was a native of New Hampshire. He was a colonel in the Continental army in the expedition against Canada in 1776, where he served with distinction. He was afterward at Crown Point, and was one of the twenty-one inferior officers who signed a remonstrance against the docis-

Retreat of La Fayette across the Schuylkill to Valley Forge.

Generals Poor and Woedtke.

columns, who had deceived General Grant, gradually fell back and joined in the retreat, and the whole army arrived at the ford in safety. They crossed the Schuylkill with their artillery, took possession of the high grounds on the west side of the river, and formed in the order of battle. General Grant had marched to the church on Barren Hill, where he joined the division under Clinton, and discovered, with mortified pride, that he had been outmaneuvered by the "stripling Frenchman." It was too late to overtake the retreating patriots; the British pursued them as far as the ford, but, finding it impossible to cross over, they wheeled, and returned, disappointed and chagrined, to Philadelphia. In a skirmish with the enemy's advanced parties at the ford, while the artillery was crossing, the Americans lost nine men killed and taken. The British lost two light horsemen killed, and several wounded. La Fayette and his troops marched back to the camp at Valley Forge, where they were greeted with the most enthusiastic congratulations.



It was almost sunset when we left the old church-yard on Barren Hill and departed for Conshohocken¹ (Matson's Ford), on the Schuylkill, where we intended to pass the night. Although four miles distant, we could see the smoke of its furnaces ascending above the intervening hill-tops, and marring the placid beauty of the western sky, where a thin purple haze fringed the horizon, and half hid the crescent moon and its more sprightly neighbor on the occasion, the belted

ion of a council of officers there, consisting of Generals Gates, Schuyler, Sullivan, Arnold, and Woedtke,* when it was resolved that the post was untenable, and that the army should retire to Mount Independence.

Enoch Poor.

He was appointed brigadier in 1777, and served in that capacity in the battles in which Burgoyne was defeated and captured. He soon afterward joined the army under Washington in Pennsylvania. He was in the camp at Valley Forge, and with his brigade was among the first troops that commenced a pursuit of the British across

New Jersey in the summer of 1778. He fought gallantly in the battle of Monmouth which succeeded. He commanded a brigade of light infantry in 1780, in which service he died, near Hackensack, in New Jersey. His funeral was attended by Washington and La Fayette, and a long line of subordinate officers and soldiers. On account of the vicinity of the enemy, the usual discharges of cannon were omitted. Reverend Israel Evans, chaplain to the New Hampshire brigade, delivered a funeral discourse. General Poor was buried in the church-yard at Hackensack, where an humble stone, with the following inscription, marks his grave: "In memory of the Hon. Brigadier-general Enoch Poor, of the State of New Hampshire, who departed this life on the 8th day of September, 1780, aged 44 years." General Poor was greatly esteemed by La Fayette, who, it is said, was much affected on visiting his grave when in this country in 1825.

¹ Conshohocken is a thriving manufacturing village on the east bank of the Schuylkill, in Montgomery county, about twelve miles from Philadelphia. It has recently grown up in connection with the water-power of the Schuylkill Navigation Company. There is also a great deal of lime burned there for the Philadelphia market.

* The Baron DE WOEDTKE had been for many years an officer in the army of the King of Prussia, and risen to the rank of major. He brought strong letters of recommendation from Dr. Franklin, and on the 16th of March, 1776, he was appointed by Congress a brigadier general, and ordered to Canada. He died at Lake George at the close of July, 1776, and was buried with the honors due to his rank.

Baron De Woedtke

Iron Ore near the Schuylkill.

Conshohocken and its Industry.

Norristown.

Swedes' Ford.

Jupiter. That whole region abounds in iron; and all the way from Barren Hill to the Schuylkill, large heaps of ore, dug from near the surface, were piled. In many places the road was literally paved with iron ore lying in small fragments upon the surface. It was quite dark when we arrived at the village, and it was with some difficulty that we made our way along a steep road to the "hotel," a tavern near the river bank, kept by a good-natured Dutchman. He was so well patronized by the coal-heavers and workmen in the furnaces, that not a single bed was in reserve for strangers; so we were obliged to ride on to Norristown, four miles further up the stream, for supper and lodgings. As we thrived our way among the "fiery furnaces," belching huge volumes of ruddy flame, and observed the rushing rail-way train sweeping along the river brink, while the din of hammers, and bellows, and voices of busy men was rife on every side, I contrasted the past and present, and, in a degree, realized the wonderful strides of progress in our country. Here, where a numerous population are plying the tireless fingers of industry in the creation of substantial wealth, and spreading pleasant dwellings along the banks of the rapid Schuylkill, there was only the solitary hut of a hunter, deserted more than half the year, when La Fayette made his admirable retreat across the river toward Valley Forge. And far more suggestive of true greatness and glory were the noises of these work-shops than the trumpet-notes and clangor of battle.

"The camp has had its day of song;
The sword, the bayonet, the plume
Have crowded out of rhyme too long
The plow, the anvil, and the loom.
Oh, not upon our tented fields
Are Freedom's heroes bred alone;
The training of the work-shop yields
More heroes true than war has known.

"Who drives the bolt, who shapes the steel,
May, with a heart as valiant, smite,
As he who sees a foeman reel
In blood before his blow of might!
The skill that conquers space and time,
That graces life, that lightens toil,
May spring from courage more sublime
Than that which makes a realm its spoil."

EPES SARGENT.

After losing our way in the gloom, and making quite a circuitous journey, we found the "pike," a fine Macadamized road leading from Philadelphia to Norristown, and reached the latter place at about eight o'clock.¹ I was informed that traces of the breast-works thrown up here by Duportail, by order of Washington, to prevent the passage of the British across the Swedes' Ford, were yet quite prominent about half a mile below the village; and also that the Swedes' Ford tavern,² directly opposite these intrenchments, was still in existence, though changed in appearance by additions. Being anxious to visit Valley Forge and Paoli the next day, we departed from Norristown too early in the morning to allow a view of these vestiges of the Revolution.

¹ Norristown is a thriving manufacturing village, and the capital of Montgomery county. It has entirely grown up since the Revolution. Its name is derived from Isaac Norris, who, with William Trent, the founder of Trenton, purchased the land from William Penn. Swedes' Ford was here. The site of Norristown was owned by a farmer named John Bull. He was a staunch Whig, and for this crime the John Bulls under General Howe, when the British marched toward Philadelphia in 1777, burned his barn. The first house erected at Norristown was framed at Valley Forge, and floated down the Schuylkill.

² The name of Swedes' Ford was given to this passage of the Schuylkill from the fact that the first settlers there were Swedes. The principal characters were Matts Holstein and Mauritz Rambo. The latter was a famous hunter, and his exploits are yet the theme of many an old man's story. It is related that at one time Rambo seized a wounded deer, when the animal made off with the hunter on his back. Rambo finally checked the buck by cutting his throat.

CHAPTER XIII.

"The men of seventy-six in their good arm—
 Sustain'd by Heaven—reposed a manly trust;
 O'er all the land was sounded war's alarm,
 And vict'ry crown'd the valor of the just.
 The fire of liberty fell down from heaven,
 Till from our shores the enemy was driven;
 And Freedom, with the land's redemption shod,
 Her benison flung o'er every hill and plain.
 Few of that band of noble men remain;
 Their spirits have obey'd the call of God,
 And where they rest is deem'd a hallow'd sod.
 Their perils fearful—measureless their gain!
 While love of home the freeman's breast shall fill,
 Their fame shall cause the freeman's breast to thrill."

THOMAS MACKELLAR.



ALLEY FORGE! How dear to the true worshiper at the shrine of Freedom is the name of Valley Forge! There, in the midst of frost and snows, disease and destitution, Liberty erected her altar; and in all the world's history we have no record of purer devotion, holier sincerity, or more pious self-sacrifice, than was there exhibited in the camp of Washington. The courage that nerves the arm on the battle-field, and dazzles by its brilliant but evanescent flashes, pales before the steadier and more intense flame of patient endurance; the sum of the sublime heroism displayed at Valley Forge. And if there is a spot on the face of our broad land whereon Patriotism should delight to pile its highest and most venerated monument, it should be in the bosom of that little vale on the bank of the Schuylkill. Toward its "templed hills," consecrated by the presence and sufferings of those who achieved our independence, we journeyed, filled with the pleasant emotions of a pilgrim approaching the place he most adores.

We crossed the Schuylkill at Norristown, a little after sunrise, and took the road leading to Valley Forge by the way of "The King of Prussia Tavern," a half-way locality, famous for its good cheer long before the Revolution. There hung its sign, emblazoned with a figure of a noble-looking warrior on horseback, ancient enough in its appearance to warrant the belief that it creaked in the breeze when the officers of Howe refreshed themselves there with flip from the hands of old Harman de Vriest.¹ The country through which we rode is broken but fertile, every where abounding with iron. Here, also, large heaps of quarried ore flanked the road in various places, and for many furlongs the highway had a ferruginous pavement. Descending a long and steep hill, sloping northward, we came suddenly upon the little village of Valley Forge before we were aware of its proximity. It is

¹ In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 1761, there is a notification that Jacob Colman intended to run a stage, with an awning, three times a week, "from the King of Prussia Inn, to the George Inn, southwest corner of Second and Arch Streets, Philadelphia." Ritter's tavern, in Germantown, was called "The King of Prussia Inn," according to Watson, the annalist, from the following circumstance: Toward the close of the last century, Gilbert Stuart, the eminent portrait painter, resided in Germantown. In one of his eccentric moods, he executed a fine painting of the King of Prussia, on horseback, and presented it to Ritter for a sign, stipulating that the name of the painter should not be divulged. It hung there for several years, the admiration of all, until the letters "The King of Prussia Inn" were painted over it. The sign afterward came into the possession of Mr. Watson, who cherished it as a valuable memento of the genius and character of the great painter.

Washington's Head-quarters.

The old Flour-mill and its Associations.

Hamilton and Lee.

situated in Chester county, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between six and seven miles above Norristown, in a deep, short hollow, scooped out from a low, rugged mountain, and opening upon the great valley which stretches away toward Phoenixville. A small creek

WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.¹

runs through the little valley, turning, in its course, the water-wheel of a cotton factory, which stands upon the site of the old forge of Isaac Potts.¹ Upon the mountainous flanks of this little valley, Washington established his winter quarters in 1777-'78. His own residence was at the house of Mr. Isaac Potts, a Quaker preacher. It is a substantial stone dwelling, situated near the mouth of the creek. It was occupied, when I visited it, by James Jones, November, 1848.

a member of the Society of Friends, who was then eighty-three years old. He was quite feeble; but his wife, a cheerful old lady of nearly the same age, was the reverse, and, with vigorous step, proceeded to show us the interior of the building. Washington's room was small indeed. In the deep east window, whence he could look out upon a large portion of his camp upon the neighboring slopes, are still preserved the cavity and little trap-door, arranged by the commander-in-chief as a private depository for his papers. It answered the purpose admirably; for even now the visitor would not suspect that the old blue sill upon which he was leaning to gaze upon the hallowed hills, might be lifted and disclose a capacious chest. Mr. Jones and his wife were not residents at Valley Forge when the Americans were encamped there, and hence they had no interesting traditions of their own experience.

Near the head-quarters of Washington were the ruins of an old flour-mill, whose clack was heard before the Revolution, nor ceased until within a few years. Immediately after the battle of Brandywine, and previous to the encampment here, the Americans had made a considerable deposit of stores at this mill. Howe sent a detachment of British troops to seize them; but Washington, anticipating this attempt, had sent Lieutenant-colonel (afterward General) Hamilton, and Captain (afterward General) Henry Lee, with a small troop of horse for the purpose of destroying these stores. Hamilton, with proper precaution, stationed two videttes upon the southern hill overlooking the valley, and also secured a flat-bottomed boat on which to cross the Schuylkill, in the event of the sudden appearance of the enemy. The troops had crossed the mill-race, and were about to commence the work of demolition, when the alarm-guns of the videttes were heard, and they were seen sweeping down the hill, closely pursued by some British dragoons. Four of the American horsemen, with Hamilton, took to the boat; while Lee, with the other four, and the videttes, crossed the bridge and escaped, amid a shower of bullets from the enemy. Hamilton and his party were also fired upon, but were unharmed. Lee was fearful that his comrades, with Hamilton, were killed or made prisoners, for he heard volley after volley fired from the carbines of the enemy, while there was only an occasional response from his friends. Lee dispatched a dragoon to the commander-in-chief, describing what had occurred, and expressing his anx-

¹ The Potts family, located in this vicinity, were extensive manufacturers of iron. Isaac Potts established a forge upon the creek which here enters into the Schuylkill, and from that circumstance the place obtained the name of Valley Forge.

² This view is from the Reading rail-road, looking east, and includes a portion of the range of hills in the rear whereon the Americans were encamped. The main building was erected in 1770; the wing is more modern, and occupies the place of the log addition mentioned by Mrs. Washington, in a letter to Meroy Warren, written in March, 1778: "The general's apartment," she wrote, "is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."

View from Rogers's Observatory.

Camp at Valley Forge.

Religious Services.

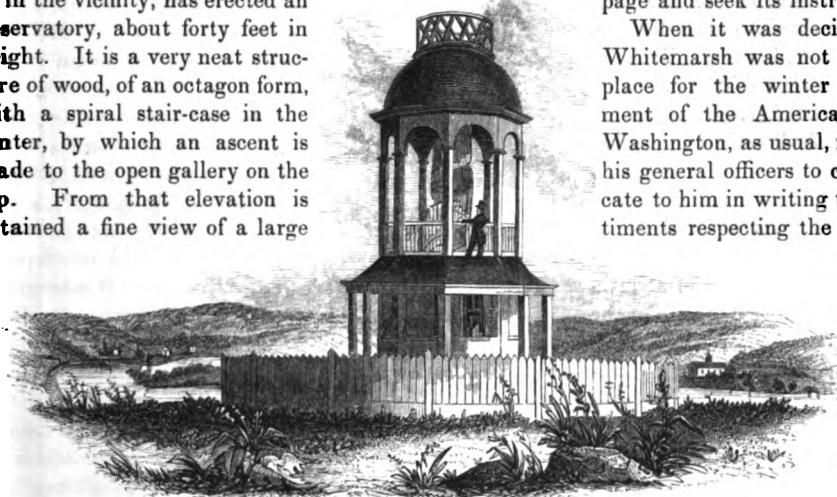
Preparation of Huts.

ious fears for the safety of Hamilton and his men. While Washington was reading Lee's letter, Hamilton rode up, and with quite as much distress depicted in his *face* as the former had exhibited in his *note*, expressed his fears that his friend Lee was cut off. Washington quieted his apprehensions by handing him Lee's letter.

From the village we rode to the summit of the hill on the south, whereon the main portion of the American army was quartered. Upon the brow of the hill, on the spot where Washington's marquee was planted on the day of his arrival there,¹ Mr. Charles H. Rogers, who owns the cotton factory, and much of the landed property in the vicinity, has erected an observatory, about forty feet in height. It is a very neat structure of wood, of an octagon form, with a spiral stair-case in the center, by which an ascent is made to the open gallery on the top. From that elevation is obtained a fine view of a large

portion of the camping-ground. Here let us turn to the historic page and seek its instructions.

When it was decided that Whitemarsh was not a proper place for the winter encampment of the American army, Washington, as usual, requested his general officers to communicate to him in writing their sentiments respecting the most eli-

THE OBSERVATORY.²

gible site for the purpose. A council of war was held on the 30th of November, at which a wide difference of opinion prevailed as to the locality and the manner of cantoning the troops. Some proposed occupying Wilmington for the purpose; others suggested hutting them in the valley of Tredyffrin, a few miles west of the Schuylkill; and others advocated the expediency of stationing them in a line from Reading to Lancaster. So various and contradictory were the opinions and counsels, that unanimity could not be hoped for, and it was necessary for Washington to act according to his own judgment and upon his own responsibility. He decided to form an encampment at Valley Forge, where he might be near enough to the British army in Philadelphia to watch its movements, keep its foraging parties in check, and protect the country from the depredations of the enemy. 1777.

The patriot army, which left Whitemarsh on the 11th of December, reached Valley Forge on the 19th. In general orders, issued two days previously, Washington directed the preparation of huts for the comfort of the soldiers, assuring them, at the same time, "that he himself would share in the hardships and partake of every inconvenience." On the 18th the whole army engaged in religious services, according to a recommendation of Congress that it should be observed as a day of public thanksgiving and praise; and on the morning of the 19th they spread over the hills at Valley Forge, and began the work of hutting. All was activity among those who were sufficiently clad to allow them to work in the open air. Some cut down trees, others fashioned them, and in a few days the barracks, erected upon the plan of a regular city, was completed.³ Until his soldiers were thus

¹ See map on page 334.

² This view is from the field, looking north. On the left is seen the winding Schuylkill, and the rolling country beyond; and on the right, the distant hills of Montgomery county.

³ Washington gave explicit directions for constructing the huts. He ordered the colonels or commanding

Disposition of the American Army at Valley Forge.

The Huts and their Occupants.

comfortably lodged, Washington occupied his cheerless marquee; after which he made his quarters at the house of Mr. Potts.

Near Washington's quarters, on a gentle elevation by the river, were stationed his Body, or Life Guard,¹ under the command of Charles Gibbs, of Rhode Island. A little to the right of the guard was the brigade of General M'Intosh; and further up the hills were the brigades of Huntington, Conway, and Maxwell. Between these and M'Intosh's brigade were a redoubt, and slight intrenchments; and directly in front of them was a line of *abatis*. Nearer the Schuylkill, and on the top of the hill, was the brigade of General Varnum, near a star redoubt. At a distance of about a mile, and forming a line from the Schuylkill to Valley Creek, was the main portion of the army, under Brigadiers Muhlenberg, Weedon, Paterson, Learned, Glover, Poor, Wayne, Scott, and Woodford, with a line of intrenchments in front. The artificers of the army were on the north side of the creek, opposite the general's quarters; and near the cotton factory was the army bake-house. There was also an irregular line of intrenchments along the brow of the hill, on the south side of the creek. Not far southward of Rogers's observatory was a redoubt, and near it was Knox's artillery. The remains of this redoubt are yet very prominent in



officers of regiments to cause their men to be divided into parties of twelve, and to see that each party had its proportion of tools, and commence a hut for that number; and as an encouragement to industry and art, the general promised to reward the party, in each regiment, which finished its hut in the quickest and most workman-like manner, with a present of twelve dollars. He also offered a reward of one hundred dollars to the officer or soldier who should substitute a covering for the huts, cheaper, and more quickly made, than boards. The following were the dimensions and style of the huts, as given in Washington's Orderly Book, quoted by Sparks, v., 525: "Fourteen feet by sixteen each; the sides, ends, and roofs made with logs; the roofs made tight with split slabs, or some other way; the sides made tight with clay; a fire-place made of wood, and secured with clay on the inside, eighteen inches thick; this fire-place to be in the rear of the hut; the door to be in the end next the street; the doors to be made of split oak slabs, unless boards can be procured; the side walls to be six feet and a half high. The officers' huts are to form a line in the rear of the troops, one hut to be allowed to each general officer; one to the staff of each brigade; one to the field officer of each regiment; one to the staff of each regiment; one to the commissioned officers of two companies; and one to every twelve non-commissioned officers and soldiers."

¹ See page 120.

Condition of the Army.

Great Sufferings.

Number of Soldiers in Camp.

Toryism displayed

the woods on the right side of the road leading from Valley Forge to Paoli; also, the redoubt on the left wing of the encampment (now near the Reading rail-road) is well preserved, the forest protecting it from demolition.

Here, after an arduous campaign of four months, during which neither party had obtained a decided advantage, other than good winter quarters at Philadelphia on the part of the enemy, the shattered remains of the American army¹ vainly sought repose. They had marched and countermarched, day and night, in endeavoring to baffle the designs of a powerful enemy to their country and its liberties; now they were called upon, in the midst of comparative inaction, to war with

REDOUBT.²

enemies more insidious, implacable, and personal. Hunger and nakedness assailed that dreary winter camp with all their progeny of disease and woe. Thither, as we have seen, the soldiers came with naked and bleeding feet, and there they sat down where destitution held court, and ruled with an icy scepter. The prevalence of Toryism in the vicinity, the avaricious speculations of some unprincipled commissioners, the tardy movements of Congress in supplying provisions, and the close proximity of a powerful enemy, combined to make the procurement of provisions absolutely impracticable without a resort to force.³ But few horses were in the camp; and such was the deficiency, in this respect, for the ordinary, as well as extraordinary occasions of the army, that the men, in many instances, cheerfully yoked themselves to vehicles of their own construction, for carrying wood and provisions when procured; while others performed the duty of pack-horses, and carried heavy burdens of fuel upon their backs.⁴ As the winter advanced, their sufferings increased. On the 16th of February, Washington wrote to Governor Clinton, "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in the camp. A part of the army has been a week¹⁷⁷⁸ without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we can not enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been, ere this, excited by their sufferings to a general mutiny and desertion." "The situation of the camp is such," wrote General Varnum to General Greene, on the 12th of February, "that in all human probability the army must dissolve. Many of the troops are destitute of meat, and are several days in arrears. The horses are dying for want of forage. The country in the vicinity of the camp is exhausted. There can not be a moral certainty of bettering our condition while we remain here. What consequences have we rationally to expect?" "It was with great difficulty," says Dr. Thacher (*Journal*, p.

¹ The whole number of men in the field was eleven thousand and ninety-eight, when the encampment commenced. Of this number, two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty. The British army numbered thirty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, of which nineteen thousand five hundred and thirty, composed of Britons, Germans, and provincials, were in Philadelphia.

² This shows the present appearance of the embankments. They are quite overgrown with chestnut-trees of considerable size, and shrubbery. The redoubt was nearly an oblong square, with a division in the center. Its location is on the Paoli road, about half a mile from its junction with the highway leading from Norristown to Valley Forge.

³ Washington reluctantly used the power given him by a resolution of Congress, adopted a few weeks previously. Necessity compelled him to. He issued a proclamation, in which he required all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the remainder by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. Many farmers refused to comply. They defended their grain and cattle with fire-arms, and, in some instances, burned what they could not defend. It must be remembered that nearly all the farmers in the vicinity of Valley Forge were disaffected toward the American cause. From these the resolution of Congress* empowered Washington to demand supplies. It must also be remembered that a fair price was to be paid for all supplies brought in, and therefore the non-compliance of those who resisted was from opposition to the cause.

⁴ Mrs. Warren's *History of the Revolution*, i., 389.

Hopefulness of Washington.

Conspiracy to deprive him of the chief Command.

Persons named as Malcontents.

126), "that men enough could be found in a condition fit to discharge the military camp duties from day to day; and for this purpose, those who were naked borrowed of those who had clothes." Unprovided with materials to raise their beds from the ground, the dampness occasioned sickness and death. "The army, indeed, was not without consolation," says Thacher, "for his excellency the commander-in-chief, whom every soldier venerates and loves, manifested a fatherly concern and fellow-feeling for their sufferings, and made every exertion in his power to remedy the evil, and to administer the much-desired relief." Yet, amid all this suffering day after day, surrounded by frost and snow (for it was a winter of great severity), patriotism was still warm and hopeful in the hearts of the soldiers, and the love of self was merged into the one holy sentiment, *love of country*. Although a few feeble notes of discontent were heard,¹ and symptoms of intentions to abandon the cause were visible, yet the great body of that suffering phalanx were content to wait for the budding spring, and be ready to enter anew upon the fields of strife in the cause of freedom. It was one of the most trying scenes in the life of Washington, but a cloud of doubt seldom darkened the serene atmosphere of his hopes. He knew that the cause was just and holy; and his faith and confidence in God as a defender and helper of right were as steady in their ministrations of vigor to his soul, as were the pulsations of his heart to his active limbs.² In perfect reliance upon Divine aid, he moved in the midst of crushed hopes, and planned brilliant schemes for the future.

While pressed with complicated cares incident to his exalted position and the condition of the army under his command, Washington was "wounded in the house of his friends." Jealous and ambitious men were conspiring to tarnish the fair fame of the commander-in-chief, to weaken the affections of the people for him, and to place the supreme military command in other hands. Among those designated at the time as the most conspicuous actors in this scheme were General Conway, a foreign officer of great pretensions, Generals Gates and Mifflin, Samuel Adams, with two or three others of the New England delegation in Congress, and one of the Virginia deputies. Whether the movement originated in personal ambition, or a sincere conviction of the necessity of making a change on account of the alleged "Fabian slowness" of Washington in his military movements, is a question of difficult solution. The measures adopted by the opponents of the chief were certainly the reverse of open, manly, generous, pure and disinterested patriotism, and deserve, as they received at the time, the unqualified reprobation of honest men.³

¹ Thacher relates that a foreign officer of distinction said "that, at one time, he was walking with General Washington among the huts, when he heard many voices echoing through the open crevices between the logs, '*No pay, no clothes, no provisions, no rum!*' And when a miserable wretch was seen flitting from one hut to another, his nakedness was only covered by a dirty blanket." Then that officer despaired of independence for America.

² Isaac Potts, at whose house Washington was quartered, relates that one day, while the Americans were encamped at Valley Forge, he strolled up the creek, when, not far from his dam, he heard a solemn voice. He walked quietly in the direction of it, and saw Washington's horse tied to a sapling. In a thicket near by was the beloved chief upon his knees in prayer, his cheeks suffused with tears. Like Moses at the Bush, Isaac felt that he was upon holy ground, and withdrew unobserved. He was much agitated, and, on entering the room where his wife was, he burst into tears. On her inquiring the cause, he informed her of what he had seen, and added, "If there is any one on this earth whom the Lord will listen to, it is George Washington; and I feel a presentiment that under such a commander there can be no doubt of our eventually establishing our independence, and that God in his providence has willed it so."

"Oh! who shall know the might
Of the words he utter'd there?
The fate of nations there was turn'd
By the fervor of his prayer."

"But wouldst thou know his name,
Who wandered there alone?
Go, read enroll'd in Heaven's archives,
The prayer of WASHINGTON!"—J. L. CHESTER.

³ The enemies of Washington and of the country attempted to injure both, at this time, by publishing a pamphlet in London, entitled "Letters from General Washington to several of his Friends in the year 1776, &c." These letters, which contained sentiments totally at variance with the conduct of the chief, it was reported were found in a portmanteau belonging to the general, in the possession of his servant Billy, who was left behind sick at Fort Lee when the Americans evacuated it. They purported to be draughts of letters to Mrs. Washington, Mr. Lund Washington, and to Mr. Custis. They were reprinted in New York, in handbills and pamphlet form, and widely circulated. The author of these spurious letters was never

Forged Letters.

Thomas Conway.

Character of the Congress of 1778.

Pretensions of Gates and Lee.

It is believed that Conway was the most active man among the secret enemies of Washington. He was possessed of considerable literary abilities and military genius, and had the advantage of thirty years' experience in the art of war. He was an Irishman by birth, but received his military education in the French service, where he was employed from his youth. He went, with many others, to the American commissioners in France to offer his services to Congress, and, encouraged by the injudicious promises of the ardent Silas Deane, he came to America with the full expectation of receiving the commission and pay of a major general. He was disappointed at the outset, for Congress gave him only the commission of a brigadier. Hoping for promotion, he joined the army under Washington at Morristown. Boastful, intriguing, presumptuous, and selfish, looking only to his personal advantage, and unprincipled in regard to the means by which his desires might be gratified, he greatly disgusted Washington, not only at the first interview, but throughout the whole campaign. When it was rumored that Conway was to be promoted by Congress to major general, Washington wrote a letter to a member of that body, remonstrating against it. This fact, coming to the ears of Conway, filled him with indignation and malice, and made him a fit instrument to be employed against the chief.



May, 1777.

In November, Conway, perceiving no chance for promotion, offered his resignation, and asked permission to leave the army. Congress would not accept it, although aware of Washington's opinion of him, and the enmity that existed, but appointed him inspector general of the army, with the rank of major general. This act is evidence that there was then an influence at work in the supreme Legislature unfriendly to the commander-in-chief. It can not be denied that faction was rife in the Continental Congress, and that the purity of purpose which controlled the acts of the first great assembly was alloyed, in an alarming degree, with personal and sectional interests.¹ Instead of strengthening the hands of the commander-in-chief when they most needed extraneous aid, men of influence were found in the army, in Congress, and among citizens, base enough, or blind enough, to attempt to weaken his power and accomplish his removal, either by a forced resignation of his command, or by actual superoedure by competent authority. Already Gates and Lee, Englishmen born, and officers in other wars, had shown themselves impatient at holding subordinate stations in the army, each deeming himself superior to Washington, and each thirsting for supreme command. The victory of Gates over Burgoyne at Saratoga, and the defeats of Washington in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, were contrasted. That contrast tended to strengthen the pretensions of the former. Inconsiderate and ardent men in Congress lent their influence in favor of investing him with the supreme command.² The disappointed,

publicly known. They were evidently written by a person acquainted with the affairs of Washington. Conway, who was known to have written several anonymous letters in disparagement of Washington, some of which were signed De Lisle, was suspected of the authorship when his nefarious conduct became known. These letters were reproduced, many years afterward, for the vile purposes of political chicanery. Then, for the first time, Washington publicly pronounced them a forgery.

¹ General Hamilton, in a letter to Governor Clinton, written on the 13th of February, 1778, said, "America once had a representation that would do honor to any age or nation. The present falling off is very alarming and dangerous. What is the cause? and how is it to be remedied? are questions that the welfare of these states requires should be well attended to. The great men who composed our first council—are they dead, have they deserted the cause, or what has become of them? Very few are dead, and still fewer have deserted the cause; they are all, except the few who still remain in Congress, either in the field, or in the civil offices of their respective states; far the greater part are engaged in the latter. The only remedy, then, is to take them out of these employments, and return them to the place where their presence is infinitely more important."

² Mrs. Mercy Warren, who was the warm personal friend of Samuel Adams, apologizes for his being found in bad company in this affair by saying that, "Zealous and ardent in his defense of his injured country, he was startled at every thing that seemed to retard the operations of the war, or impede the success of the Revolution; a revolution for which posterity is as much indebted to the talent and exertions of Mr. Adams as to those of any one in the United States." History of the Revolution, i., 39.

Anonymous Letters.

Conway's Letter to Gates.

Quarrel between Gates and Wilkinson.

irritated, and talented Conway was ready to foster discontent in the public mind; and he was doubtless the willing cat's-paw of Gates or his friends in making covert attacks upon the military character of the commander-in-chief, calculated to injure his reputation as a general and patriot. So prominently does Conway appear in the whole transaction, that it is known in history as *Conway's cabal*.

The first important movement in this conspiracy was the sending of anonymous letters to the president of Congress, and to Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia. These letters were filled with complaints, insinuations, and exaggerated statements, ascribing the misfortunes of the army to the incapacity or ill-timed policy of the commander-in-chief. Similar letters were sent to different members of Congress, and, it is believed, to the presiding officers of some of the state Legislatures. Washington was early apprised of these secret machinations, but a patriotic jealousy of the public good made him suffer in silence. "My enemies," he said, in a letter to the president of Congress, when the matter became the subject of correspondence, "take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defense I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I can not combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal."

1777. Early in November, the affair was presented to Washington in a definite shape. When Colonel Wilkinson was on his way to Congress (then in session at York, in Pennsylvania) from Saratoga, with Gates's dispatches, announcing the surrender of Burgoyne, he stopped at the quarters of Lord Stirling, at Reading, and in the course of conversation while there, he repeated to Major M. Williams, Stirling's aid-de-camp, a part of the contents of a letter which Gates had received from Conway, containing strictures on the management of the army under Washington, accompanied by reflections disparaging to the chief.¹ Lord Stirling, prompted by a sense of duty, communicated to Washington the extracts from Conway's letter, as repeated by Wilkinson. A correspondence between Washington, Gates, and Conway followed. Gates affected to be greatly distressed, and conjured Washington to aid him in discovering the villain who had betrayed his confidence in repeating the substance of private letters. Afterward he denied the genuineness of the extract, and called it "a wicked and malicious forgery." This assertion compromised the veracity of Wilkinson, who wrote to General Washington, indignantly repelling the ungenerous accusation of Gates, and affirming that he had truly given to Lord Stirling's aid the substance of Conway's letter.² Notwithstanding Gates denied the truth of the extract, he never fortified his assertion by producing the original. This fact, and other things of like tenor, which proved the duplicity of Gates, were severely commented upon by Washington, in reply to an explanatory letter from the former. Conway's offensive letter was afterward seen by Mr. Laurens, president of Congress, and one or two others. The words were not

Mrs. Warren further says that "Adams never harbored a feeling of disaffection toward the person of Washington; on the contrary, he esteemed and respected his character, and loved him as a man."

¹ One of Conway's expressions was, "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counselors would have ruined it."

² Gates, in a letter to Washington, charged Wilkinson with deceit and prevarication, and of meanly attempting to fix suspicions on Lieutenant-colonel Troup, one of Gates's aids-de-camp. This charge drew from Wilkinson a letter to Washington, in which he thanked the general for exposing to him Gates's letters, "which," he said, "unmask his artifices and efforts to ruin me." Wilkinson said, in his letter, "Although General Gates has pledged his word, it is a wicked and malicious forgery. I will stake my reputation, if the genuine letter is produced, that words to the same effect will appear." A quarrel between Gates and Wilkinson grew out of this matter, which resulted in the latter challenging the former to fight a duel. They met, when, it is said, Gates burst into tears, declaring he would as soon think of shooting his own son. Opinions are various concerning the quality of Gates's heart which controlled his actions on that occasion.

No doubt Wilkinson was acquainted with the secrets of the conspiracy against Washington, and that his object in making known the contents of Conway's letter was to sound Lord Stirling, through his aid, respecting his opinion of the ability of Washington to perform the duties of his station. Wilkinson's want of prudence was the match that fired the train of the cabal and produced premature explosion. Gates and Wilkinson doubtless told the truth of each other.

Board of War. Expedition against Canada proposed. Lafayette appointed to the Command. Grossly Deceived.

precisely the same as quoted by Wilkinson, yet the tenor and spirit of the whole document were accurately represented by that officer.

Among other machinery early put in motion by the enemies of Washington, through the instrumentality of a faction in Congress, was the appointment of a new Board of War, of which Gates and Mifflin were members, the former being placed at its head. This board was invested with large powers, and, by delegated authority, assumed the control of affairs which properly belonged to the commander-in-chief,¹ or which, at least, ought to have his sanction. One of its first acts was to recommend to Congress an invasion of Canada. This expedition was planned by Gates, approved by Congress, and La Fayette was appointed to the command, without Washington being consulted. The first intimation which the commander-in-chief had of the project was in a letter from the Board of War, inclosing one to La Fayette, informing him of his appointment. No doubt this was a stroke of policy to win the marquis to the interest of the faction. They little understood the character of that young devotee of freedom. He deeply felt the disrespect manifested toward his beloved general, and immediately carried the letter to Washington.² He told the chief that he saw the whole scope of the artifice, and asked his advice. The commander-in-chief advised him to accept the appointment, for it was an honorable position, although he could not see how the expedition was to be accomplished. Thus encouraged, La Fayette hastened to York,³ where Congress was in session, to receive his instructions. He was greatly flattered by Gates's friends, and the Board of War promised him every thing necessary for the success of the expedition. The marquis soon perceived the artfully-concealed hostility to Washington;⁴ and when he found that General Conway was appointed his second in command, he was convinced that the enterprise had been planned for the purpose of separating him from the general, to whom he was ardently attached. He succeeded in having the Baron De Kalb, Conway's senior in rank, appointed to the expedition, and, of course, the baron was second, and Conway the third in command.

La Fayette hastened to Albany, where he was promised men and stores for an immediate march into Canada; but, after waiting three months, and having his patience completely exhausted by the inefficiency of the Board of War, he returned to the camp at Valley Forge,⁵ under instructions from Congress "to suspend the irruption into

¹ See *Journals of Congress*, iii., 351. The new Board of War consisted, at first, of three persons, namely, General Mifflin, Colonel Timothy Pickering, and Colonel Robert H. Harrison. On the 17th of November, Mr. Dana and J. B. Smith were made additional members. On the 27th of the same month, General Gates, Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters were elected commissioners for the Board of War. General Gates was chosen president of the Board. On the appointment of Gates to this important office, Congress instructed its presiding officer to inform him of their action, and express their high sense of his abilities and peculiar fitness to discharge the duties of that important office, upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause "eminently depended."—*Journals*, iii., 423.

² This was not the first time that Congress had allowed Washington to be treated with disrespect. It will be remembered that, in October previous, Gates sent his dispatches from Saratoga direct to Congress, instead of transmitting them to the commander-in-chief, and that Congress never uttered a word of disapproval of the act. See page 84, vol. i.

³ York is situated on the Codorus Creek, eleven miles from the Susquehanna. It is a thriving village, surrounded by a fertile and well-cultivated lime-stone region. Congress was in session here from September, 1777, until July, 1778. Its sittings were in the old court-house, which stood in the center of the public square, and was demolished in 1841. In the cemetery of the German Reformed Church is the grave of Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who died at York, on the 11th of June, 1778, while Congress was in session there. A handsome white marble pyramid, surmounted with an urn, is placed over his grave.

⁴ Sparks relates that, when La Fayette arrived at York, he found Gates at table, surrounded by his friends. The marquis was greeted with great cordiality, and accepted an invitation to join them at table. The wine passed round, and several toasts were drunk. Determined to let his sentiments be known at the outset, he called to the company as they were about to rise, and observed that one toast had been omitted, which he would propose. The glasses were filled, and he gave, "The Commander-in-chief of the American Armies." The coolness with which it was received confirmed La Fayette in his suspicions.

⁵ La Fayette was grossly deceived by those connected with the faction and those controlling public affairs. He was promised 3000 men. He wrote to Washington from Albany, and said, "I don't believe I can find, in all, 1200 men fit for duty, and the greatest part of these are naked, even for a summer campaign. I

Disclaimers of Gates and Mifflin. Opinion of Dr. Gordon. Conway's Resignation. Duel, and Repentant Letter to Washington.

Canada." Thus ended an injudicious and foolish scheme, if honestly planned; a wicked and treasonable scheme, if concerted by a faction to achieve its selfish purposes. It was also the termination of the conspiracy to elevate Gates to the chief command, by seducing the affections and confidence of the people from Washington. That great man stood firm in his integrity, and viewed with calmness the storm of opposition which at one time beat against him with menaces of danger. How extensive was the disaffection toward him among the officers of the army, and in Congress, it is difficult to determine, and it is equally difficult to fix a direct charge upon any individual of actual attempts to supersede Washington. The injudicious tattling of Wilkinson too soon unmasked a portion of the proceedings, and, as in the case of the Newburgh affair, many who were disposed to join in the cabal were alarmed and kept quiet, while the leaders were disconcerted, and affected innocence. It appears clear, however, that Gates, Mifflin, and Conway were, for a long time, engaged in endeavors to effect the removal of Washington from the chief command, and for this posterity will always utter its voice of censure. Gates and Mifflin, however, each made his disclaimer of other than a patriotic design to advance the true interests of his country, and denied the charge of a desire to displace Washington. When rumors of the affair went abroad among the people and the army, the public censure was so unequivocally expressed, that each man engaged in the matter was anxious to wipe the stain from his own escutcheon.¹

The true character of Conway, so early discovered by Washington, became at length well understood by Congress. He had perceived the increasing manifestation of dislike among the officers of the army, and their open deprecation of his conduct in relation to Washington, and in an impertinent and complaining letter to the president of Congress, he intimated a wish to resign. A motion to accept his resignation was immediately carried. Conway was astonished, and proceeded to York to ask to be restored. He said it was not his intention to resign, and attempted explanations, but the current of opinion was turned strongly against him, and his request was denied. He went to Philadelphia, and was there when the British evacuated it. His abusive language and offensive manners, heightened by irritation, involved him in difficulties with the American officers, and on the 4th of July 1778.

he fought a duel with General Cadwallader. He received a wound which it was believed would prove fatal. After lying in an uncertain state for more than a fortnight, and believing his end near, Conway wrote an apologetic letter to Washington, as a reparation for the personal injuries he had inflicted.² But he recovered from his wound and lived

was to find General Stark, with a large body; and, indeed, General Gates told me, '*General Stark will have burned the fleet before your arrival.*' Well, the first letter I receive in Albany is from General Stark, who wishes to know what number of men, from where, what time, and for what rendezvous *I desire him to raise?*' Again he wrote, "I fancy the actual scheme is to have me out of this part of the continent, and General Conway as chief, under the immediate direction of Gates."

¹ Dr. Gordon says (ii., 308), "When General Gates's letters were examined by me at his seat in Virginia, the latter end of 1781, there was not a single paragraph to be met with that contained any intimation of his being concerned in any such plan" [the removal of Washington]. Of course, a judicious man would not preserve any such tangible evidence of his guilt for more than three years after the matter had been exposed. General Gates, in a letter to a friend, dated at York, April 4th, 1778, said, "For my part, I solemnly declare I never was engaged in any plan or plot for the removal of General Washington, nor do I believe any such plot ever existed." Mifflin also wrote, about that time, "I never desired to have any person whomsoever take the command of the American army from him [Washington], nor have I said or done any thing of or respecting him which the public service did not require," &c. Botta, after weighing the evidence against the designated leaders of the intrigue, draws therefrom the inevitable conclusion of their guilt, and says, "The leaders of this combination, very little concerned for the public good, were immoderately so for their own, and that the aim of all their efforts was to advance themselves and their friends at the expense of others."—Otis's Botta, ii., 64. It may be well to remember that Gordon and Gates were intimate friends. I find among Gates's papers, in the New York Historical Society, several letters from Dr. Gordon to the general, some of which are commenced with the familiar terms, "Dear Horatio." I do not discredit the assertion of Dr. Gordon, but mention the fact of his intimacy with Gates as a reason why he was unwilling to believe his friend guilty of such dishonorable conduct.

² The following is a copy of Conway's letter:

"Philadelphia, 23d July, 1778.

"SIR—I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of express—

Baron De Steuben.

His Arrival in America, and Appointment as Inspector General.

many years. Deserted by his former friends, deprived of employment, and every where despised by the people, he left the country before the close of the war, and returned to France.¹

General Conway was succeeded in the office of inspector general by the Baron Steuben, a veteran commander and disciplinarian from the army of Frederic the Great. May 5, 1778.

He had served with distinction in the Prussian armies, and had retired from public life, when, in the summer of 1777, while on his way to England to visit some acquaintances, he saw, at Paris, his old friend the Count De St. Germaine, who persuaded him to go to America and enter the service of the Continental army. The French and Spanish

ministers also urged him to espouse our cause, for they knew how much we needed the advantages of thorough military discipline. He consented, but, on ascertaining from Dr. Franklin that the American commissioners had no authority to enter into explicit stipulations respecting rank and pay, he abandoned the project and returned to Germany. A few days after his arrival at Rastadt, the Baron received a letter from Beaumarchais, the financial agent between the United



Le Baron de Steuben

States and France, pressing anew the proposal of the ministers, and informing him that a vessel was about to depart from Marshamptshire, on the 1st of December, whence he journeyed to York, where Congress was in session. When his papers were read, Congress adopted a complimentary resolution, accepted his services, and, at the urgent solicitation of Washington, appointed him inspector general of the army, with the rank and pay of major general.² He had already joined the Americans at Valley Forge as a volunteer, and, under his rigid system of discipline, a great and salutary change was soon visible in the army. His appointment was, therefore, not more complimentary to himself than useful to the Continentals. Before the breaking up of the encampment at Valley Forge and the pursuit of the enemy across West Jersey, where the battle of Monmouth occurred, the ill-disciplined army of patriots had acquired much of the skill in maneuvers and dignity of carriage and manner of the veteran soldiers of Europe. As a disciplinarian, a brave soldier, and a generous and warm-hearted friend to America, none ranked higher than the Baron Steuben; his services

seilles, in which he could have a passage to America. The Count De St. Germaine assured him that satisfactory arrangements could be made. Steuben returned to Paris, and, it being represented to him that letters from Dr. Franklin to the president of Congress and to Washington would be sufficient to insure him all he might require, he consented. Ample funds for his immediate purpose was supplied by Beaumarchais, and on the 26th of Sept. the baron embarked for America. He landed at Portsmouth, in New

ing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues. I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

"THOMAS CONWAY."

¹ See Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, Appendix. vol. v.

² Journals of Congress, iv., 187.

Biographical Sketch of Steuben.

His Aids and his Monuments.

Washington's Efforts in behalf of his Soldiers.

were invaluable.¹ Our regulars were never beaten in a fair fight after their discipline at Valley Forge.

It was at Valley Forge, while surrounded by his suffering soldiers, that Washington, in connection with his officers, devised a plan for reforming present abuses in the army, and to secure the future welfare of the soldiers. He made strong appeals to Congress on the

subject, and on the 10th of January that body appointed a committee, consisting of

1778. Messrs. Dana, Reed, Folsom, Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris, to proceed to Valley Forge. The commander-in-chief laid before the committee a memoir extending to fifty folio pages, containing the sentiments of himself and officers. This formed the basis of a report which they made to Congress, after remaining nearly three months in camp. Their report was, in the main, adopted. There was one point, however, upon which there was a difference of opinion. Washington urged the necessity, as well as equity, of insuring to the officers of the army half-pay for life. He wrote many letters to members of Congress on this point, disclaiming all personal interest (for he had repeatedly declared that he would receive no compensation for his own services), but pleading earnestly for his companions in

¹ Frederic William Augustus, Baron de Steuben, after leaving the Prussian army, where he was aid-de-camp of Frederic the Great, entered the service of Prince Charles of Baden, under whom he held the rank of lieutenant general, and was also a canon of the Church. He was made grand marshal of the court of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Heckingen, and by the Prince Margrave, of Baden, was appointed knight of the order of *Fidelity*. The King of Sardinia made him brilliant offers, and the Emperor of Austria sought to secure his services. His income was nearly three thousand dollars a year. He left these offices, emoluments, and honors, and came to America to fight as a volunteer in the armies battling for freedom. He joined the Continental army at Valley Forge as a volunteer, and in that capacity (though holding the office of inspector general) was in the action on the field of Monmouth. He was engaged in various important services, wherein we shall hereafter meet him, and finally commanded in the trenches at Yorktown, where the last great battle of the Revolution was fought. At the close of the war, the State of New Jersey gave him a small farm, and the Legislature of New York presented him with 16,000 acres of wild land in Oneida county. The general government also granted him a pension of \$2500. He built himself a log house at Steubenville, New York, gave a tenth part of his land to his aids (North, Popham, and Walker) and his servants, and parceled out the rest to twenty or thirty tenants. He resided in the country in summer, and in New York city in winter. He died of apoplexy or paralysis, at Steubenville, on the 28th of November, 1798, aged sixty-four years. Neither of his aids comforted his last moments. His neighbors buried him in his garden. Afterward, agreeably to his desire, he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a plain coffin, and buried in a lonely spot in the woods, about a quarter of a mile above his log hut. His aid, Colonel Walker, inclosed the spot; and when a road was made to pass over his



STEUBEN'S LOG HOUSE.*



STEUBEN'S RURAL MONUMENT.

resting-place, his remains were removed, and buried in another grave, in the town of Steuben, about seven miles northwest of Trenton Falls. In 1826, a monument was erected over him by private subscription, with this brief inscription upon it: MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERIC WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, BARON DE STEUBEN. General North,† another of his aids, who greatly loved the baron, caused a neat mural monument to be erected to his memory, upon the walls of the Reformed German Church, then situated in Nassau Street, between John Street and Maiden Lane, in New York city. When a Baptist society, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Somers, subsequently commenced worshiping in that

North

church, they courteously allowed the monument to be taken down and carried to the new church of the Ger-

* This sketch is from a drawing made by the Rev. John Taylor, a missionary in the Mohawk and Black River countries in 1802, and published in the third volume of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*. Of Steuben and his grave Mr. Taylor wrote: "He lies in a swamp, under a hemlock, with a bier standing over the grave, and a few rough boards nailed to some trees to keep the cattle off. Alas! what is man, that the great Baron Steuben should be suffered to lie in such a place, and without a decent monument!"

† Very little remains on record of the military life of General North during the Revolution, except the fact that he was Steuben's aid. When, in 1793, John Sloss Hobart resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, Governor Jay appointed General North to succeed him. He was then a resident of Duaneburgh, New York, was a conspicuous Federalist, and had been twice speaker of the New York Assembly. General North passed the latter years of his life in New London, Connecticut, but died in the city of New York on the 4th of January, 1837.

Hostile Parties sent out from Philadelphia.

The Queen's Rangers.

Advertisement for Recruits.

arms. His representations were so judicious and forcible, that, after much discussion and delay, Congress adopted a plan of half-pay for life, by a small majority. The vote was afterward reconsidered, and a compromise resolution was proposed. By the final decision, the officers were to receive half-pay for the term of seven years, and a gratuity of eighty dollars was to be given to each non-commissioned officer and private who should continue in the service until the end of the war. It was only by such manifestations of a desire on the part of Congress to deal justly by the army that it was prevented from dissolution in the spring of 1778.

During the encampment of the Americans at Valley Forge and of the British in Philadelphia, the latter sent out parties, at various times, to plunder the people, and break up the feeble posts of the Republicans. Among the most active troops in these enterprises were the Queen's Rangers,¹ commanded by Major (afterward Lieutenant-colonel) Simcoe. One of these expeditions, in which Simcoe was engaged, was sent out from Philadelphia in February. It consisted of a detachment of about five hundred troops, under the command of Colonel Abercrombie, of the fifty-second regiment. They went to Salem, in New Jersey, by water, where they remained a few days reconnoitering, with a view of as-

mans in Forsyth Street. There I found it in separate pieces, lying among rubbish, in a small lumber-room of the church, disfigured and mutilated. I sketched its parts, and in the annexed figure give a representation of it as it originally appeared. The slab, of obelisk form, and the square frame, are of bluish, clouded marble; the square slab with the inscription, and the two urns, are of white marble. The lower urn has upon it a representation of the order of *Fidelity* (seen on the breast of the portrait on page 341), which Frederic the Great presented to the baron. The following is the inscription, from the pen of General North:

"Sacred to the memory of **FREDERIC WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, BARON DE STEUBEN**, a German; Knight of the Order of Fidelity; Aid-de-camp of Frederic the Great, King of Prussia; Major General and Inspector General in the Revolutionary War; esteemed, respected, and supported by Washington. He gave military skill and discipline to the citizen soldiers who, fulfilling the decrees of Heaven, achieved the independence of the United States. The highly-polished manners of the baron were graced by the most noble feelings of the heart. His hand, open as day for melting charity, closed only in the strong grasp of death. This memorial is inscribed by an American, who had the honor to be his aid-de-camp, the happiness to be his friend. Ob. 1795."

Thacher and others have left on record many examples of the excellent character of the Baron Steuben, among the attributes of which, kindness and generosity were the most conspicuous. He was always cheerful, and possessed ready wit. At Yorktown, a shell fell near him. To avoid its effects, he leaped into a trench, followed by General Wayne, who fell upon him. The baron, on perceiving that it was his brigadier, said, "I always knew you was a brave general, but I did not know you were so perfect in every point of duty; you cover your general's retreat in the best manner possible." At the house of the mother of Chancellor Livingston, the baron was introduced to a Miss Sheaf. "I am very happy," he said, "in the honor of being presented to you, mademoiselle, though I see it is at an infinite risk; I have from my youth been cautioned to guard myself against *mischiefs*, but I had no idea that her attractions were so powerful."

¹ The Queen's Rangers were a corps of native American Loyalists, raised chiefly in Connecticut and in the vicinity of New York, by Colonel Rogers. At one time they mustered about 400 men, and, as their name implies, were intended for very active service. They were quite reduced in numbers when, in the autumn of 1777, they were placed under the command of Major Simcoe, a young and active officer of the British army. His zeal and military skill soon made his corps a model of order, discipline, and bravery.* He received the commission of lieutenant colonel. We shall meet him several times hereafter.



STEBEN'S MURAL MONUMENT.

* The following advertisement appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette, printed in New York:

"ALL ASPIRING HEROES
have now an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by joining
THE QUEEN'S RANGER HUSSARS,
commanded by
Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe.

Any spirited young man will receive every encouragement, be immediately mounted on an elegant horse, and furnished with clothing, accoutrements, &c., to the amount of *forty guineas*, by applying to Cornet Spencer, at his quarters, No. 133 Water Street, or his rendezvous, Hewett's Tavern, near the Coffee-house, and the Defeat of Brandywine, on Golden Hill.

Whoever brings a recruit shall instantly receive *two guineas*.

VIVANT REX ET REGINA."

Expedition against Militia Posts in New Jersey.

Skirmish at Quintan's Bridge, on Alloway's Creek.

certaining the position of Wayne, who was then actively employed in that state in procuring horses and provisions for the American army. Wayne was compelled to exercise great vigilance and dexterity to prevent being surprised by the enemy on these occasions.

On the 17th of March another British force, mustering between twelve and fifteen hundred men, composed chiefly of Scotchmen, under the command of Colonel Charles Mawhood and his majors, Simcoe and Sims, marched into Salem, where they were joined by a large number of Tories.¹ From these Colonel Mawhood learned that about three hundred American militia, under Colonel Benjamin Holmes, were posted on the south side of Alloway's Creek, at Quintan's Bridge, about three miles from Salem. Mawhood determined to beat up their quarters, and, as he publicly declared, "chastise the rebels." He sent out detachments to procure horses, on which he mounted his best men. Holmes, in the mean while, was on the alert. Anticipating an attack, he placed videttes at various points to watch the movements of the enemy, while he prepared to dispute their progress at Quintan's Bridge.

Before daylight on the morning of the 18th, Major Simcoe and his Rangers were sent out, and hidden in ambush within half a mile of the bridge. They took possession of a two story brick house occupied by a Whig, named Wetherby, and drove his family into the cellar. In that house, and in a deep ravine and tangled swamp near, Simcoe and his men were secreted. The Americans had thrown up a strong breast-work on each side of the road near Quintan's Bridge; and when they discovered a portion of the enemy in the morning, on the opposite side of the stream, they were anxious to cross over and attack them. The prudent officers opposed the proposition as rash. Captain Smith, the senior officer present, was less cautious, and determined to push on. He led the way, and, in a confused march, they crossed the creek, neglecting the proper duties of vigilant men in examining destructive fire from all points. They were thrown into great confusion, and fled toward the bridge, fighting gallantly all the way in small squads. Although furiously attacked in flank and rear, they made good their retreat across the bridge, with a loss of between thirty and forty of their companions, most of whom were drowned in the creek.⁴

AFFAIR AT QUINTAN'S BRIDGE.³

places where an enemy might be concealed.² A portion of the enemy made a feigned retreat on the approach of the patriots, who were thus decoyed, unsuspecting of danger, far from the bridge. When they had advanced some yards beyond Wetherby's house, the concealed enemy arose from their ambush, and, with shouts and the beating of drums, poured upon the Americans a

At the moment when the Americans commenced their flight, Colonel Hand, of the Cumberland militia, who had been informed of the presence of the enemy, arrived with two pieces of cannon, and posted his men in the trenches which the Americans had left a short time before. By a well-directed fire, he checked the pursuing British, and prevented the Americans being cut to pieces. The draw of the bridge was cut away, and the pursuers

¹ In order to distinguish the Tories from the British regulars, they were dressed in a uniform of green; the coats were faced with white, and they wore cocked hats, with broad white binding around them.—See Johnson's *History of Salem*.

² The enemy, who were stationed in Wetherby's house, suspecting the Americans might be vigilant, were prepared to seize the first man who should attempt to enter the building, and Lieutenant M'Kay stood behind the door with a bayonet ready to perform that duty.

³ A A, the American redoubts; B, a small detachment of the enemy masking the bridge; C, Simcoe's Rangers in Wetherby's house; D, another detachment under Captain Saunders, in ambuscade; E, a portion of the Rangers secreted in a wood; F, a detachment of the enemy making a feigned retreat; G, the Americans after crossing the bridge; H H, sally of the British light infantry, and pursuit of the Rangers; I, flight of the Americans; O O, Alloway's Creek. The straight double lines passing perpendicularly across the map indicate the main road to Salem.

⁴ Captain Smith had his cue shot away during the skirmish, and was grazed by a bullet in his loins. His horse received two bullets, but carried his rider safe over the bridge, when he fell dead under him.

Expedition to Hancock's Bridge.

Perils of the March.

Massacre at Hancock's House.

Death of the Owner.

were foiled.¹ Colonel Mawhood, chagrined at the failure of Simcoe to dislodge the Americans at Quintan's Bridge, determined to attack another post at Hancock's Bridge with his whole force. The Americans, on the night of their retreat, entered into a solemn compact, agreeing that "no British soldier should set his foot or eat bread on that side of Alloway's Creek while there was a man left to defend the soil." They properly apprehended a great augmentation of the British force, and made preparations to meet it. Mawhood intrusted the expedition against the patriots at Hancock's Bridge to the direction of Major Simcoe. That officer, in secretly reconnoitering, ascended a tree, and from it made a sketch of a two story brick house near the bridge, owned by Judge Hancock, a Quaker and Loyalist, and formed therefrom a plan of attack. On the night March, of the 20th, the British 1778. marched to Salem, and, in flat-boats, proceeded to the Delaware, and thence to Alloway's Creek, up which they pushed until within a convenient distance from Hancock's Bridge, when they debarked. It was a very dark night; not

HANCOCK'S HOUSE.²

a star was to be seen, and heavy scuds, freighted with rain, came up from the sea. Simcoe sent the boats back to prevent the retreat of his men, and artfully concealed from them a knowledge of the dangers which awaited them. Every thing depended upon a surprise. Through marshes, sometimes up to their knees in water,

ter, they marched two miles before they reached the solid earth. In a wood, upon dry land, Simcoe formed his men for an attack, and then commenced his march in silence. The main body passed along the public road toward Hancock's house, while Captain Saunders, with a small detachment, ambuscaded the dike that led to Quintan's Bridge. Captain Dunlop was detached to the rear of Hancock's house, in which it was supposed the American officers were quartered, with directions to force, occupy, and barricade it, as it commanded the bridge. There were several stone houses and cottages near, and detachments were arranged to attack and take possession of them. The inmates of Hancock's house were unsuspecting of danger. Fortunately for the patriots, a large proportion of them had quitted the place the evening before, leaving only about twenty men as a garrison. The surprise was complete. While all were sleeping, the invaders approached, and simultaneously the front and back doors of the house were forced. All within perished; not even the Tory owner escaped.³ A patrol of seven men, who had been sent down the creek, were surprised, and all but one killed. The British, after committing some depredations in the neighborhood, returned to the mouth of Alloway's

AFFAIR AT HANCOCK'S BRIDGE.⁴

¹ A militia-man named Andrew Bacon cut away the draw of the bridge with an ax while the British were firing volleys at him. He succeeded in his task, but received a wound which made him a cripple for life.

² This is a view of an old brick dwelling in the little village of Hancock's Bridge, upon Alloway's Creek. It stands a few yards from the bridge over the creek, and is known as Baker's tavern. The picture here given is copied from one in the *Historical Collections of New Jersey*.

³ Simcoe supposed Judge Hancock was absent. He says (*Journal*, page 52), "Some very unfortunate circumstances happened here. Among the killed was a friend to government, then a prisoner with the rebels, old Hancock, the owner of this house, and his brother. Major Simcoe had made particular inquiry, and was informed that he did not live at home since the rebels had occupied the bridge. The information was partly true. He was not there in the daytime, but unfortunately returned home at night. Events like these are the real miseries of war."

⁴ This and the preceding map are reduced copies of those published in Simcoe's *Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers*. A, is Hancock's house; B, the bridge which the Americans had broken down; C C C, march of the Rangers through the village; D, the enemy's advanced guard; E, Captain Dunlop detached to the rear of the house; F, Captain Saunders, to ambuscade the dike and take up its bridge; G, Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell and the 27th Regiment; H H, Alloway's Creek.

Return of the Marauders to Philadelphia.

Light from Europe.

Alliance with France.

Rejoicings at Valley Forge.

Creek and sailed for Philadelphia.¹ The affair at Hancock's Bridge was unmitigated murder. Some who were massacred were not fighting men; no resistance was made, and yet those who begged for quarters were inhumanly slain. The chief perpetrators were unprincipled Tories—the blood-hounds of the Revolution.

A ray of light from France beamed upon the American army while it was encamped at Valley Forge. It was preceded by a faint gleam from England, and a glimmer upon our own shores. That ray was the intelligence that France had acknowledged the independence of the colonies, and entered into a treaty of amity with them;² that gleam was the arrival of Lord North's conciliatory bills; that glimmer was the advent and first proceedings of commissioners bearing the olive branch of reconciliation. The first event has been already noticed;³ the two latter have also been referred to, and have an intimate relation to each other.

The position assumed by France toward the revolted colonies greatly embarrassed the British ministry, and the sagacious Lord North was obliged to stoop from his haughty stilts and talk of concessions, contending, at the same time, that these concessions "ought not to be considered as the tardy result of defeat or weakness." He produced a conciliatory plan

on the 17th of February, eleven days after the treaty between France and the United States had been signed. It was contained in two bills, one "for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies in North America;" the other, "to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America." By the first bill he designed to quiet the minds of the Americans in regard to taxation; by the second, he intended to grant the royal commissioners more ample powers than those formerly intrusted to Lord Howe and his brother.⁴ He proposed to

¹ Johnson's *History of Salem*; Simcoe's *Journal*.

² Intelligence of this event reached the camp on the 1st of May, and on the 7th Washington issued the following general order:

"It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally to raise us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and independence upon a lasting foundation, it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness, and celebrating the important event, which we owe to his divine interposition. The several brigades are to be assembled for this purpose at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, when their chaplains will communicate the intelligence contained in the postscript of the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 2d instant, and offer up a thanksgiving, and deliver a discourse suitable to the occasion. At half past ten o'clock a cannon will be fired, which is to be a signal for the men to be under arms; the brigade inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, and form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of the brigade that the battalions are formed.

"The commanders of brigades will then appoint the field officer to the battalions, after which each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms. At half past eleven a second cannon will be fired as a signal for the march; upon which the several brigades will begin their march by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed by the nearest way to the left of their ground by the new position. This will be pointed out by the brigade inspectors. A third signal will then be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon; after which a running fire of the infantry will begin on the right of Woodford's, and continue throughout the front line; it will then be taken up on the left of the second line, and continue to the right. Upon a signal given, the whole army will huzza, *Long live the King of France!* The artillery then begins again, and fires thirteen rounds; this will be succeeded by a second general discharge of the musketry in a running fire, and huzza, *Long live the friendly European Powers!* The last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery will be given, followed by a general running fire, and huzza, *The American States!*"

Washington, with his lady, and suite, Lord Stirling and his lady, with other general officers and ladies, attended the religious services of the Jersey brigade, when the Rev. Mr. Hunter delivered a discourse. Afterward all the officers of the army assembled, and partook of a collation provided by the commander-in-chief. When he took his leave, there was universal huzzaing, *Long live General Washington!* The huzzas continued until the general had proceeded a quarter of a mile, and a thousand hats were tossed in the air. Washington, with his retinue, turned round and huzzaed several times. ³ See p. 86, vol. i.

⁴ In 1776, Lord Howe and his brother were authorized to treat with the rebellious colonies for reconciliation, but upon a basis not to be thought of for a moment with favor by the Americans. It was absolute submission to the crown, as a condition of royal pardon! This commission will be noticed hereafter.

allow them to treat with Congress as if it were a legal body, and competent to bind all the states by its acts and negotiations; to treat with the conventions or provincial Congresses; with individuals in their actual civil and military capacities, without any cavil in addressing them according to the rank held under Congress;¹ to suspend hostilities; intermit the operation of laws; grant pardons, immunities, and rewards; restore charters and constitutions, and nominate governors, judges, magistrates, &c., until the king's pleasure should be known. It was also proposed that a renunciation of the independence of the colonies should not be insisted upon, nor debated, until a definitive treaty had received final ratification by the king and Parliament. The commissioners were to be instructed to negotiate for a reasonable and moderate contribution toward the common defense of the empire, when reunited; but this was not to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*. Such is an outline of North's conciliatory plan, which, if it had been presented two years before, would probably have been accepted by the Americans.

These bills met with great opposition in Parliament, and excited a long and stormy debate. The question assumed the distinct form of a proposition to dismember the British empire, by allowing the American colonies to withdraw as independent states. This proposition was affirmatively supported as the only sure means of detaching the colonies from France, the ancient enemy of England. The Earl of Chatham (William Pitt) vehemently opposed it. Though a warm friend of the Americans, he could not bear the thought of their separation from the mother country, and, with all the strength of his eloquence, he denounced the proposition. On the 7th of April, the debates on the question ran high, and Chatham became greatly excited. ¹⁷⁷⁸ Sickness and age had broken his physical strength, but the fire of his intellect burned as clear as ever. He came into the House of Lords, that day, wrapped in flannel, and leaning upon two friends; and when he arose to speak, at the conclusion of a speech by Lord Weymouth, he leaned upon crutches. "I thank God," he said, with a trembling voice, "that I have been enabled to come here this day to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm; I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country; perhaps never again to speak in this House." A deep and solemn silence pervaded the assembly as he uttered these words; gradually his voice assumed its wonted strength and harmony, and with all the power and beauty of the oratory of his best days, he addressed the House. "My lords," he continued, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous juncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the luster of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada—now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people that, fifteen years ago, were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, inveterate enemy, 'Take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error; who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former can not be preserved with honor,

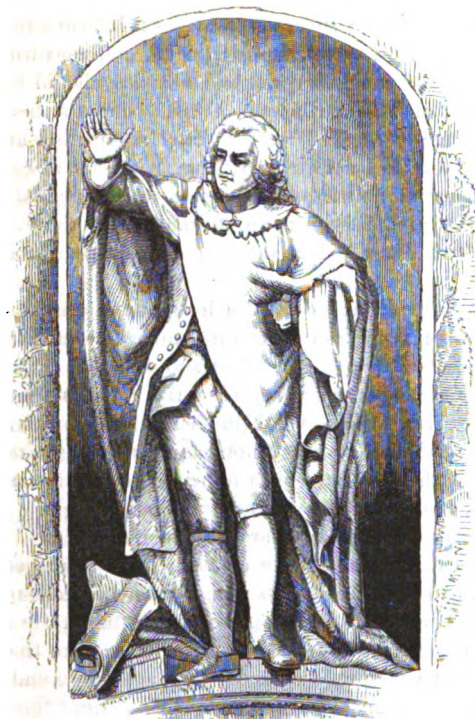
¹ The former commissioners addressed the commander-in-chief "Mr. Washington," and refused to treat with Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge, as members of Congress, for the legality of that body was denied.

Conclusion of Pitt's Speech.

His sudden illness and Death.

Copley's Picture of the Scene.

why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights,

CHATHAM'S MONUMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.²

though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!" As Chatham sat down, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of; shall I get up?" "No, no," replied Chatham, "I will do it by-and-by." The Duke of Richmond then arose, and replied to Chatham. When he sat down, the great orator attempted to rise, but the violence of his indignation overcame him, and he swooned. He was caught in friendly arms, and the whole House, in great agitation, crowded around him with anxious solicitude.¹ He was conveyed to the house of a friend in Downing Street, and the following day he was carried home to his country seat at Hayes. That speech was, indeed, his last, for, in a little more than a month afterward, he expired. Par-
May 11,
1778.liament voted him a public funeral and a monument; and, after settling upon his family an annuity of twenty thousand dollars a year, a grant was made of one hundred thousand dollars to pay off his lordship's debts. The last words of the great orator were agreeable to the royal ears,

¹ John Singleton Copley, the eminent American artist, painted a representation of this scene for the House of Lords. In a note on page 496 of the first volume of this work, I have placed Copley among the early refugee Loyalists. History and fair inference have assigned him that position, partly on account of his marriage relation with a family of Loyalists, and partly because he was one of the addressers of Hutchinson, left the country with him, and was intimate with him in London. Sabine places him among the Loyalists, and his biographers generally have given him that character. Since the publication of that volume, I have been informed that the late John Quincy Adams, who knew Copley and his sentiments intimately, denied that he was a Loyalist; on the contrary, he averred that he was a Whig in sentiment during the whole controversy, and adduced, among other evidence, the fact, that when commissioned to make two paintings, one for the House of Lords and the other for the House of Commons, he chose as a subject for the former, *The Death of Chatham*, and for the latter, *Charles the First in Parliament*. The scene of the last picture is at the moment when the speaker uttered to the king the republican sentiment, "I have no eyes to see, no ears to hear, no mouth to speak, but as Parliament directs;" implying entire subservency to the popular will. Mr. Adams said Copley went to England, not as a fugitive, but entirely on account of his profession, which disturbances in Boston had almost destroyed.

² William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, was born on the 5th of November, 1708. He was educated at Eton, and entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1726. He left that institution for a military profession, which he entered with the rank of cornet. He was elected a member of Parliament for Old Sarum in 1735, and soon became distinguished for his eloquence and extensive information. He was in the ranks of the opposition against Walpole, and, for his good service against that minister, Walpole's inveterate enemy, the Duchess of Marlborough, left Pitt, in her will, fifty thousand dollars. From 1746 until 1755, he was treasurer of Ireland, paymaster of the army, and privy counselor. He was made secretary of state in 1756, and had the direction of the war bureau during a late portion of the progress of the Seven Years' war. He retired from office on the accession of George III., but continued in Parliament. In 1766 he was created Earl Chatham, and occupied the privy seal in the administration. This office he resigned in 1768; and from that period until his death, an hereditary gout kept him much at home and undermined his constitution. He was struck down with apoplexy upon the floor of the House of Lords on the 7th of April, 1778,

Pitt's Funeral and Monument. North's conciliatory Propositions rejected. Arrival of Commissioners. Governor Tryon.

and the king was pleased to bestow his bounty when "the trumpet of sedition"¹ was silenced.

The conciliatory bills arrived in America about the middle of April. Governor Tryon, of New York, caused them to be printed and extensively circulated. As they did not positively propose the independence of the colonies as a basis of negotiation, they were regarded by the patriots with suspicion, and were denominated the "deceptionary bills." "Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, will do," Washington wrote. "A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war." Congress entertained the same sentiments. As soon as draughts of the bills were received by that body, they were referred to a committee. When they reported, some discussion arose, but it was unanimously resolved that the terms offered were totally inadequate, and that April 22,
1778. no advances on the part of the British government for a peace would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they either withdrew their armies and fleets, or acknowledged, unequivocally, the independence of the United States.² This report, and other resolutions adopted on the following day, were printed with the "deceptionary bills," and circulated throughout the country.³

The king's ship of war Trident arrived in the Delaware on the 4th of June, having on board three commissioners, appointed under the provisions of North's conciliatory bills. These commissioners were the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, formerly governor of West Florida,⁴ and William Eden, a brother of Sir Robert Eden, the governor of Maryland from 1769 until the Revolution. They were accompanied by the celebrated Adam Ferguson,

professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, as secretary. General Howe was directed to join the commissioners, but, as he had returned home, Sir Henry Clinton took his place.

That officer wrote to Washington, requesting a passport for Dr. Ferguson to proceed to Congress at York, with dispatches. The request was

Adam Ferguson

and died on the 11th of May following, at the age of 70.* "His disposition," says Brougham, "was exceedingly affectionate. The pride, bordering upon insolence, in which he showed himself incased to the world, fell naturally from him, and without any effort to put it off, as he crossed the threshold of his own door. To all his family he was civil, kindly, and gentle. His pursuits were of a nature that showed how much he loved to unbend himself. He delighted in poetry and other light reading; was fond of music; loved the country; took peculiar pleasure in gardening; and had even an extremely happy taste in laying out grounds."

¹ The King was applied to by Lord North, before Chatham's death, to make some provision for his family. In a sharp letter his majesty said, "When decrepitude or death puts an end to him as a trumpet of sedition, I shall make no difficulty in placing the second son's name instead of the father's, and making up the pension £3000.—Brougham's *Statesmen of the Times of George III.*

² *Journals of Congress*, iv., 164.

³ Governor Tryon inclosed copies of these bills to General Washington, with a request that he would aid in circulating them! Washington sent them to Congress, and after that body had passed its resolves on the subject, the chief forwarded printed copies to Tryon, and politely requested him to have them circulated among those persons for whom they were intended. One of the resolutions recommended the Legislatures of the several states, or any executive authority possessing the power, to issue proclamations offering pardon to those who had taken up arms against the continental government, and who should surrender themselves, and return to the state to which they belonged, before the 10th of June. This resolution was adopted on the 23d of April.—*Journals*, iv., 168. This was an excellent retort upon Governor Tryon. It is difficult, as Washington remarked in a letter to Governor Livingston, in viewing the conduct of Tryon on this occasion, "which to admire most, his impertinence or his folly."

⁴ According to M'Gregor, James M'Pherson, the translator of *Ossian's Poems*, went to Florida with Governor Johnston in 1770, as surveyor general, and took the original Gaelic manuscripts with him. Many of them were lost there, and were never recovered.

* Parliament voted him a funeral and a monument. The pall-bearers on the occasion of his burial were EDMUND BURKE, SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, JOHN DUNNING, Esq., and Right Hon. THOMAS TOWNSEND. He was buried about twenty yards from the north entrance of Westminster Abbey. His monument is composed of six figures, representing Lord Chatham, Prudence, Fortitude, Britannia, Earth, and Ocean. The statue of Chatham is represented in the engraving. The inscription upon the monument is as follows: "Erected by the King and Parliament, as a Testimony to the Virtues and Ability of WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM, during whose administration Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to a Height of Prosperity and Glory unknown to any former Age."

Letter of Commissioners to Congress.

Action of Congress concerning them, and their Mission.

Mrs. Græme.

declined on the ground that the matter was wholly of a civil nature, and the letter was forwarded to Congress. The commissioners then sent their papers, by a flag, directly to the president. Among these was an address to that body. The president was desired to read it immediately. When he came to a part containing strong expressions of disrespect for the King of France, he was interrupted. The House, after some debate, directed him to read no further, but to seal the papers. The subject was resumed in debate two days afterward, when a reply was ordered to be returned to the commissioners, signed by the president, the substance of which was in accordance with the former proceedings in relation to North's bills. They were informed that no reconciliation could possibly be effected on the proffered terms, but, when the king should manifest a sincere desire for peace, "by an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies, Congress would be ready to enter into a treaty therefor." It was not in the power of the commissioners to accede to either of these propositions, nor was it the intention of Parliament to grant them.¹

* The proceedings of Congress previous to the arrival of the commissioners' had effectually barred the door to negotiations. The commissioners remained in the country until October, and made various attempts by art, and by official intercourse, to gain their object. They failed, however, and finally returned to England. Just previous to their departure, they issued a long manifesto and proclamation to Congress, to the state Legislatures, and to all the inhabitants of the States, in which they briefly recapitulated the steps they had taken to accomplish a reconciliation; denounced the rebels, and warned the people of the total and material change which was to take place in the future conduct of hostilities. Should they still persist in refusing obedience, they were menaced with all the extremes of war.

Packages of these manifestoes, with one printed on vellum, and signed by Clinton, Carlisle, and Eden, were made up to be sent to Congress and the several states by a flag. Congress declared that the agents employed to distribute them were not entitled to the protection of a flag, and recommended the several states to seize and imprison them. Congress also published a manifesto, which, after charging the commissioners with mean attempts to bribe members of its body and other persons; with deceit and servility of adulation, they concluded by solemnly declaring, "If our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from like conduct.





SIGNATURES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.²

¹ Sparks's *Washington*, v., 397.

² It is worthy of note, that these proceedings of Congress took place ten days before the arrival of the intelligence that France had acknowledged the independence of the United States; that event, therefore, had no influence on the mind of Congress.

³ These I copied from an original manifesto of the commissioners, dated October 3d, 1778, and preserved in the office of the secretary of state of Connecticut. The name of Johnstone is not attached to the manifesto. His openly corrupt proceedings caused Congress to declare that no intercourse should be had with him. Johnstone endeavored to gain by flattery what the nature of his commission denied him. Finding no door open for negotiation with Congress, he determined to attempt to win over influential members to a favorable consideration of the propositions of the ministers. For this purpose he employed an American lady, the daughter of Doctor Thomas Græme of Pennsylvania, then the wife of Hugh Ferguson, a relative of the secretary of the commissioners. Her husband being in the British service, she was much in the company of Loyalists. She was a woman of superior attainments, and, although the wife of an enemy to the country, she maintained the confidence and respect of leading patriots. Johnstone made his residence at the house of Charles Stedman (one of Cornwallis's officers, and an historian of the war), where Mrs. Fer-

Attempt to Bribe General Reed.

Mrs. Græme's part in the Affair.

Memoir of General Reed.

We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men for the rectitude of our intentions ; and in his holy presence declare, that, as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination."

The American army remained encamped at Valley Forge until the 18th of June, 1778, when intelligence reached them that the enemy had evacuated Philadelphia and

guson often visited. Johnstone spoke to her warmly in favor of American interests, and she believed him to be a true friend of their country. He expressed a strong desire to stop the effusion of blood, and a belief that, if a proper representation could be made to leading men in Congress, a reconciliation might yet be effected. As he was not permitted to pass the lines himself, Johnstone desired Mrs. Ferguson to say to General Joseph Reed, that, provided he could, conformably to his conscience and views of things, exert his influence to settle the dispute, he might command ten thousand guineas and the best post in government. Mrs. Ferguson suggested that such a proposition would be considered as a bribe by Mr. Reed, but Johnstone disclaimed the idea. Convinced of his sincerity and good-will, as she alleged, she sought and obtained an interview with General Reed in Philadelphia, three days after the British had evacuated that city. She repeated to him her conversation with Johnstone, when Reed, filled with indignation, replied, "*I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it!*" General Reed had received a communication from Johnstone just before leaving Valley Forge. The written and verbal communications of the commissioner he now laid before Congress, and that body declared all further correspondence with Johnstone to be terminated. The fact soon went abroad. The reply of Reed went from mouth to mouth, and the people looked with ineffable contempt upon the commissioners.* Poor Mrs. Ferguson, whose motives seem to have been pure, was violently assailed. Unfortunately, she had been the bearer, a few months before, of an offensive letter from the Reverend Mr. Duché (see page 268) to General Washington, and she was denounced as a British emissary. She lived, however, to see all these suspicions dissipated.†—See Gordon's *American Revolution*, ii., 378; *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i., 381; Mrs. Ellett's *Women of the Revolution*, i., 196.

* Joseph Reed was born in New Jersey, August 27, 1741, and graduated at Princeton in 1757. He studied law with Richard Stockton; also at the Temple, in London. He was one of the committee of correspondence in Philadelphia in 1774, where he took up his residence after his return from England. He was president of the first popular convention in Pennsylvania. He accompanied Washington as his aid and secretary when he went to Cambridge in 1775, and remained with him during the campaign. In 1776 he was appointed adjutant general of the American army, and proved an active and brave officer. In the spring of 1777 he was appointed a general officer in the cavalry, but declined the station. He remained attached to the army, and was in the battle at Germantown in the autumn of that year. He was chosen a member of Congress toward the close of 1777. He was a member of that body in 1778, when the commissioners arrived from England, and, as we have noticed in the text, was approached with honeyed words, and promises of wealth and rank if he would favor the views of the government agents. His noble reply was given, and, abashed, the commissioners sought other and more pliable instruments for their use. General Reed was chosen president of Pennsylvania in 1778, and continued in that office until October, 1781, when he resumed his practice of the law. He ever retained the confidence and highest esteem of Washington and the best patriots of the Revolution; and when the cloud of party rancor passed away, all men beheld in Joseph Reed a patriot and an honest man. In 1784, he visited England for his health, but without beneficial results. He died on the 4th of March, 1785, at the age of forty-two. His wife was Esther de Berdt, the leader in the patriotic efforts of the ladies of Philadelphia to extend comfort to the suffering army, mentioned in a preceding chapter. George W. Reed, the youngest son of General R., commanded the Vixen in 1812, and died while a prisoner in England.

A few days after the death of General Reed, Philip Freneau wrote a brief monody, in which the following lines occur :

"No single art engaged his manly mind,
In every scene his active genius shined.
Nature in him, in honor to our age,
At once composed the *soldier* and the *sage*."

† Trumbull, in his M'Pingall, thus alludes to the participation of Mrs. Ferguson in Johnstone's efforts at bribery :

Behold, at Briton's utmost shifts
Comes Johnstone, loaded with like gifts,
To venture through the Whiggish tribe,
To cuddle, wheedle, coax, and bribe;
And call, to aid his desperate mission,
His petticoated politician :

"Firm to his purpose, vigilant and bold,
Detesting traitors, and despising gold,
He scorn'd all bribes from Britain's hostile throne,
For all his country's wrongs were thrice his own."

"While Venus, join'd to act the farce,
Strolls forth embassadress of Mars.
In vain he strives; for, while he lingers,
These mantiffs bite his off'ring fingers;
Nor buys for George and realms infernal
One spaniel but the mongrel Arnold."



Sir Henry Clinton Commander-in-Chief. Condition of the American Army. Exchange of General Lee. Oaths of Allegiance.

crossed the Delaware into New Jersey. Sir Henry Clinton had succeeded Sir William Howe as generalissimo, and took command of the British army on the 11th of May. In the instructions to Clinton as Howe's successor, the ministry ordered him to evacuate Philadelphia. He had resolved to do so as early as the 23d of May, and to proceed by water to New York. Fearing he might be delayed by head winds, and that Washington would push forward to and capture New York city, he changed his plan and determined to proceed by land. In the mean while, Washington, informed of the evident intention of the enemy to evacuate Philadelphia, placed his army in a condition to march immediately at the beating of the drum. His condition was very much changed for the better. Major-general Charles Lee had been exchanged for Prescott, and was now in camp, and reinstated in his old command as second general officer of the army.¹ The troops fit for service numbered about fifteen thousand; and the warmth and comforts of pleasant summer time, co-operating with the good news from France, made the soldiers cheerful and hopeful.²

¹ Washington was directed, by a resolution of Congress, to administer the oath of allegiance to the officers of the army before leaving Valley Forge. The oath was administered to several at one time, each officer placing his hand upon the Bible. Just as the commander-in-chief began to repeat the oath, General Lee withdrew his hand. This movement was repeated, to the astonishment of all. Washington inquired the cause of his strange conduct, when Lee replied, "As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him; but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales." Even the grave Washington was obliged to join in the laughter which followed this odd reply. Lee eventually took the oath with the rest, and subscribed his name.

In the archives of the State Department at Washington City, the original oaths of allegiance, signed by all the officers of the army at Valley Forge, are well preserved, and present an interesting collection of autographs. The oath was printed on a slip of paper, with blanks, in which the name and rank of the officer was written, with his signature at bottom. I observed that Generals Lord Stirling, Knox, and Greene administered the principal portion of the oaths. The following is a fac simile of Lord Stirling's oath, administered by Washington:

I *William Alexander Lord of Stirling*
Major General in the Armies of the United States
do acknowledge the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great-Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do *Swear* that I will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States, against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of *Major General* — which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

Sworn before at the Camp at Valley Forge the 12th May 1778 } *Stirling*
G. Washington

² Of these, 11,800 were at Valley Forge, which comprehended the sick and those who might be called

Evacuation of Philadelphia by the British.

Pursuit by the Americans.

The British harassed in New Jersey

Sir Henry Clinton made his preparations for evacuation with so much adroitness, that Washington was not certified of his destination until he had actually crossed the Delaware. Suspecting, however, that he would take a land route for New York, the commander-in-chief had dispatched Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with General Dickinson and the New Jersey militia in retarding the march of the enemy. It was a little before dawn on the morning of the 18th of June, when the British army left the city, and commenced crossing the Delaware at Gloucester Point.¹ At ten o'clock the rear-guard landed; ^{1778.} and toward evening that motley host of British regulars and Loyalists, Hessians, and a crowd of camp-followers, were encamped around Haddonfield, on the south side of Cooper's Creek, five miles southeast of Camden.

When intelligence of the evacuation reached Washington, he broke up his encampment at Valley Forge, and, with almost his whole army, pushed forward in pursuit. General Arnold, whose wound would not allow him to engage in active service, took possession of Philadelphia with a small detachment, while the main army marched rapidly toward the Delaware. The admirable arrangements of the quarter-master general's department, under the able management of General Greene, enabled the army to move with facility. The divisions of Greene and Wayne first crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, a short ^{June 20,} distance above the place where Washington passed to the attack of the Hessians at ^{1778.} Trenton eighteen months previously; and these were followed by the chief and the remainder of the army on the two following days. Colonel Morgan was sent with six hundred men to re-enforce Maxwell. The army halted at Hopewell, within five miles of ^{June 24.} Trenton, and there Washington called another council of war.² The tardy movements of Clinton induced the belief that he was maneuvering to entice the Americans into a general action. "Will it be advisable to hazard a general engagement?" was the question which the chief proposed to the council. The decision was a negative; but it was recommended to send detachments to harass the enemy on their march. General Lee was opposed to this measure, and objected to any interference whatever with the enemy. Pursuant to the recommendation of the council, Washington ordered Morgan's corps to gain the rear of the enemy's right flank, Maxwell's brigade to hang on their left, and Brigadier-general Scott,³ with about fifteen hundred chosen men, to annoy them on the rear and flanks. To these were added the New Jersey militia under General Dickinson, and a party of volunteers from Pennsylvania under Cadwallader.

Sir Henry Clinton intended to march from Haddonfield directly to Brunswick, and embark his troops on the Raritan River. He moved on slowly, by the way of Mount Holly,⁴

into action on an emergency. There was a detachment at Wilmington of 1400; and on the Hudson River there were 1800. At a council of war held on the 18th of May, it was thought reasonable to anticipate that, when all the re-enforcements were brought in, the whole army, fit for duty, would amount to about 20,000 men.

¹ Gloucester Point is on the Jersey-side of the Delaware, three miles below Camden and Philadelphia.

² A council of war was held on the 17th, the day before the Americans left Valley Forge, and among other questions proposed was, "If the enemy march through Jersey, will it be prudent to attack them on the way, or more eligible to proceed to the North River in the most direct and convenient manner, to secure the important communication between the Eastern and Southern States?" Nearly all the officers were opposed to an attack, on account of the inequality of force, but some thought it should depend on circumstances. Washington was desirous of attacking the enemy, but was obliged to yield to the force of circumstances.

³ Charles Scott was a native of Cumberland county, in Virginia. He raised the first company of volunteers in that state, south of the James River, that actually entered into the Continental service. So much was he appreciated, that, in 1777, the shire-town of Powhatan county was named in honor of him. Congress appointed him a brigadier in the Continental army on the 1st of April, 1777. He served with distinction during the war, and at its termination he went to Kentucky. He settled in Woodford county, in that state, in 1785. He was with St. Clair at his defeat in 1791; and in 1794 he commanded a portion of Wayne's army at the battle of the Fallen Timber. He was governor of Kentucky from 1808 to 1812. He died on the 22d of October, 1820, aged seventy-four years.

⁴ Mount Holly is the seat of justice for Burlington county. It is situated on the north branch of the Ran

Extent of the British Line.

Washington's Determination to Fight.

Preparations of both Armies for Battle.

to Crosswicks and Allentown. There being but a single road, his long train of baggage-wagons and bat-horses, together with his troops, made a line nearly twelve miles in extent. He was obliged to build bridges and causeways over the streams and marshes, and his progress, consequently, was very tardy. When at Allentown, perceiving Washington almost on his front, Clinton changed his course, rather than risk a general action with all his encumbrances. Turning to the right, he took the road leading to Monmouth court-house and Sandy Hook, with the determination of embarking his troops at the latter place. The Amer-

June 25. ican army had now reached Kingston, on the Millstone River. General Lee was

still strongly opposed to any interference with the movements of the enemy, and, being next in command to Washington, his opinions had considerable weight with the other officers. Yet six general officers were in favor of continued annoyances by detachments, and three of them (Greene, La Fayette, and Wayne) declared in favor of a general action. Washington was at first embarrassed by these divided opinions; but, relying upon his own judgment, which was strongly in favor of an engagement, he asked no further advice, but proceeded to make arrangements for a battle. He immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand men, under General Wayne, to join the troops nearest the enemy; gave General La Fayette the command of all the advanced parties, amounting to almost four thou-

June 26. sand men, including the militia,¹ and moved forward with the main body to Cran-
1778. berry. The weather was intensely hot, which circumstance, in connection with a

heavy storm that commenced about nine in the morning, made it impossible to resume the march without injury to the troops.

Early on the morning of the 27th, La Fayette, with the advanced forces, proceeded to Englishtown, a hamlet about five miles westward of Monmouth court-house. Sir Henry Clinton was advised of the movements of the Americans, and, properly apprehending an attack upon his flanks and rear, changed the disposition of his line. He placed the baggage train in front, and his best troops, consisting of the grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs of the line, in the rear. The baggage of the whole army (in which term were included the bat-horses and wheel-carriages of every department) was placed under the charge of General Knyphausen. With his army thus arranged, Clinton encamped in a strong position near Monmouth court-house, secured on nearly all sides by woods and marshy grounds. His line extended, on the right, about a mile and a half beyond the court-house to the parting of the roads leading to Shrewsbury and Middletown, and on the left, along the road from Monmouth to Allentown, about three miles.

The alteration in the disposition of his line of march made by Sir Henry Clinton, obliged Washington to increase the number of his advanced corps, and accordingly he sent Major-general Lee with two brigades to join La Fayette at Englishtown, and, as senior officer, to take command of the whole division designed for making the first attack. The main army

June 27. marched the same day, and encamped within three miles of Englishtown; Morgan's corps was left hovering on the British right; and about seven hundred militia, under

ocus Creek, about nineteen miles from Trenton. During the war, a Whig, named William Denning, who afterward resided in Mount Holly, constructed a wrought-iron cannon. It was made of iron staves, hooped like a barrel with the same material. There were four layers of staves, firmly bound together, and then bored and breeched like other cannons. He finished one in Middlesex, Pennsylvania, and began another in Mount Holly. The former was captured at the battle of Brandywine, and is now in the Tower of London; the latter was placed in the Philadelphia arsenal. Denning died a few years since, at the age of ninety-four.

¹ This force properly fell under the command of General Lee. As he was totally opposed to the movement, it placed him in an unpleasant situation. This embarrassment was mentioned to Washington by La Fayette, who offered to take command of that division. Washington agreed to give it to La Fayette, if General Lee would consent to the arrangement. That officer readily consented, and La Fayette was placed in command. Lee afterward changed his mind, and applied to Washington to be reinstated. He could not, with justice or propriety, recall the orders given to La Fayette; and the commander-in-chief endeavored to preserve harmony by giving Lee the command of two brigades, with orders to join the advanced detachments, when, of course, his rank would entitle him to the command of the whole. He ordered Lee to give La Fayette notice of his approach, and to offer him all the assistance in his power for prosecuting any enterprise he might have already undertaken. Washington wrote, also, to La Fayette, explaining the dilemma, and counting upon his cheerful acquiescence.

British Camp near Monmouth Court-house.

Their Movement toward Sandy Hook.

Lee ordered to attack the British.

Dickinson, menaced their left. Washington foresaw the increased strength the enemy would gain by reaching the heights of Middletown, which were about three miles in advance. To prevent them obtaining that advantage, he determined to attack their rear the moment they should attempt to move. For this purpose he ordered General Lee to make the necessary disposition, and to keep his troops in readiness to move at the shortest notice. Sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that an immediate action was inevitable, made preparations accordingly. The night of the 27th was one of great anxiety to both parties.

The 28th of June, 1778, a day memorable in the annals of the Revolution, was the Christian Sabbath. The sky was cloudless over the plains of Monmouth when the morning dawned, and the sun came up with all the fervor of the summer solstice. It was the sultriest day of the year; not a zephyr moved the leaves; nature smiled in her beautiful garments of flowers and foliage, and the birds carolled with delight, in the fullness of love and harmony. Man alone was the discordant note in the universal melody. He alone, the proud "lord of creation," claiming for his race the sole mundane possession of the Divine image, disturbed the chaste worship of the hour, which ascended audibly from the groves, the streams, the meadows, and the woodlands. On that calm Sabbath morning, in the midst of paradisaical beauty, twenty thousand men girded on the implements of hellish war to maim and destroy each other—to sully the green grass and fragrant flowers with human blood!

At about one o'clock in the morning, Lee sent an order to General Dickinson to detach several hundred men as near the British lines as possible, as a corps of ob-
June 28.
servation. Colonel Morgan was also directed to approach near enough to attack them on their first movement. Orders were likewise given to the other divisions of the advanced forces to make immediate preparations to march; and, before daylight, Colonel Grayson,¹ with his regiment, leading the brigades of Scott and Varnum, was in the saddle, and moving slowly in the direction of Monmouth court-house.

General Knyphausen, with the first division of the British troops, among which was the chief body of the Hessians, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, moved forward at daybreak. Sir Henry Clinton, with the other division, consisting of the flower of his army,² did not follow until eight o'clock. Dickinson observed the earliest movement, and sent an express to Lee, and to the commander-in-chief, the moment Knyphausen began his march. Washington immediately put the army in motion, and sent orders to General Lee to press forward and attack the enemy, unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary. This discretionary clause in the orders eventuated in trouble. Lee advanced immediately with the brigades of Wayne and Maxwell, and sent an order to Grayson to press forward and attack the pickets of the enemy as speedily as possible, while he himself pushed forward to overtake and support him. Grayson, with the two brigades, had passed the Freehold meeting-house, two miles and a half from Monmouth, when he received the order. Lee's aid, who bore it, gave it as his opinion that he had better halt, for he had learned on the way that the main body of the British were moving to attack the Americans. This information was erroneous, but it caused Grayson to tarry. General Dickinson, who was posted on a height on the eastern side of a morass, near *s* in the plan, received the same intelligence, and communicated it to Lee, through the aid, on his return. Lee conformed to the reports, and, after posting two regiments of militia upon a hill southeast

¹ William Grayson was a native of Prince William county, in Virginia. He was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with Sir William Howe respecting prisoners, while the army was at Valley Forge. In the battle of Monmouth he commanded a regiment in the advanced corps, and behaved with valor. At the close of the war he returned to his native state, and was elected a representative in Congress in 1784. In 1788 he was a member of the Virginia Convention, called for the purpose of considering the Constitution of the United States. With Patrick Henry he opposed the ratification of that instrument. He was appointed one of the first senators from Virginia in 1789, with Richard Henry Lee. He died at Dumfries, while on his way to Congress, on the 12th of March, 1790.

² It was composed of the thirty-fourth and fifth brigades of British, two battalions of British grenadiers, the Hessian grenadiers, a battalion of light infantry, the Guards, and the sixteenth regiment of light dragoons.

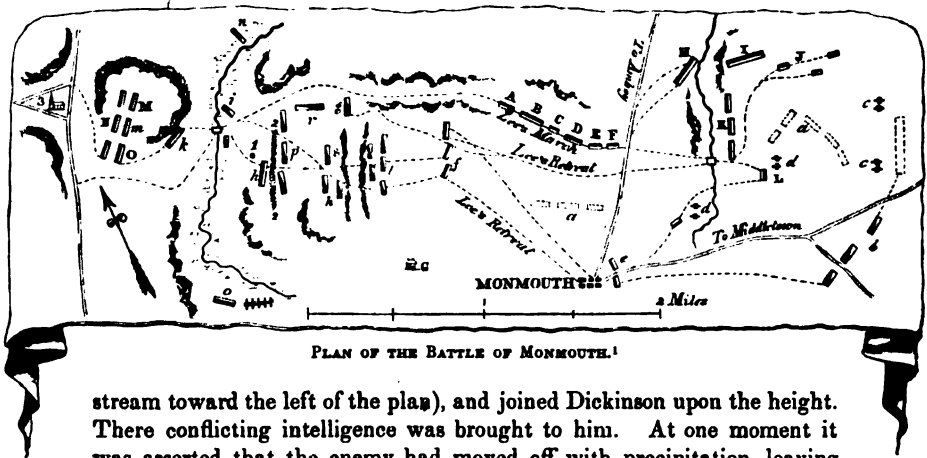
Approach of the American advanced Corps.

Conflicting Intelligence.

Preparation for Battle.

Plan of the Action.

of the meeting-house, to secure a particular road, he pushed forward, with his staff, across the morass, at a narrow causeway near the parsonage (indicated by an oblong upon the

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.¹

stream toward the left of the plan), and joined Dickinson upon the height. There conflicting intelligence was brought to him. At one moment it was asserted that the enemy had moved off with precipitation, leaving only a covering party behind; at another, that the whole army was filing off to the right and left to attack the Americans. While he was endeavoring to obtain reliable information on which to predicate orders, La Fayette arrived at the head of the main body of the advanced corps.

Having satisfied himself that no important force of the enemy was upon either flank, Lee determined to march on. His whole command now amounted to about four thousand troops, exclusive of Morgan's corps and the Jersey militia. The broken country was heavily wooded to the verge of the plain of Monmouth. Under cover of the forest, Lee pressed forward until near the open fields, when he formed a portion of his line for action, and, with Wayne and others, rode forward to reconnoiter. From observations and intelligence, he concluded that the column of the British army which he saw deploying on the left were only a covering party of about two thousand men; and entertaining hopes that he might succeed in cutting them off from the main army, he maneuvered accordingly. Wayne was detached, with seven hundred men and two pieces of artillery, to attack the covering party in the rear; not, however, with sufficient vigor to cause them to retreat to the main body. Meanwhile Lee, with a stronger force, endeavored, by a short road leading to the left, to gain the front of the party. Small detachments were concealed in the woods, at different points on the enemy's flanks, to annoy them.

At about nine o'clock in the morning, just as Wayne was prepared to make a descent upon the enemy, a party of American light horse, advancing on the right, observed the Queen's Dragoons upon an eminence in the edge of a wood, parading as if they intended to

¹ EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.—*a a*, position occupied by the British army the night before the battle. *b*, British detachment moving toward Monmouth. *c c*, British batteries. *d d*, Colonel Oswald's American batteries. *e*, American troops formed near the court-house. *f*, first position taken by General Lee in his retreat. *g*, attack of a party of the British in the woods. *h h*, positions taken by General Lee. *i*, a British detachment. *k*, last position of the retreating troops on the west side of the marsh. *m*, army formed by General Washington after he met Lee retreating. *n*, British detachment. *o*, American battery. *p*, place of the principal action near the parsonage. *r*, first position of the British after the action. *s*, second position. *t*, place where the British passed the night after the battle. *1*, the spot where Washington met Lee retreating. *2*, a hedgerow. *3*, the Freehold meeting-house, yet standing. *A*, Maxwell's brigade; *B*, Wayne's; *C*, Varnum's; *D*, Scott's. *E* and *F*, Jackson's and Grayson's regiments. *G*, Carr's house. *H*, *I*, and *J*, the brigades of Maxwell and Scott, with the regiments of Grayson and Jackson, marching to the attack. *K* and *L*, Greene and Varnum. *M*, Lord Stirling. *N*, La Fayette; and *O*, Greene, with Washington. Lee's march toward Monmouth court-house, the present village of Freehold, was north of the old road to Englishtown. The present road from Freehold to the meeting-house varies from the old one in some places, and is very nearly on a line with Lee's retreat.

The British attacked by Wayne.

Oswald's Artillery.

Wayne checked by Lee.

Strange Conduct of Lee.

make an attack. Lee ordered his light horse to allow the dragoons to approach as near as could be done with safety, and then to retreat to where Wayne was posted, and let him receive them. The maneuver was partially successful; the dragoons followed the retreating light horse, until fired upon by a party under Colonel Butler, ambushed in the edge of a wood, when they wheeled, and galloped off toward the main column. Wayne ordered Colonel Oswald to bring his two pieces of artillery to bear upon them, and then pushed forward himself, with his whole force, to charge the enemy with bayonets.¹ Colonel Oswald² crossed a morass, planted his guns on a small eminence (*d*), and opened a cannonade at the same time. Wayne was prosecuting his attack with vigor, and with every prospect of full success, when he received an order from Lee to make only a feigned attack, and not push on too precipitately, as that would subvert his plan of cutting off the covering party. Wayne was disappointed, chagrined, irritated; he felt that his commander had plucked the palm of sure victory from his hand; but, like a true soldier, he instantly obeyed, and withheld his troops, hoping that Lee would himself recover what his untimely order had lost. In this, too, the brave Wayne was disappointed; for only a portion of the troops on the right, under Lee, issued out of the wood in small detachments, about a mile below the courthouse, and within cannon-shot of the royal forces. At that instant Sir Henry Clinton was informed that the Americans were marching in force on both his flanks, with the evident design of capturing his baggage, then making a line of several miles in the direction of Middletown. To avert the blow, he changed the front of his army by facing about, and prepared to attack Wayne with so much vigor, that the Americans on his flanks would be obliged to fly to the succor of that officer. This movement was speedily made by Clinton, and a large body of cavalry soon approached cautiously toward the right of Lee's troops. La Fayette perceiving this, and believing it to be a good opportunity to gain the rear of the division of the enemy marching against them, rode quickly up to Lee, and asked permission to make the attempt. "Sir," replied Lee, "you do not know British soldiers; we can not stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." La Fayette replied, "It may be so, general; but British soldiers have been beaten, and they may be again; at any rate, I am disposed to make the trial." Lee so far complied

¹ This first attack occurred in the vicinity of Brier Hill, about three fourths of a mile east of the courthouse.

² Eleazer Oswald was a native of Massachusetts, and was among the earliest of the active patriots of the Revolution. He exhibited great bravery at the siege of Quebec, at the close of 1775, where he commanded the forlorn hope after Arnold was wounded. In 1777 he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in Lamb's regiment of artillery, and soon afterward distinguished himself, with Arnold, at Compo, at the head of recruits raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He was with Putnam when Forts Clinton and Mifflin were taken in 1777, and anxiously entreated his general to allow him to go to the relief of the forts, where his friend Lamb commanded the artillery. For his bravery at the battle of Monmouth, he was highly commended by Generals Knox and Lee. Being outranked soon after this engagement, he resigned his commission and left the service. He entered into the printing and publishing business at Philadelphia, was appointed public printer, and was a resident there at the time of Arnold's defection. Upon constitutional questions he was an opponent of General Hamilton, and in 1789 challenged that gentleman to fight a duel. Their friends adjusted the matter, and the meeting was prevented. In 1793, being in England on business, he went to the Continent, joined the French army, commanded a regiment of artillery, and was at the battle of Mons, or Jemappe. He fell a victim to the yellow fever which desolated New York in 1795, and was buried in St. Paul's church-yard on the 2d of October of that year. —See Leake's *Life and Times of General Lamb*.



³ The conduct of Lee throughout the day was very strange, and gives a coloring of truth to the conjecture that the thorn of envy was still rankling in his bosom, and that he preferred seeing the Americans disgraced by a defeat, rather than Washington honored by a victory. La Fayette, who had watched with the eye of ardent affection the progress and termination of the conspiracy against Washington a few months previously, in which the name of Lee was prominent as his proposed successor, was properly suspicious. Soon after his application to Lee for permission to attempt to gain the enemy's rear, one of Washington's aids arrived for information; and La Fayette took the occasion to inform his excellency, through the aid, that his presence upon the ground was of the utmost importance. He felt convinced that Lee's movements were governed either by cowardice or treachery, and he was anxious to have Washington controlling the movements of the day.

Lee's Orders misunderstood.

Retreat of two Brigades.

A general Retreat ordered by Lee.

General Maxwell.

as to order the marquis to wheel his column by his right, and gain and attack the enemy's left. At the same time, he weakened Wayne's detachment on the left, by ordering the regiments of Weason, Stewart, and Livingston to the support of the right. He then rode toward Oswald's battery to reconnoiter. At that moment, to his great astonishment, as he said, Lee saw a large portion of the British army marching back on the Middletown road toward the court-house. Apparently disconcerted, he immediately ordered his right to fall back. The brigades of Scott and Maxwell,¹ on the left, were already moving forward and approaching the right of the royal forces, who were pressing steadily on in solid phalanx toward the position occupied by Lee, with the apparent design of gaining Wayne's rear and attacking the American right at the same moment. General Scott had left the wood, crossed a morass, and was forming for action on the plain, and Maxwell was preparing to do the same, when Lee ordered the former to re-enter the wood, arrange his column there, and wait for further directions. Perceiving the retrograde movement on the right, and perhaps mistaking the spirit of Lee's order, Scott recrossed the morass, and retreated through the woods toward the Freehold meeting-house, followed by Maxwell. As soon as intelligence of this movement reached Lee, he sent an order to La Fayette to fall back to the court-house. The marquis obeyed, but with reluctance. As he approached the court-house, he learned, with surprise and deep mortification, that a general retreat had begun on the right, under the immediate command of Lee, and he was obliged to follow. The British pursued them as far as the court-house, where they halted, while the Americans pressed onward across the morass above Carr's house (G) to the broken eminences called the heights of Freehold, where they also halted. The heat was intense, and both parties suffered terribly from thirst and fatigue. In many places they sunk ankle-deep in the loose, sandy soil. Their rest was of short duration. The royal troops pressed forward; and Lee, instead of making a bold stand in his advantageous position, resumed his retreat toward the Freehold meeting-house. A panic seized the Republican troops, and over the broken country they fled precipitately and in great confusion, a large portion of them pressing toward the causeway over a broad morass,² where many perished; while others, overpowered by the heat, fell upon the earth, and were trampled to death in the sand by those pressing on behind them. In the first retreat, a desultory cannonade had been kept up by both parties; but now nothing was heard but a few musket-shots and the loud shouts of the pursuing enemy.

While these maneuvers in the vicinity of Monmouth court-house were occurring, Washington, with the reserve, was pressing forward to the support of Lee. When the latter

James Weason

¹ William Maxwell was a native of New Jersey. He joined the army at the commencement of the war. In 1776 he was appointed colonel, and raised a battalion of infantry in New Jersey. He was with General Schuyler on Lake Champlain, and in October, 1776, was appointed a brigadier in the Continental army.

Wm Maxwell

After the battle at Trenton, he was engaged in harassing the enemy; and during the winter and spring of 1777 was stationed near the enemy's lines at Elizabethtown. In the autumn of that year he was engaged in the battles at the Brandywine and Germantown, and during the succeeding winter he was with the suffering army at Valley Forge. He was active in pursuit of Clinton across New Jersey the following summer, and sustained an important part in the battle at Monmouth. After that engagement, he was

left, with Morgan, to annoy the enemy's rear in their retreat toward Sandy Hook. He was again near Elizabethtown during the winter and spring of 1780, and in June was engaged in the action at Springfield. In August he resigned his commission and quitted the service. He was highly esteemed by Washington, who, on transmitting his resignation to Congress, said, after speaking of his merits as an officer, "I believe him to be an honest man, a warm friend to his country, and firmly attached to its interests."

² This causeway, alluded to before, was near the parsonage, which is still standing, though greatly decayed, and known as "Tennent's House." The morass, which was then a deep quagmire, and thickly covered with bushes, is now mostly fine meadow land, coursed by a clear streamlet, spanned by a small bridge where the highway between Freehold and Englishtown, by way of the meeting-house, crosses.

Forward Movement of the Division under Washington. Meeting of Washington and Lee. Harsh Words between them.

made the discovery that a large covering party was in the rear of the royal army, and formed his plan to cut them off, he sent a messenger to the commander-in-chief, assuring him that success must follow. On the reception of this intelligence, Washington ordered the right wing, under General Greene, to march to the right, "by the new church," or Freehold meeting-house, to prevent the turning of that flank by the enemy, and to "fall into the Monmouth road a small distance in the rear of the court-house," while he prepared to follow, with the left wing, directly in Lee's rear, to support him. To facilitate the march of the men, and to contribute to their comfort on that sultry morning, they were ordered to disencumber themselves of their packs and blankets. Many laid aside their coats, and, thus relieved, prepared for battle.



FREEHOLD MEETING-HOUSE.¹

While the chief was making this disposition near the Freehold meeting-house, a countryman, mounted on a fleet horse, came in hot haste from the direction of the contending forces. He brought the astounding intelligence that the Continental troops were retreating, with the enemy in close pursuit. The commander-in-chief could not credit the report, for he had heard only a few cannon-peals in the direction of the court-house, and he did not conceive it possible that Lee would retreat without first giving battle. He spurred forward, and, when about half way between the meeting-house and the morass, he met the head of the first retreating column. He was greatly alarmed on finding the advanced corps falling back upon the main army without notice, thereby endangering the order of the whole. Giving a hasty order to the commander of the first retreating division to halt upon an eminence, Washington, with his staff, pushed across the causeway to the rear of the flying column, where he met Lee (1) at the head of the second division of the retreating forces. The commander-in-chief was fearfully aroused by the conduct of that officer, and, as he rode up to Lee, he exclaimed, in words of bitter anger and tone of withering rebuke, "Sir, I desire to know what is the reason, and whence arises this disorder and confusion!" Stung, not so much by these words as by the manner of Washington, Lee retorted harshly, and a few angry words passed between them. It was no time to dispute, for the enemy was within fifteen minutes' march of them. Wheeling his horse, Washington hastened to Ramsay and Stewart, in the rear, rallied a large portion of their regiments, and ordered Oswald, with his two pieces of cannon, to take post upon an

¹ This view is from the green, outside of the church-yard, near the school-house. The church is situated a short distance from the road leading from Freehold to Englishtown, and about midway between those places. It was erected in 1752, on the site of a former one, which was much smaller; hence it was called the *new church*.* It is of wood, shingled, and painted white; at present a very dingy color. For a century and a half, God has been worshiped on that spot. There Whitefield, Brainerd, the Tennents, and Woodhull preached and prayed. It has been asserted that bullet-marks, made during the battle in 1778, are visible upon the church. Such is not the fact, for it is a mile and a half distant from the parsonage, where the hottest of the battle occurred. At the church, and upon its roof and steeple, many were gathered in anxious suspense to witness the battle. A spent cannon-ball came bounding toward the church during the action, struck a man who sat upon a small grave-stone, and so wounded him that he died within an hour. He was carried into the church, and placed in the first pew on the right of the middle door, where he expired. Traces of his blood were upon the floor for nearly fifty years. The stone on which he sat is still there, not far from the grave of Colonel Monkton. Its top was broken by the ball, and for more than seventy years the fracture was left untouched. Lately some vandal hand has broken a "relic" from it, and quite destroyed the moss-covered wound it first received. The obelisk seen on the right of the picture is over the grave of the Reverend Robert Roy. The other ornamental monument is over that of the Reverend Mr. Woodhull.

* See Washington's letter to the president of Congress, July 1, 1778.

The pursuing Britons checked.

Courage and Skill of Washington.

Lee's Conduct, Trial, and Sentence.

eminence. By a well-directed fire from his battery, Oswald checked the pursuing enemy. The presence of the chief inspired the fugitives with courage, and within ten minutes after he appeared, the retreat was suspended, the troops rallied, and soon order appeared in the midst of the utmost confusion. Stewart and Ramsay formed under cover of a wood, and co-operated with Oswald in keeping the enemy at bay. While the British grenadiers were pouring their destructive volleys upon the broken ranks of the Americans, the voice of Washington seemed omnipotent with the inspiration of courage; it was a voice of faith to the despairing soldiers. Fearlessly he rode in the face of the iron storm, and gave his orders. The whole patriot army, which, half an hour before, seemed on the verge of destruction, panic-stricken and without order, was now drawn up in battle array, and prepared to meet the enemy with a bold and well-arranged front. This effected, Washington rode back to Lee, and, pointing to the rallied troops, said, "Will you, sir, command in that place?" "I will," eagerly exclaimed Lee. "Then," said Washington, "I expect you to check the enemy immediately." "Your command shall be obeyed," replied Lee; "and I will not be the first to leave the field."

Back to the main army Washington now hurried, and with wondrous expedition formed their confused ranks into battle order on the eminences on the western side of the morass. Lord Stirling was placed in command of the left wing; while General Greene, on receiving intelligence of Lee's retreat, had marched back, and now took an advantageous position on the right of Stirling.

General Lee displayed all his skill and courage in obedience to the chief's order to "check the enemy." A warm cannonade had commenced between the American and British artillery on the right of Stewart and Ramsay when Washington recrossed the morass to form the main army, while the royal light horse charged furiously upon the right of Lee's division. At that moment Hamilton rode up to Lee, and exclaimed, "I will stay with you, my dear general, and die with you. Let us all die rather than retreat." But the enemy pressed so closely upon them with an overwhelming force, that the Americans were obliged

¹ It was evident that after the first vent of his indignation on seeing Lee making a shameful retreat before the enemy, Washington was willing to overlook the act, and forget and forgive Lee's harsh words spoken in anger. Had the latter been actuated by the same noble and generous spirit, all would have been well. But the rebuke of the commander-in-chief struck deep into his pride, and he could not rest satisfied with the retort he had given to his general. On the day after the battle he wrote a letter to Washington, in which he demanded an apology, or its equivalent, for his remarks on the battle-field. Washington replied that he conceived his letter to be expressed in terms highly improper, and asserted his conviction that the words which he used when he met him retreating were warranted by the circumstances. He charged Lee with a breach of orders, and misbehavior before the enemy, in not attacking them, and in making an "unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat." Lee wrote an insulting reply. "You can not afford me," he said, "greater pleasure than in giving me the opportunity of showing to America the sufficiency of her respective servants. I trust that temporary power of office, and the tinsel dignity attending it, will not be able, by all the mists they can raise, to obfuscate the bright rays of truth." In a second letter, dated the 30th of June (two days after the battle), Lee demanded a court of inquiry immediately, accompanying that demand with offensive remarks. Washington immediately sent Colonel Scammel, the adjutant general, to put Lee under arrest, on the following charges:

"First: Disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions.

"Secondly: Misbehavior before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

"Thirdly: Disrespect to the commander-in-chief, in two letters, dated the 1st of July and the 28th of June."*

The court martial was convened on the 4th of July, at Brunswick, consisting of one major general (Lord Stirling, who was president), four brigadiers, and eight colonels. The court sat from time to time, until the 12th of August, when they declared their opinion that General Lee was guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States for the term of twelve months. The testimony on the trial exhibits a minute detail of the operations in the battle of Monmouth. Congress approved the sentence of the court martial on the 5th of December, by a vote of thirteen in the affirmative and seven in the negative, and ordered the proceedings to be published.—See Sparks's *Washington*, v., 552; *Journals of Congress*, iv., 501.

* These were both erroneously dated. Lee's letters were written on the 29th and 30th of June.

The fiercest of the Battle.

Picture by Mr. Custis.

Captain Molly.

to give way. As they emerged from the woods, the belligerents seemed completely intermingled.

The enemy next attacked Livingston's regiment and Varnum's brigade, which lined a

THE FIELD OF MONMOUTH.¹

From a Painting by George Washington Parke Custis, Esq.

hedgerow [2] that stretched across the open field in front of the causeway over the morass. Here the conflict raged severely for some time. Some American artillery took post on an eminence in rear of the fence, and played with power ;² but the British cavalry, and a large

¹ This outline sketch is from a copy of the picture at Arlington House (the seat of Mr. Custis), which I made, by permission, in November, 1850. As it exhibits none of the horrid scenes of slaughter which generally characterize battle-pieces, I have not hesitated to introduce it, for the purpose of giving a specimen of pictorial composition upon an interesting historical subject from the pencil of the adopted son, and the only surviving executor of the will of the great Washington. The engraving was executed by Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver in America, at the age of seventy-seven years. Both painter and engraver have passed several years beyond the age allotted to man. Since I made this copy, Mr. Custis has completed two other historical pictures—*Germanstown* and *Trenton*; and it is his intention, if his life shall be spared, to thus perpetuate on canvas the memory of all of the battles in which his illustrious foster-father was engaged.

In the picture here given, the chief is seen most prominently on his white charger, with his general officers. Washington and Greene are in front; Knox on the right, upon the most prominent horse; and behind them are Hamilton, Cadwallader, &c. On the left is seen the group of artillery, with "Captain Molly" at the gun. In the distance is seen a portion of the British army, and Colonel Monokton falling from his horse. On the right, in the foreground, lying by a cannon, is Dickinson, of Virginia; and on the left, by a drum, Bonner, of Pennsylvania. In the center is a wounded rifleman.

² It was during this part of the action that Molly, the wife of a cannonier, is said to have displayed great courage and presence of mind. We have already noticed her bravery in firing the last gun at Fort Clinton. (See page 164.) She was a sturdy young camp-follower, only twenty-two years old, and, in devotion to her husband, she illustrated the character of her countrywomen of the Emerald Isle. In the action in question, while her husband was managing one of the field-pieces, she constantly brought him water from a spring near by. A shot from the enemy killed him at his post; and the officer in command, having no one competent to fill his place, ordered the piece to be withdrawn. Molly saw her husband fall as she came from the spring, and also heard the order. She dropped her bucket, seized the rammer, and vowed that she would fill the place of her husband at the gun, and avenge his death. She performed the duty with a skill and courage which attracted the attention of all who saw her. On the following morning, covered with dirt and blood, General Greene presented her to Washington, who, admiring her bravery, conferred

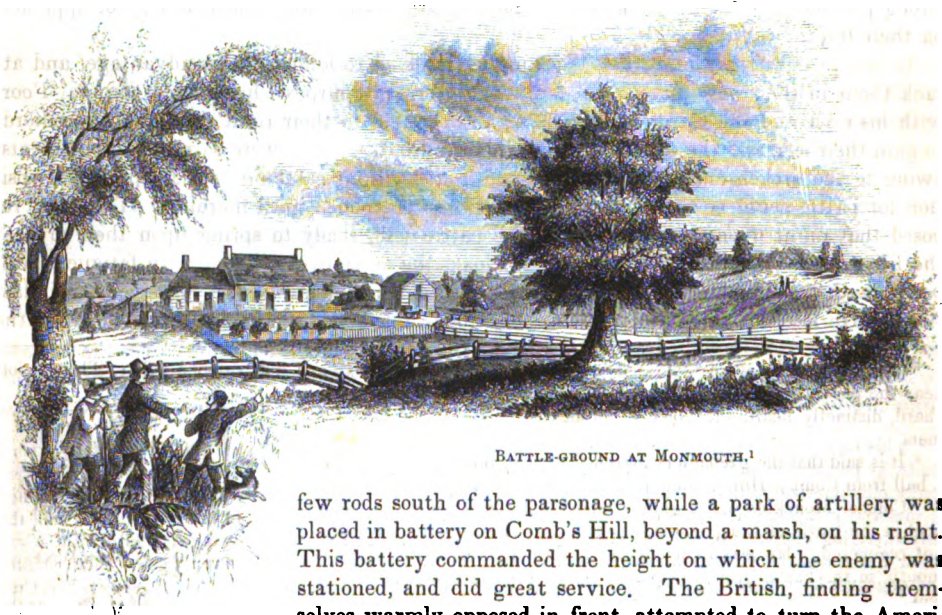
Gallant Conduct of Lee.

Forming of the second Line.

View of the Battle-ground.

body of infantry, skillful in the use of the bayonet, charging simultaneously upon the Americans, broke their ranks. Lee immediately ordered Varnum and Livingston, together with the artillery, to retreat across the morass, while Colonel Ogden, with his men drawn up in a wood near the causeway, gallantly covered the whole as they crossed. Lee was the last to leave the field, and brought off Ogden's corps, the rear of the retreating troops, in admirable order. Instantly forming them in line upon the slope on the western side of the morass, he rode to Washington, and said, "Sir, here are my troops; how is it your pleasure that I should dispose of them?" The poor fellows had thus far borne the whole brunt of the battles and retreats of the day; Washington, therefore, ordered him to arrange them in the rear of Englishtown, while he prepared to engage the enemy himself with the fresh troops of the second and main division of the army.

The action now became general. The second line of the main army was speedily formed in the wood which covered the eminence on the western side of the morass; the left commanded by Lord Stirling, the right by General Greene, and the center by Washington himself. Wayne, with an advanced corps, was stationed upon an eminence, in an orchard, a

BATTLE-GROUND AT MONMOUTH.¹

few rods south of the parsonage, while a park of artillery was placed in battery on Comb's Hill, beyond a marsh, on his right. This battery commanded the height on which the enemy was stationed, and did great service. The British, finding themselves warmly opposed in front, attempted to turn the American left flank, but were repulsed. They also moved toward the American right, but, being enfiladed by a severe cannonade from a battery under Knox, upon a commanding piece of ground occupied by General Greene, they fell back. Wayne, in the mean time, kept up a

upon her the commission of sergeant. By his recommendation, her name was placed upon the list of half-pay officers for life. She left the army soon after the battle of Monmouth, and, as we have before observed, died near Fort Montgomery, among the Hudson Highlands. She usually went by the name of *Captain Molly*. The venerable widow of General Hamilton, yet living (1852), told me she had often seen Captain Molly. She described her as a stout, red-haired, freckled-face young Irish woman, with a handsome, piercing eye. The French officers, charmed by the story of her bravery, made her many presents. She would sometimes pass along the French lines with her cocked hat, and get it almost filled with crowns.

¹ This view is from the orchard, upon the site of Wayne's position when Monckton fell. The old house on the left is the ancient parsonage, occupied, at the time of the battle, by a man named Freeman. Beyond the house, extending right and left, is the place of the morass, now fine meadow land, with a clear stream running through it; and in the extreme distance are seen the slopes and elevations whereon the second division of the American army, under Washington, was drawn up. Upon the rising ground on the extreme right, the British grenadiers were stationed; and the two figures in the open field, about fifty yards distant from our point of view, denote the spot where Monckton was killed.

Advance of Grenadiers under Monckton.

Death of Monckton.

Close of the Day and the Battle

brisk fire upon the British center from his position in the orchard, and repeatedly repulsed the royal grenadiers, who several times crossed the hedgerow (2) and advanced upon him. Colonel Monckton, their commander, perceiving that success depended upon driving Wayne from his position, harangued his men,¹ and, forming them in solid column, advanced to the charge with all the regularity of a corps on parade.² Wayne's troops were partially sheltered by a barn, situated very near the one now standing a few rods from the parsonage. He ordered them to reserve their fire until the enemy should approach very near, and then, with sure aim, pick out the officers. Silently the British advanced until within a few rods of the Americans, when Monckton, waving his sword, with a shout, ordered his grenadiers to the charge. At the same moment Wayne gave a signal; a terrible volley poured destruction upon the assailants, and almost every British officer fell. Among them was their brave leader, Colonel Monckton.³ Over his body the warriors fought desperately, hand to hand, until the Americans secured it, and carried it to their rear. Hotly the conflict raged, not only at the center of the enemy's line, but at various other points. Wayne finally repulsed the grenadiers; and the whole British army soon gave way, and fell back to the heights (2) above Carr's house (3), occupied by General Lee in the morning. It was a strong position, flanked by thick woods and morasses, with only a narrow way of approach on their front.

It was now almost sunset, yet Washington resolved to follow up his advantage, and attack them in their new and strong position. For that purpose, he ordered General Poor, with his own and the Carolina brigade, to move round to their right; General Woodford⁴ to gain their left, and the artillery to gall them in front. There were so many impediments, owing to the broken character of the ground, that twilight came on before a proper disposition for battle could be made, and the attack was postponed until morning. The army reposed that night upon their arms upon the battle-field, ready to spring upon their prey at the first gleam of light. Wrapped in his cloak, the chief, overpowered with fatigue, slumbered, with his suite, beneath a broad oak, around which many of the slain slept their last sleep. He felt certain of victory when his troops, refreshed, should rise to battle; but the

¹ The belligerents were separated by only a few rods in distance, and that an open field. The patriots near the parsonage, and those with Wayne, at the barn, and in the orchard, distinctly heard the voice of Monckton when haranguing his men.

² It is said that the grenadiers marched with so much precision, that a ball from Comb's Hill, enfilading a platoon, disarmed every man.

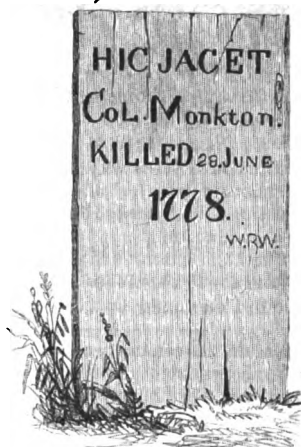
³ Colonel Monckton was a gallant officer. He was a lieutenant colonel in the battle of Long Island, when he was shot through the body, but recovered. He was interred, on the day after the battle of Monmouth, in the burial-ground of the Freehold meeting-house, about six feet from the west end of the building, upon a stone of which his name is rudely cut. The only monument that marks the grave of that gallant officer is a plain board, painted red, on which is drawn, in black letters, the inscription seen in the picture. This board was prepared and set up a few years ago by a worthy Scotch schoolmaster, named Wilson, who taught the young people in the school-house upon the green, near the old meeting-house.

⁴ William Woodford was a native of Caroline county, in Virginia. He early distinguished himself in the French and Indian wars. When the Virginia troops assembled at Williamsburg in 1775, in consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by Lord Dunmore, Woodford was appointed colonel of the second regiment. Patrick Henry was colonel of

the first regiment. In the battle at Great Bridge, on the Elizabeth River, in December, 1775, he was distinguished for his bravery. Congress promoted him to brigadier, and placed him in command of the first Virginia brigade. He was in the battles of Brandywine (in which he was wounded) and Monmouth, and

was made a prisoner at Charleston, in South Carolina, during the siege in 1780. He was taken to New York by the British, where he died on the 13th of November of that year, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Wm Woodford



Retreat of Sir Henry Clinton. Character of the Monmouth Battle. Clinton's Official Dispatch criticised. The Loss.

morning light brought disappointment. At midnight, under cover of darkness,¹ Sir Henry Clinton put his weary host in motion. With silent steps, column after column left the camp and hurried toward Sandy Hook. So secret was the movement, and so deep the sleep of the patriots, that the troops of Poor, lying close by the enemy, were ignorant of their departure, until, at dawn, they saw the deserted camp of the enemy. They had been gone more than three hours. Washington, considering the distance they had gained, the fatigue of his men, the extreme heat of the weather, and the deep, sandy country, with but little water, deemed pursuit fruitless, and Sir Henry Clinton escaped. Washington marched with his army to Brunswick, and thence to the Hudson River, which he crossed at King's Ferry, and encamped near White Plains, in West Chester county. The Jersey brigade and Morgan's corps were left to hover on the enemy's rear, but they performed no essential service. The British army reached Sandy Hook on the 30th, where Lord Howe's fleet, having come round from the Delaware, was in readiness to convey them to New York.²

The battle of Monmouth was one of the most severely contested during the war. Remarkable skill and bravery were displayed on both sides, after the shameful retreat of Lee; and the events of the day were highly creditable to the military genius of both commanders. Victory for the Americans was twice denied them during the day, first by the retreat of Lee in the morning, and, secondly, by the unaccountable detention of Morgan and his brave riflemen at a distance from the field. For hours the latter was at Richmond Mills, three miles below Monmouth court-house, awaiting orders, in an agony of desire to engage in the battle, for he was within sound of its fearful tumult. To and fro he strode, uncertain what course to pursue, and, like a hound in the leash, panting to be away to action. Why he was not allowed to participate in the conflict, we have no means of determining. It appears probable that, had he fallen upon the British rear, with his fresh troops, at the close of the day, Sir Henry Clinton and his army might have shared the fate of the British at Saratoga.

The hottest of the conflict occurred near the spot where Monckton fell. Very few of the Americans were killed on the west side of the morass, but many were slain in the field with Monckton, and lay among the slaughtered grenadiers of the enemy. The Americans lost, in killed, six officers, and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates. The wounded were twenty-four officers, and one hundred and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, in all two hundred and twenty-eight. The missing amounted to one hundred and thirty; but many of them, having dropped down through fatigue, soon joined the army.³ Among

¹ Sir Henry Clinton, in his official dispatch to Lord George Germaine, wrote, "Having reposed the troops until ten at night to avoid the excessive heat of the day, *I took advantage of the moonlight* to rejoin General Knyphausen, who had advanced to Nut Swamp, near Middletown." This assertion was the cause of much merriment in America, for it was known that the event took place about the time of new moon. *Poor Will's Almanac*, printed at Philadelphia by Joseph Cruikshank, indicates the occurrence of the new moon on the 24th of June, and that on the night of the battle being only four days old, it set at fifty-five minutes past ten. Trumbull, in his *M'Fingal*, alluding to this, says,

"He forms his camp with great parade,
While evening spreads the world in shade,
Then still, like some endanger'd spark,
Steals off on tiptoe in the dark;
Yet writes his king in boasting tone,
How grand he march'd by light of moon!

Go on, great general, nor regard
The scoffs of every scribbling bard,

"Who sings how gods, that fearful night,
Aided by miracle your flight;
As once they used in Homer's day,
To help weak heroes run away;
Tells how the hours, at this sad trial,
Went back, as erst on Aheaz' dial,
While British Joshua stay'd the moon
On Monmouth's plain for Ajalon.
Heed not their sneers or gibes so arch,
Because she set before you march."

² Ramsay; Gordon; Marshall; Sparks; D'Auberteuil; Stedman, &c.

³ The enemy suffered more from the heat than the Americans, on account of their woolen uniform, and being encumbered with their knapsacks, while the Americans were half disrobed. The Americans buried the slain which were found on the battle-field in shallow graves. In their retreat, the British left many of their wounded, with surgeons and nurses, in the houses at Freehold, and every room in the court-house was filled with the maimed and dying on the morning after the battle. A pit was dug on the site of the pres-

Sufferings of the Soldiers.

Visit to the Battle-ground.

Woodhull's Monument.

William and Gilbert Tennent.

the slain were Lieutenant-colonel Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickinson, of Virginia. The British left four officers, and two hundred and forty-five non-commissioned officers and privates on the field. They buried some, and took many of their wounded with them. Fifty-nine of their soldiers perished by the heat, without receiving a wound; they laid under trees, and by rivulets, whither they had crawled for shade and water. But why dwell upon the sad and sickening scene of the battle-field with the dead and dying upon it? We have considered the dreadful events of the day; let us for a moment, before returning to Valley Forge from our long digression, glance at the ground now covered with the results of the peaceful tiller's conquests.

I visited the battle-ground of Monmouth toward the close of September, 1850, and had the good fortune to be favored with the company of Doctor John Woodhull, of Freehold, in my ramble over that interesting locality. Doctor Woodhull is the son of the beloved minister of that name who succeeded William Tennent in the pastoral care of the congregation that worshiped in the Freehold meeting-house, and who, for forty-six consecutive years, preached and prayed in that venerated chapel. Doctor Woodhull was born in the parsonage yet upon the battle-ground, and is so familiar with every locality and event connected with the conflict, that I felt as if traversing the battle-field with an actor in the scene. Dark clouds rolled up menacingly from the southwest when we left Freehold and rode out to the meeting-house; and while sketching the old fane, pictured on page 359, heavy peals of thunder from a cloud that rapidly approached broke over the country. I had scarcely finished my outline when the heavy drops came down, and we were obliged to take shelter

in the church. Resting my port-folio upon the high back of a pew, I sketched, from the open door, the annexed picture of a neat monument erected to the memory of the reverend pastor just mentioned. Almost beneath the spot where I stood, under the middle aisle of the church, rest the remains of the Reverend William Tennent, who was pastor of that flock for forty-three years.¹ On the right of the pulpit is a commemorative tablet, with a brief inscription.² Mr. Tennent was one of the most faithful ministers of his day; and his name is widely known in connection with curious physiological and psychological phenomena, of which he was the subject. For three days he remained in a cataleptic state, commonly called a *trance*, or apparent death of the body while the interior life is active. He had applied himself closely to theological studies, until his health suddenly gave way. He became emaciated, his life was despaired of, and,

WOODHULL'S MONUMENT.³

ent residence of Dr. Throckmorton, of Freehold, wherein the wounded were thrown and buried as fast as they expired.

It is said that nearly six hundred young men of Clinton's army, who had formed tender attachments during the winter cantonment in Philadelphia, deserted during the march through New Jersey, and returned to that city.

¹ Mr. Tennent's brother, Gilbert, was also an eminent preacher. Garden, in his *Revolutionary Anecdotes*, relates the following circumstance: "When the American army entered Philadelphia in June, 1778, after the evacuation by the British troops, we were hard pressed for ammunition. We caused the whole city to be ransacked in search of cartridge-paper. At length I thought of the garrets, &c., of old printing-offices. In that once occupied as a lumber-room by Dr. Franklin, when a printer, a vast collection was discovered. Among the mass was more than a cart-body load of sermons on defensive war, preached by a famous Gilbert Tennent, during the old British and French war, to rouse the colonies to indispensable exertion. These appropriate manifestoes were instantly employed as cases for musket-cartridges, rapidly sent to the army, came most opportunely, and were fired away at the battle of Monmouth against our retiring foe."

² The following is a copy of the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the Reverend William Tennent, pastor of the first Presbyterian church in Freehold, who departed this life the 8th of March, 1777, aged 71 years and 9 months. He was pastor of said church 43 years and 6 months. FAITHFUL AND BELOVED."

³ This monument stands on the south side of the church. It is of white marble, about eight feet in

Inscription upon Woodhull's Monument.

Capture and Execution of Captain Huddy.

Case of Captain Asgill.

one morning, while conversing with his brother, in Latin, on the state of his soul, he fainted, and seemed to expire. He was laid out, and preparations were made for his funeral. His

height. The following is the inscription upon it: "Sacred to the memory of the Reverend John Woodhull, D.D., who died Nov. 22d, 1824, aged 80 years. An able, faithful, and beloved minister of Jesus Christ. He preached the Gospel 56 years. He was settled first in Leacock, in Pennsylvania, and in 1779 removed to this congregation, which he served as pastor, with great diligence and success, for 45 years. Eminent as an instructor of youth, zealous for the glory of God, fervent and active in the discharge of all public and private duties, the labors of a long life have ended in a large reward."

Reverend Dr. Woodhull was one of the most active patriots of his day, and his zeal in the cause of his country was largely infused into his congregation. On one occasion, while a pastor in Pennsylvania, every man in his parish went out to oppose the enemy, except one feeble old invalid, who bade them God speed. The zealous pastor went with them as chaplain.

Dr. Woodhull preached the funeral sermon on the occasion of the burial of Captain Huddy, at Freehold, in the spring of 1782, from the piazza of the hotel now kept by Mr. Higgins. Captain Huddy lived in the central part of Colt's Neck, about five miles from Freehold. He was an ardent Whig, and by his activity



and courage became a terror to the Tories. In the summer of 1780, a mulatto, named Titus, and about sixty refugees, attacked Huddy's house, in the evening. The only inmates were Huddy and Lucretia Emmons (afterward Mrs. Chambers), a servant girl about twenty years of age. There were several guns in the house; these Lucretia loaded, while Huddy fired them from different windows. Titus and some others were wounded. They set fire to the house, when Huddy surrendered, and the flames were extinguished. The prisoners were taken on board of a boat near Black Point. Just as it was pushed off from the shore, Huddy leaped into the water, and escaped under fire of some militia who were in pursuit of the Tories. In the spring of 1782, Huddy commanded a block-house, situated a short distance north of the bridge at the village of Tom's River. It was attacked by some refugees from New York, and his ammunition giving out, Huddy was obliged to surrender. Him-

self and companions were taken to New York, and afterward back to Sandy Hook, and placed, heavily ironed, on board a guard-ship. On the 12th of April, sixteen refugees, under Captain Lippincott, took Huddy to Gravelly Point, on the shore at the foot of the Navesink Hills, near the light-houses, and hung him upon a gallows made of three rails. He met his fate with composure. Upon the barrel on which he stood for execution, he wrote his will with an unflinching hand. His murderers falsely charged him with being concerned in the death of a desperate Tory, named Philip White, which occurred while Huddy was a prisoner in New York. To the breast of Huddy, the infamous Lippincott affixed the following label: "We, the refugees, having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to suffer, without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties; and thus begin, having made use of Captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view; and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee existing."

UP GOES HUDDY FOR PHILIP WHITE!"

Huddy's body was carried to Freehold, and buried with the honors of war. His death excited the greatest indignation throughout the country. Dr. Woodhull earnestly entreated Washington to retaliate, in order that such inhuman murders might be prevented. The commander-in-chief acquiesced, but, instead of executing a British officer at once, he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, assuring him that, unless the murderers of Huddy were given up, he should proceed to retaliate. Clinton refused compliance, and Captain Asgill, a young British officer (son of Sir Charles Asgill), who was a prisoner, was designated, by lot, for execution. In the mean while, Lippincott was tried by a court martial; and it appeared, in testimony, that Governor Franklin, president of the Board of Associated Loyalists, had given that officer verbal orders to hang Huddy. Lippincott was acquitted. Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, in a letter to Washington, reprobated the death of Huddy, and acquainted him that he had broken up the Board of Associated Loyalists. Washington had mercifully postponed the execution of young Asgill, and, in the mean time, had received a pathetic letter from Lady Asgill, his mother, and an intercessory one from Count De Vergennes, the French minister. He sent these letters to Congress, and, on the 5th of November, 1782, that body resolved, "That the commander-in-chief be, and hereby is, directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty." The tenderest sympathies of Washington had been awakened in the young man's behalf, and he had resolved to do all in his power, consistent with duty, to save him; and yet the unfair compiler of the *Pictorial History of England* (v., 489) accuses Washington of foul dishonor, and expresses his belief that, "as at the crisis when he put Major André to death, and refused him the last sad consolation he asked for, he was now rendered gloomy and irascible by the constant and degrading troubles and mortifications in which he was involved." Nothing can be more unjust than this sentence.

In a humorous poem, entitled *Rivington's Reflections*, Philip Freneau thus alludes to the case of Asgill. He makes Rivington (the Tory printer in New York) say,

"I'll petition the rebels (if York is forsaken)
For a place in their Zion which ne'er shall be shaken."

Remarkable Case of William Tennent.

His own Description of his Feelings.

Loss of his Papers.

physician, who was absent, was much grieved on his return. His skill detected symptoms of life, and he desired a postponement of burial. The body was cold and stiff; there were no signs of life to the common apprehension, and his brother insisted that he should be buried. But the entreaties of the physician prevailed; the funeral was postponed. On the third day after his apparent death, the people were assembled to bury him. The doctor, who had been at his side from the beginning, still insisted upon applying restoratives. The hour appointed for the burial arrived, and the brother of Tennent impatiently demanded that the funeral ceremonies should be performed. At that moment, to the alarm of all present, Mr. Tennent opened his eyes, gave a dreadful groan, and relapsed again into apparent lifelessness. This movement was twice repeated after an interval of an hour, when life permanently remained, and the patient slowly recovered.¹ Absolute forgetfulness of all knowledge marked his return to consciousness. He was totally ignorant of every transaction of his life previous to his sickness. He had to be taught reading, writing, and all things, as if he was a new-born child. At length he felt a sudden shock in his head, and from that moment his recollection was by degrees restored. These circumstances made a profound impression on the public mind, and became the theme of philosophical speculation and inquiry.

When the storm abated we left the church and proceeded to the battle-ground. The old parsonage is in the present possession of Mr. William T. Sutphen, who has allowed the parlor and study of Tennent and Woodhull to be used as a depository of grain and of agricultural implements! The careless neglect which permits a mansion so hallowed by religion and patriotic events to fall into utter ruin, is actual desecration, and much to be reprehended and deplored. The windows are destroyed; the roof is falling into the chambers; and in a few years not a vestige will be left of that venerable memento of the *field of Monmouth*.

We visited the spot where Monckton fell; the place of the causeway across the morass (now a small bridge upon the main road); and, after taking a general view of the whole ground of conflict, and sketching the picture on page 362, returned to Freehold in time to dine, and take the stage for the station at Jamesburg, on my way home. It had been to me a day of rarest interest and pleasure, notwithstanding the inclement weather; for no battle-field in our country has stronger claims to the reverence of the American heart than that of the plains of Monmouth.

I am sure they'll be clever; it seems their whole study;
They hung not young Agill for old Captain Huddy.
And it must be a truth that admits no denying—
If they spare us for murder they'll spare us for lying."

¹ Mr. Tennent has left on record the following graphic account of his feelings while his body was in a state of catalepsy:

"While I was conversing with my brother on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself, in an instant, in another state of existence, under the direction of a Superior Being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I know not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change, and thought, Well, blessed be God! I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears. I saw an innumerable host of happy beings surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs of thanksgiving and praise, with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng; on which he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, 'You must return to the earth.' This seemed like a sword through my heart. In an instant I recollect to have seen my brother standing before me disputing with the doctor. The three days during which I had appeared lifeless seemed to me not more than ten or twenty minutes. The idea of returning to this world of sorrow and trouble gave me such a shock, that I fainted repeatedly."—*Life of William Tennent*, by Elias Boudinot, LL.D.

Mr. Tennent said that, for three years, the ravishing sounds he had heard and the words that were uttered were not out of his ears. He was often importuned to tell what words were uttered, but declined, saying, "You will know them, with many other particulars, hereafter, as you will find the whole among my papers." Boudinot was with the army when Tennent died, and, before he could reach his house, the family, with all his effects, had gone with a son to South Carolina. He was taken sick about fifty miles from Charleston, and died among strangers. Although Boudinot was the executor of both father and son, he never discovered any trace of Tennent's papers.

The Pine Robbers.

The men and women of the Revolution, but a few years since numerous in the neighborhood of Freehold, have passed away, but the narrative of their trials during the war have left abiding records of patriotism upon the hearts of their descendants. I listened to many tales concerning the "Pine Robbers" and other Tory desperadoes of the time, who kept the people of Monmouth county in a state of continual alarm. Many noble deeds of daring were achieved by the tillers of the soil, and their mothers, wives, and sisters; and while the field of Monmouth attested the bravery and endurance of American soldiers, the inhabitants, whose households were disturbed on that Sabbath morning by the bugle and the cannon-peal, exhibited, in their daily course, the loftiest patriotism and manly courage. We will leave the task of recording the acts of their heroism to the pen of the local historian, and, hastening back to Valley Forge, resume the reins and depart for Paoli, for the short November day is fast waning.

¹ The *Pine Robbers* were a band of marauding Tories, who infested the large districts of pine woods in the lower part of Monmouth county, whence they made predatory excursions among the Whigs of the neighboring country. They burrowed caves in the sand-hills for places of shelter and retreat, on the borders of swamps, and, covering them with brush, effectually concealed them. From these dens they sallied forth at midnight to burn, plunder, and murder. Nor were the people safe in the daytime, for the scoundrels would often issue from their hiding-places, and fall upon the farmer in his field. The people were obliged to carry muskets while at their work, and their families were kept in a state of continual terror.

Of these depredators, the most prominent were Fenton, Fagan, Williams, Debow, West, and Carter. Fenton was the arch-fiend of the pandemonium of the Pines. He was a blacksmith of Freehold, large and muscular. He early took to the business of the Tories, and began his career of villainy by robbery. He plundered a tailor's shop in Freehold township. Already a committee of vigilance was organized. They sent Fenton word that, if he did not return the plunder, he should be hunted and shot. Intimidated, he sent back the clothing, with the following savage note appended:

"I have returned your damned rags. In a short time I am coming to burn your barns and houses, and roast you all like a pack of kittens!"

Fenton soon proceeded to put his threat into execution. One summer night, at the head of a gang of desperadoes, he attacked the dwelling of an aged man near Imlaytown, named Farr. Himself, wife, and daughter composed the family. They barricaded the door, and kept the scoundrels at bay for a while. Fenton finally broke in a portion of the door, and, firing through the opening, broke the leg of the old man with a musket-ball. They forced an entrance at last, murdered the wife, and then dispatched the helpless old man. The daughter, badly wounded, escaped, and the miscreants, becoming alarmed, fled without taking any plunder with them. Fenton was afterward shot by a young soldier of Lee's legion, then lying at Monmouth court-house. The robber had plundered and beaten a young man while on his way from a mill. He gave information to Lee, who detailed a sergeant and two soldiers to capture or destroy the villain. The young man, and the sergeant disguised as a countryman, took a seat in a wagon, while the two soldiers, armed, were concealed under some straw in the bottom of the vehicle, and proceeded toward the mill, expecting to meet Fenton on the road. From a low groggery among the Pines the robber came out, with a pistol, and commanded them to halt. He then inquired if they had brandy, to which an affirmative was given, and a bottle handed to him. While drinking, one of the soldiers, at a signal from the sergeant, arose, and shot the villain through the head. His body was thrown into the wagon, and conveyed in triumph to Freehold.

Fagan and West were also shot by the exasperated people. The body of the latter was suspended in chains, with hoop-iron bands around it, upon a chestnut by the road-side, about a mile from Freehold, on the way to Colt's Neck, where it was left to be destroyed by carrion birds.

The sufferings of the people from these marauders made such a deep impression, that the lapse of years could not efface it from the hearts of those who felt their scourge, and even the third generation of the families of Tories were objects of hate to some of the surviving sufferers. An old lady, ninety years of age, with whom I conversed at Boundbrook, became greatly excited while talking of what her family endured from the Pine Robbers and other Tories, and spoke indignantly of one or two families in Monmouth county who were descendants of Loyalists.

Departure from Valley Forge.

The Paoli Tavern.

Place where Americans were Massacred.

CHAPTER XIV.

"My country's standard waved on yonder height;
 Her red-cross banner England there display'd;
 And there the German, who, for foreign fight,
 Had left his own domestic hearth, and made
 War, with its horrors and its blood, a trade,
 Amid the battle stood; and, all the day,
 The bursting bomb, the furious cannonade,
 The bugle's martial notes, the musket's play,
 In mingled uproar wild resounded far away.

A pebble stone that on the war-field lay,
 And a wild rose that blossom'd brightly there,
 Were all the relics that I bore away
 To tell that I had trod the scene of war,
 When I had turn'd my footsteps homeward far.
 These may seem childish things to some; to me
 They shall be treasured ones, and, like the star
 That guides the sailor o'er the pathless sea,
 They shall lead back my thoughts, loved Brandywine, to thee!"

ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER.



E descended from the observatory at Valley Forge at one o'clock, and departed for the banks of the Brandywine by way of the Paoli¹ and West Chester. A veil of moisture, deepening every hour, November 30,
1848. obscured the sun and omened an approaching storm. I alighted on the borders of a wood a short distance from the Norris-town road, and sketched the remains of one of the American redoubts pictured on page 335, which lies, almost unknown, within the embrace of the forest. Thence to the place memorable as the scene of

the Paoli massacre, a distance of nearly nine miles, our road passed through a broken but well-cultivated country, spreading out into more gentle undulations on the left, toward the Delaware. The place of the massacre is about a quarter of a mile from the highway, east of the West Chester rail-way (which connects with the Columbia rail-way near "the Paoli"), a mile south of the Warren tavern, on the Lancaster turnpike, and a little more than two miles southwest from the Paoli tavern. We left our horse to dine upon corn at a farm-yard near, and, following a pathway northeast from the road, through the open fields, we came to the monument which stands over the remains of those who fell there on the night of the 20th of September, 1777. It is upon a small elevated plain, overlooking a fine rolling country toward the Brandywine, and covered with a forest when the event occurred, but now smiling with cultivation.² The sad story which makes the place memorable in our history is brief but touching.

I have mentioned in another chapter (page 386) the movements of the American army after the battle on the Brandywine, and the prevention of an engagement between the bel-ligerent forces near the Warren tavern by a violent storm of rain, which damaged their ammunition. When Washington withdrew and crossed the Schuylkill, with the main body

¹ The Paoli was one of the famous taverns on the old Lancaster turnpike. The *Spread Eagle*, the *Buck*, the *White Horse*, the *Black Horse*, the *Red Lion*, &c., were all famous among travelers upon the Lancaster and Harrisburg roads. Governor Pownall (member of Parliament during the period of the Revolution), who traveled the roads in 1754, mentions several of these small hamlets that had grown up near some of the old taverns.

² The land is owned chiefly by Mr. Joseph Rodgers, whose residence is not far distant.

Wayne's Encampment near the Paoli.

British Attack upon his Detachment.

The Massacre.

of the army, at Parker's Ford, he left General Wayne, with about fifteen hundred men and four pieces of cannon (to be joined by General Smallwood and Colonel Gist the next day¹), with directions to annoy the enemy's rear, then posted near Tredyffrin church, and to attempt to cut off his baggage train. Wayne encamped two or three miles southwest of the British lines, in a secluded spot, away from the public roads, near the place where the monument now stands. The vigilance of British sentinels did not discover him, but the treachery of Tories revealed his numbers and place of encampment to the commander of the enemy. Howe determined to surprise Wayne, and for that purpose dispatched General Grey (the subsequent murderer at Tappan and plunderer on the New England coasts) to steal upon the patriot camp at night and destroy them. Wayne had intimations of this intended movement, and, though doubting its truth, he neglected no precaution. It was a dark and stormy night. Wayne ordered his men to sleep on their arms, with their ammunition under their coats. With two regiments and a body of light infantry, Grey marched stealthily, in two divisions, toward midnight,^a through the woods and up a narrow defile below the Paoli, and gained Wayne's left at about one o'clock in the morning.^b The divisions conjoined in the Lancaster road, near Wayne's encampment. The "no-flint general" (see note on page 196) had given his usual order to rush upon the patriots with fixed bayonets, without firing a shot, and to *give no quarters!* Several of the American pickets near the highway were silently massacred in the gloom. These being missed by the patrolling officer, his suspicions that an enemy was near were awakened, and he hastened to the tent of Wayne. The general immediately paraded his men. Unfortunately, he made the movement in the light of his own camp-fires, instead of forming them in the dark, back of the encampment. By the light of these fires Grey was directed where to attack with the best chance of success.² In silence, but with the fierceness of tigers, the enemy leaped from the thick gloom upon the Americans, who knew not from what point to expect an attack. The patriots discharged several volleys, but so sudden and violent was the attack that their column was at once broken into fragments. They fled in confusion in the direction of Chester. One hundred and fifty Americans were killed and wounded in this onslaught, some of whom, it is said, were cruelly butchered after ceasing to resist, and while begging for quarter; and but for the coolness and skill of Wayne, his whole command must have been killed or taken prisoners. He promptly rallied a few companies, ordered Colonel Hampton to wheel the line, and with the cavalry and a portion of the infantry, he gallantly covered a successful retreat. Grey swept the American camp, captured between seventy and eighty men, including several subordinate officers, a great number of small-arms, two pieces of cannon, and eight wagons loaded with baggage and stores. The loss of the British was inconsiderable; only one captain of light infantry and three privates were killed, and four men wounded. General Smallwood was only a mile distant at the time of the engagement, and made an unsuccessful attempt to march to the relief of Wayne. His raw militia were too deficient in discipline to make a sudden movement, and, before he could reach the scene of conflict, Grey had completed his achievement, and was on his way toward the British camp. Falling in with a party of the enemy retiring from the pursuit of Wayne, Smallwood's militia instantly fled in great confusion, and were not rallied until a late hour the next day.

The dead bodies of fifty-three Americans were found on the field the next morning, and were interred upon the spot, in one grave, by the neighboring farmers. For forty years their resting-place was marked by a simple heap of stones, around which the plow of the agriculturist made its furrows nearer and nearer every season. At length the "Republican Artillerists" of Chester county patriotically resolved to erect a monument to their memory,

¹ General Smallwood was advancing with 1150 Maryland militia, and Colonel Gist with 700.

² A Hessian sergeant, boasting of the exploits of that night, exultingly exclaimed, "What a running about, barefoot, and half clothed, and in the light of their own fires! These showed us where to chase them, while they could not see us. We killed three hundred of the rebels with the bayonet. I stuck them myself like so many pigs, one after another, until the blood ran out of the touch-hole of my musket."

Chaplain David Jones.

His Address to the Troops at Ticonderoga.

and on the 20th of September, 1817, the fortieth anniversary of the event, through the aid of their fellow-citizens, they reared the memento delineated in the engraving.¹ It is com-

¹ On that occasion the Reverend David Jones, an eminent Baptist clergyman, who was Wayne's chaplain, and with him at the time of the massacre, was present and made an address. He was then past eighty years of age.

DAVID JONES was born in White Clay Creek Hundred, Newcastle county, Delaware, on the 12th of May, 1736. His ancestors came from Wales in the early part of the last century, and settled at *The Welsh Tract*. Mr. Jones was educated for the ministry by the Reverend Isaac Eaton, of Hopewell, New Jersey. He was for many years pastor of the upper (Baptist) Freehold church in New Jersey, from which place he proceeded to the Northwestern Territory in 1772 and 1773, on a Gospel mission to the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. He was unsuccessful, and, after enduring many hardships, he returned to his charge at Freehold. He afterward published an account of his mission. One of his companions, while navigating the Ohio in a canoe from Fort Pitt, was the celebrated George Rogers Clarke. He early espoused the patriot cause, and became so obnoxious to the Tories, was hourly expected (October 20th, 1776) from Crown Point, he delivered a characteristic discourse to the regiment, which had a powerful effect upon them.* Chaplain Jones served through two campaigns under



David Jones

that, believing his life to be in danger, he left New Jersey, and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1775, in charge of the Great Valley Baptist church. On the occasion of the Continental Fast, soon afterward observed, he preached a sermon before Colonel Dewee's regiment, entitled "Defensive War in a Just Cause Sinless." It was published, and, being extensively circulated throughout the colonies, produced a salutary effect. In 1776, Mr. Jones received the appointment of chaplain to a Pennsylvania regiment under Colonel St.

Clair, which was ordered to the Northern Department. He was on duty with St. Clair at Ticonderoga, where, when the enemy

* I have before me a printed copy of that address, which was published soon afterward. I print it here as a favorable specimen of the manner in which the American soldiers were addressed by their chaplains.

"ADDRESS

"To General St. Clair's Brigade at Ticonderoga, when the Enemy were hourly expected, October 20, 1776.

"MY COUNTRYMEN, FELLOW-SOLDIERS, AND FRIENDS,

"I am sorry that during this campaign I have been favored with so few opportunities of addressing you on subjects of the greatest importance both with respect to this life and that which is to come; but what is past can not be recalled, and now time will not admit an enlargement, as we have the greatest reason to expect the advancement of our enemies as speedily as Heaven will permit. [The wind blew to the north, strongly.] Therefore, at present, let it suffice to bring to your remembrance some necessary truths.

"It is our *common faith*, and a very just one too, that all events on earth are under the notice of that God in whom we live, move, and have our being; therefore we must believe that, in this important struggle with the worst of enemies, he has assigned us our post here at Ticonderoga. Our situation is such that, if properly defended, we shall give our enemies a fatal blow, and in great measure prove the *means of the salvation* of North America.

"Such is our present case, that we are fighting for all that is near and *dear* to us, while our enemies are engaged in the worst of causes, their design being to subjugate, plunder, and enslave a free people that have done them no harm. Their tyrannical views are so glaring, their cause so horribly bad, that there still remain too much goodness and humanity in Great Britain to engage unanimously against us, therefore they have been obliged (and at a most amazing expense, too) to hire the assistance of a barbarous, mercenary people, that would cut your throats for the small reward of sixpence. No doubt these have hopes of being our task-masters, and would rejoice at our calamities.

"Look, oh! look, therefore, at your respective states, and anticipate the consequences if these vassals are suffered to enter! It would fail the most fruitful imagination to represent, in a proper light, what anguish, what horror, what distress would spread over the whole! See, oh! see the dear wives of your bosoms forced from their peaceful habitations, and perhaps used with such indecency that modesty would forbid the description. Behold the fair virgins of your land, whose benevolent souls are now filled with a thousand good wishes and hopes of seeing their *admirers* return home crowned with victory, would not only meet with a doleful disappointment, but also with such insults and abuses that would induce their tender hearts to pray for the shades of death. See your children exposed as vagabonds to all the calamities of this life! Then, oh! then adieu to all felicity this side the grave!

"Now all these calamities may be prevented if our God be for us—and who can doubt of this who observes the point in which the wind now blows—if you will only acquit yourselves like men, and with firmness of mind go forth against your enemies, resolving either to return with victory or to die gloriously. Every one that may fall in this dispute will be justly esteemed a martyr to liberty, and his name will be had in precious *memory* while the love of freedom remains in the breasts of men. All whom God will favor to see a glorious victory, will return to their respective states with every mark of honor, and be received with joy and gladness of heart by all friends to liberty and lovers of mankind.

"As our present case is singular, I hope, therefore, that the candid will excuse me, if I now conclude with an uncommon

The Paoli Monument.

The Inscriptions upon it.

posed of a blue clouded marble pedestal, surmounted by a white marble pyramid. The whole monument is about nine feet high, and stands over the center of the broad grave where the remains of the patriots repose. A peach-tree shades its eastern side. Around it, in oblong form, is a massive stone wall five feet in height, covered with stucco. Upon the four sides of the pedestal are appropriate inscriptions,¹ somewhat defaced by the villain-hand of wanton destructiveness, or the marauding relic-seeker.

Here, far away from the hum of towns and cities, rest



PAOLI MONUMENT.

General Gates, and was chaplain to a brigade under Wayne in the autumn of 1777. He was with that officer at the "Paoli massacre," and narrowly escaped death. He had been in the battle at the Brandywine a few days before, and was in the engagement at Germantown. He accompanied the army to White-marsh and Valley Forge; was with Wayne in the battle at Monmouth, and in all his subsequent campaigns, until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the autumn of 1781. He was so active in the cause of freedom, that a reward was offered for him by General Howe, and a detachment was sent to the Great Valley, on one occasion, to arrest him.* At the close of the war he retired to his farm and church.

When General Wayne took command of the army in the Northwestern Territory, against the Indians, in 1794, Mr. Jones was appointed his chaplain, and accompanied him. When the war of 1812 broke out, he again entered the army, being then *seventy-six years old*, and served under Generals Brown and Wilkinson until the close of that contest. His last public act was to address the people assembled to dedicate the Paoli Monument. He died on the 5th of February, 1820, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Great Valley church-yard, in sight of Valley Forge. The portrait here given I copied from an excellent cabinet picture of the chaplain in the possession of his grandson, Horatio Gates Jones, Jr., of Philadelphia, who kindly furnished me with the materials for this brief sketch of the public services of that eminent patriot and divine.

¹ The following are the inscriptions:

NORTH SIDE.—"The atrocious massacre which this stone commemorates was perpetrated by British troops under the immediate command of Major-general Grey."

WEST SIDE.—"Sacred to the memory of the Patriots who on this spot fell a sacrifice to British barbarity, during the struggle for American Independence, on the night of the 20th September, 1777."

SOUTH SIDE.—"Here repose the remains of fifty-three American soldiers, who were the victims of cold-

address, in substance principally extracted from the writings of the servants of God in the Old Testament; though, at the same time, it is freely acknowledged that I am not possessed of any similar power either of blessing or cursing.

"1. Blessed be that man who is possessed of true love of liberty; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"2. Blessed be that man who is a friend to the common rights of mankind; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"3. Blessed be that man who is a friend to the United States of America; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"4. Blessed be that man who will use his utmost endeavor to oppose the tyranny of Great Britain, and to vanquish all her forces invading North America; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"5. Blessed be that man who is resolved never to submit to Great Britain; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"6. Blessed be that man who in the present dispute esteems not his life too good to fall a sacrifice in defense of his country; let his posterity, if any he has, be blessed with riches, honor, virtue, and true religion; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"Now, on the other hand, as far as is consistent with the Holy Scriptures, let all these blessings be turned into curses to him who deserts the noble cause in which we are engaged, and turns his back to the enemy before he receives proper orders to retreat; and let all the people say, *Amen*.

"Let him be abhorred by all the United States of America.

"Let faintness of heart and fear never forsake him on earth.

"Let him be a *magor missabile*, a terror to himself and all around him.

"Let him be accursed in his outgoing, and cursed in his incoming; cursed in lying down, and cursed in uprising; cursed in basket, and cursed in store.

"Let him be cursed in all his connections, till his *wretched* head with dishonor is laid low in the dust; and let all the soldiers say, *Amen*.

"And may the God of all grace, in whom we live, enable us, in defense of our country, to acquit ourselves like men, to his honor and praise. *Amen and Amen*."

* On one occasion, while reconnoitering alone, he saw a dragoon dismount and enter a house for refreshments. Mr. Jones boldly abstracted the horseman's pistols, and, going into the house, claimed him as his prisoner. The dragoon was unarmed, and was obliged to obey the orders of his captor, to mount and ride into the American camp. The event caused great merriment, and Wayne laughed immoderately at the idea of his chaplain's capturing a British dragoon.

The Dead of Paoli.

Journey to West Chester.

Departure for the Brandywine Battle-ground.

"A sacred band;
They take their sleep together, while the year
Comes with its early flowers to deck their grave,
And gathers them again as winter frowns.

Here let us meet, and, while our motionless lips
Give not a sound, and all around is mute—
In the deep Sabbath of a heart too full
For words or tears—here let us strew the sod
With the first flowers of spring, and make to them
An offering of the plenty nature gives,
And they have rendered ours—perpetually."

PERCIVAL.

After making a sketch of the monument, and dining upon crackers, cheese, and apples—using the plinth of the pedestal for a table—we resumed the reins, and retraced the Lancaster road as far as the Paoli tavern, where a branch road leads to West Chester. Here I parted company with Mr. Agnew, who returned to Philadelphia in the cars, and I journeyed alone toward the Brandywine. Although the fields were shorn, and the orchards were bare of fruit and foliage, yet, on every side, were evidences of fertility and abundance attested by fine farm-houses, spacious stone barns, and numerous plethoric barracks. The country is beautifully diversified and well watered; clear streams, without bridges, intersect the highway in many places. I reached West Chester at dark, distant eight miles from the Paoli tavern, having passed, on the way, near the residence of General Wayne.

West Chester is the seat of justice of Chester county. It is in Goshen township, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and five south of the Great Valley. It is a pleasant village, containing a population of about three thousand, who are noted for their intelligence and general refinement. It was a mere hamlet when the armies passed by after the battle on the Brandywine,¹ a few miles distant; and there are now not many mementoes of the event in existence. Eye-witnesses have gone down into the grave, and the old dwellings have given place to more modern structures, except the Turk's Head tavern, and one or two other buildings. At Guss's Inn, where I tarried for the night, I met Mr. Joseph Townsend, a nephew of the late Joseph Townsend, of Baltimore, who wrote an account of the battle of Brandywine from his own personal recollections, and which was published in 1846, with an accurate survey of the scene of action, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. Townsend, who is familiar with every locality connected with the battle, kindly offered to go over the ground with me the next morning.

WAYNE'S RESIDENCE.²

I breakfasted by candle-light, and, at seven o'clock, we were on our way to Jefferis's Ford, on the Brandywine, two and a half miles from West Chester. Thick clouds covered the heavens, and a biting northeast wind, bearing a few tiny snowflakes and pellets of soft hail, evinced the presence of winter. The old ford, where the division of the British army under Howe and Cornwallis crossed the Brandywine, was eight

blooded cruelty in the well-known 'Massacre at Paoli,' while under the command of General Anthony Wayne, an officer whose military conduct, bravery, and humanity were equally conspicuous throughout the Revolutionary War."

EAST SIDE.—"This memorial, in honor of Revolutionary Patriotism, was erected September 20th, 1817, by the REPUBLICAN ARTILLERISTS of Chester county, aided by the contributions of their fellow-citizens."

¹ The Brandywine Creek rises near the boundary of Lancaster and Chester counties, Pennsylvania, and flows through Delaware. After uniting with Christiana Creek, it enters the Delaware River, forming the harbor of Wilmington. It is navigable as high as Brandywine village.

² This is copied from Day's *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*. The house is of stone, and ranked among the first country mansions of the period. It is about a mile and a half south of the Paoli tavern.

Jefferis's Ford.

Sconnel Town, Osborne's Hill, and Birmingham Meeting-house.

or ten rods above the bridge which now spans the stream. On the high ground upon the opposite shore, the old stone house of Emmon Jefferis is yet standing. In it the merchants of Wilmington, alarmed for the safety of their goods, stored a large quantity of wine and other liquors, believing that the line of march of the British army would be through their own town, and not as high up the stream as at this place. For reasons which we shall presently consider, Cornwallis and his division crossed the Brandywine at this ford, and, discovering the Madeira wine in Jefferis's house, made themselves merry at the expense of the "rebel merchants." Howe took Jefferis with him as a guide to conduct him toward Birmingham meeting-house.

From Jefferis's Ford we proceeded toward the Birmingham meeting-house, famous in the annals of the Brandywine bat-



STONE HOUSE AT JEFFERIS'S FORD.

tle as the spot near which the most sanguinary conflict took place. We traversed the road along which Cornwallis marched over the high ground eastward of the Brandywine, passing the site of Sconnel Town,² Strodes's Mill, and the field where the British army formed for action on the southern slopes of Osborne's Hill. We were thoroughly chilled when we reached Birmingham meeting-house, delineated on the next page, situated about four miles below Jefferis's Ford. There we found a comfortable shelter from the piercing wind under

VIEW AT JEFFERIS'S FORD.¹

its spacious shed, where we sat down with Bowen's and Futhey's *Plan of the Battle-ground*³ before us, and contemplated the memorable events which occurred in this vicinity.

The British fleet under Lord Howe, bearing a land force eighteen thousand strong, under the command of his brother, General Sir William Howe, sailed up the Chesapeake, and landed at Turkey Point, on the west side of the River Elk, about eleven miles from Elkton, at its head, on the 25th of August, 1777. Howe's destination was Philadelphia. He had • July 23, 1777, left Sandy Hook⁴ with the intention of passing up the Delaware, but, when at the capes of that river, he was informed of the obstructions which the Americans had placed in its channel, and he proceeded to the Chesapeake.⁴ The two days and nights after

¹ This view is from the easterly bank of the Brandywine. The ford was at the mouth of the little creek seen issuing from the small bridge on the left. The Brandywine here is broad and shallow, with quite a rapid current.

² Sconnel Town was a hamlet of two or three dwellings, one or two shops, and a school-house, situated a short distance from Jefferis's Ford, on the road to the Birmingham meeting-house. That building having been taken possession of by the Americans for an hospital, the Quakers who worshiped there held their meetings in a wheel-wright's shop at Sconnel Town. They were holding a week-day meeting there on the day of the battle. Not a vestige of Sconnel Town may now be seen, except the remains of a cellar on the easterly side of the road.

³ This plan is from an actual survey made during the summer of 1846, under the direction of John S. Bowen and J. Smith Futhey, of Chester. The position of the forces in action, many of the houses, and other localities as they existed, was ascertained from a map drawn by officers of the British army, and published a few months after the battle (in April, 1778). De Chastellux, who visited the battle-ground with La Fayette in 1781, mentions the fact that he had one of these English maps as a guide. The roads of the present day, and the relative position to them of the houses, woods, &c., of the Revolution, are carefully laid down upon the map of Bowen and Futhey, which forms the basis of the one printed on page 377 of this work.

⁴ On the day when Sir William Howe entered the Chesapeake, he received a letter from Lord George Germaine, dated May 18th, giving him the first intimation that aid would be expected from him in favor

Landing of the British at the Head of Elk. Washington's Preparations to meet them. March of Americans from Philadelphia.

his landing were stormy, and prevented any considerable movement being made before the 28th, when the British commander-in-chief, with the first and second brigades of light troops and reserve, marched to the Head of Elk. Major-general Grey, with the third brigade and a battalion of Highlanders, crossed the Elk on the 30th. The fourth brigade, under General Agnew, with a Hessian brigade, under Knyp-
 August hausen, crossed, on the 31st,¹ to Cecil court-house, whence they proceeded on the east side of the river, and joined the forces
 September 3. under Howe on Gray's Hill, about two miles eastward of Elkton. This force had remained at the landing to cover the debarkation of the stores and artillery. General Grant, with a suitable force, remained at the Head of Elk to maintain the communication with the shipping.



BIRMINGHAM MEETING-HOUSE.²

Washington, as we have seen, was perplexed by the movements of Howe, being uncertain of his destination. As soon, however, as he was informed that the British fleet was off the capes of the Chesapeake, he turned his attention in that direction. The detachments in New Jersey, whom General Sullivan had employed in unsuccessful enterprises against Staten Island, were recalled, and the whole army left Philadelphia for Wilmington. General Stephen, with his division, with that of General Lincoln, who had been ordered to join Schuyler at the north, first proceeded to Chester, in which vicinity the militia of Lower Pennsylvania and Delaware were gathering in large numbers, for the country was thoroughly aroused.

The divisions of Stirling, Sullivan, and Greene (the latter composed of the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weeden), with Morgan's corps, and Bland's regiment of horse, accompanied by Washington in person, left Philadelphia on the morning of the 24th of August, and encamped at Red Clay Creek, a few miles below Wilmington, the next day. The
 August 25, principal portion of the American cavalry were under the immediate command of 1777. Count Pulaski. General Nash, with Proctor's artillery, embarked in flat-boats upon the

Thomas Proctor

men, including about eighteen hundred of the Pennsylvania militia.

Washington established his head-quarters at Wilmington, and made immediate preparations to oppose the march of the enemy, he having been informed, by scouts, of their arrival at the head of Elk. The Pennsylvania and Delaware militia—the former under General Armstrong, the latter under General Rodney—were ordered to press forward to the head

of Burgoyne, then pressing forward toward the Hudson from Canada. He immediately sent a message to Sir Henry Clinton, who was left in command at New York, to act in conjunction with Burgoyne, if circumstances should permit. The result we have considered.

¹ Manuscript letter from General Agnew to his wife, dated "Camp on the River Elk, August 30th, 1777." In this epistle he wrote, "I have not had the happiness to receive any letter since the one which brought me the plan of a house, in which I trust in God yet to pass many, many happy years in the society of my worthy Betty and the two dear children, as the best and true real reward for all we have undergone." Alas! five weeks afterward he was slain in the battle at Germantown, and wife and children saw him no more.

² This is a view of the southerly front of the meeting-house. The building is very substantially built of stone. Much of it is serpentine, which abounds in that region, and of which several houses are constructed. I was informed that the stains made by the blood of the wounded carried in there at the time of the battle are yet visible upon the floor. The Hicksite party hold present possession of the house; the Orthodox have built a place of worship near.

Encampment on Red Clay Neck.

Howe's Proclamation.

Retreat of the Americans across the Brandywine.

of Elk, and to secure the stores deposited there. In this, however, they failed, for, before their arrival, the British army had debarked, and all the stores, among which was a large quantity of salt,¹ fell into their hands. Generals Greene and Weeden thoroughly reconnoitered the country between Wilmington and the Elk; and Washington himself rode through heavy rains to the head of that river, to make personal observations. An eligible place was selected by Greene for the American army to encamp, within six miles of Howe's position on Gray's Hill; but, before information of the selection reached Washington, it had been determined in a council of war to take a position on Red Clay Neck, about half way between Wilmington and Christiana, with the left of the army on Christiana Creek, and the right extending toward Chad's Ford, upon the Brandywine. Greene's sagacity foresaw the hazard of the chosen position, and he expressed his opinion that the Americans must abandon it on the approach of the enemy. The sequel proved the correctness of his opinion.

Distressed for want of horses, hemmed in by strong parties of the American militia, and almost daily annoyed by the attacks of Captain Henry Lee's and other smaller detachments of cavalry upon his pickets, Howe did not move forward until the 3d of September. On the 27th of August he issued a proclamation to the people, assuring them that he did not come to make war upon the peaceable, but to put down the rebellious; that private property should be respected; that their persons should be secure, and that pardon should be extended to all who should return to their allegiance, and surrender themselves to any detachment of the royal forces within a specified time. But the people of Lower Pennsylvania had heard of the falsity of professions put forth in his proclamation to the inhabitants of New Jersey the year previous, and his "Declaration," as he termed it, produced very little effect in his favor. The people had learned to suspect the flattering words of British officials, whether in Parliament or in the camp, and, instead of "remaining quietly in their houses," they flocked to the standard of the patriots, and annoyed the common enemy on every side. The advance of the royal forces toward the Brandywine was marked by a series of skirmishes, in which the Americans made a number of prisoners.²

Cornwallis, with Knyphausen, at the head of one division of the royal army, moved forward and encamped above Pencader, where a brief but severe skirmish ensued between the enemy and Maxwell's regiment of foot, formed in ambuscade, in which the patriots lost forty in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was somewhat less. On the 8th, General Grant, having rejoined the army with the tents, baggage, and stores, the British moved forward by way of Newark, and took post within four miles of the right of the American encampment, extending their left far up into the country. A strong column made a feint of attacking the American front, and, after some menacing maneuvering, halted at Milltown, within two miles of the center of the Americans. Washington, believing it to be the design of Howe to turn the American right, cross the Brandywine, cut off their communication with Philadelphia, and thus hem them in, upon a tongue of land, between the British fleet and army, saw at once the peril of his position, and, pursuant to Greene's prediction, broke up his encampment, and crossed the Brandywine at Chad's Ford, at about two o'clock on the morning of the 9th. On the same evening, the British marched forward in two columns. Knyphausen, with the left, encamped at New Garden and Kennet Square; Cornwallis, with the right, was posted below, at Hockhesson meeting-house.³ On the following morning the two divisions met at

¹ Salt was a scarce, yet indispensable article during the war. In his official dispatch, dated August 25th, 1777, Washington, alluding to the efforts to save the stores, wrote, "Among others, there is a considerable parcel of salt. Every attempt will be made to save that." During the winter encampment at Morristown in 1780, salt was eight dollars a bushel, and it was difficult to procure it even at that price.

² On the 28th of August the Americans took between thirty and forty prisoners; and, on that evening, twelve deserters from the British navy and eight from the army came into camp. On the 29th, Captain Lee took twenty-nine prisoners.

³ The column of Cornwallis was composed of two battalions of grenadiers, two of light infantry, the Hessian grenadiers, part of the seventy-first regiment, and two British brigades; in all about 13,000 men.

Approach of the British to the Brandywine.

The Fords of that Stream.

Plan of the Battle.

Kennet Square, and at evening advanced to within a mile of Welsh's tavern, then a public house of considerable note, three miles east of Kennet.¹



Knyphausen's division consisted of two British brigades, the residue of the Hessians, and Wemy's corps of Rangers; in all about 5000.

¹ This tavern, and also the Kennet (Quaker) meeting-house, still exist. The reader will better understand the position of places, as well as the movement of the armies, by reference to the above map. Kennet Square, a small village, is about seven miles west of the Brandywine, upon the high road from Chad's Ford. Welsh's tavern is about three miles east of the Square, and half a mile beyond is the Kennet meeting-house and grave-yard, noted on the map. The several fords on the Brandywine, mentioned in the narrative, were located as follows: First above Brandywine village was Pyles's Ford; the next was Chad's Ford; one mile above was Brinton's; two miles above this was Jones's, on the Street road, and Wistar's (now Shunk's), about a mile above Jones's. These were below the forks of the creek. On the north branch was Buffington's (now Brinton's), Jefferis's, six miles above Chad's Ford, and Taylor's Ford, about half a mile higher, where the old Lancaster road crossed. On the west branch was Trimble's Ford, about a mile above the forks, and five miles from the British encampment near Welsh's tavern.—See Bowen and Futhey's *Sketch of the Battle of Brandywine*, explained below.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.—This plan, alluded to on page 374, note 3, was carefully drawn, from those surveys, by Edward Armstrong, Esq., the recording secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and published by that association. A A, denote the column under the command of Lord Cornwallis, after having crossed the forks of the Brandywine. C, two squadrons of dragoons, which were not employed in the action. E E, the first general attack of the enemy's guards and grenadiers. F, Deborre's brigade, on the right, forced by the enemy. G, G, the British and Hessian grenadiers entangled in a wood. H H, march of the enemy toward and beyond Dilworth. The position of the Americans when the battle commenced is named on the plan. I, indicates the ravine or defile where Greene checked the enemy until night. No. 28 denotes the site of a blacksmith's shop which stood near the defile, but now destroyed.

II.

B B

Position of the American Army on the Brandywine.

Movement of the British.

Localities of the Battle-ground.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the day of the battle on the Brandywine, the main strength of the American army was posted on the heights east of Chad's Ford, and commanding that passage of the creek. The brigades of Muhlenberg and Weeden, which composed Greene's division, occupied a position directly east of the ford; Wayne's division and Proctor's artillery (*ooo* on the map) were posted upon the brow of an eminence near Chad's house (printed on page 386), immediately above the ford; and the brigades of Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen, which formed the right wing, extended some distance up the river, on the left of the main body. At Pyles's Ford, two miles below, General Armstrong was posted with one thousand Pennsylvania militia, to guard that pass. General Maxwell, with about one thousand light troops, took post on the heights upon the west side of the river, about a mile from Chad's Ford, to dispute that passage.

September 11,
1777.

At daybreak, the column under Cornwallis moved along the Lancaster road, which, for several miles, ran nearly parallel with the Brandywine. General Howe was with this division. Knyphausen and his command moved forward at nine o'clock. A dense fog enshrouded the country, and the scouting parties of both armies often came in close contact before they were aware of their proximity. From behind the walls of the grave-yard of the Kennet meeting-house, and also of houses, trees, and clumps of bushes, par-

a a, indicates the column under Knyphausen, in march from Kennet meeting-house toward Chad's Ford. *b b*, the heights and woods occupied by Maxwell and his troops. *d*, British riflemen behind a house, supported by one hundred men from Stern's brigade. *e*, the Queen's Rangers pursuing Maxwell, when he was driven from the woods. *f*, Near *h*, which denotes a valley, were four pieces of cannon, with the forty-ninth regiment, to support the attack of the advanced troops, who crossed the ford in the afternoon, under the fire of Wayne's batteries at *m m*. *n*, position of Knyphausen's column from half after ten in the morning until he crossed the river. *ooo*, the position of Wayne's troops near Chad's house. *q*, march of the enemy to the ford, in the face of a cannonade from Wayne's batteries. Chad's Ford is named on the map. The position of the Americans is seen on the Chester road, a little to the left of Rocky Hill. Knyphausen took position at *u*, where he remained during the night after the battle.



HOWE'S HEAD-QUARTERS.*

been J. Bolton's, not standing. 12. Isaac Garrett's, not standing. 13. Abraham Darlington's, now Clement Biddle's. 14. John Bennett's, not standing. 15. Edward Brinton, now Edward B. Darlington. 16. George Brinton's, now Ziba Darlington's; built in 1704. Howe's head-quarters, given above, are denoted on the map by a parallelogram upon the left of the *New Road*, near the right-hand corner of the map. The house is in the present possession of George F. Gil-



LA FAYETTE'S QUARTERS.

The following references, taken from Bowen and Futhey's map, show the names of the occupants of houses in the vicinity when the battle occurred, and also the names of the occupants in 1846, two years before I visited the ground:

1. George Strode's, now Jonathan Paxson's. 2, now Dr. A. L. Elwyn's. 4. Widow Susannah Davis's, the site now occupied by the house of Aaron Sharpless. 5. Widow of John Davis, not standing. 6. Widow of James Davis, now occupied by Hibbert Davis. 7. William Jones, now Buntun Jones, his grandson. 8. Isaac Davis's, now Abraham Darlington's. 9. John Woodward's, not standing. 10. Richard Evanson's, now Lewis Brinton's. 11. Supposed to have pin. It was owned by Israel Gilpin when Howe had possession of it. 19. John Henderson, near Harlan Webb's house. 21. Gideon Gilpin's, now William Painter's; the head-quarters of La Fayette.† 22. Benjamin Ring's, now Joseph P. Harvey's; Washington's head-quarters. 23. William Harvey's, not standing. 24. Davis's tavern, now in ruins. 25. John Chad's, still standing. 26. Amos's, not standing.

* This house is situated upon a new road, one mile south-southwest of Dilworth. This view is from the field in front.

† There is some doubt about La Fayette having occupied this house. De Chastellux, who, in 1780, visited the battle-ground in company with La Fayette, says, "M. De La Fayette, attended by the other travelers, went further on to ask for quarters at a Quaker's called Benjamin Ring, at whose house he lodged with General Washington the night before the battle."—*Travels in America*, i., 237. This building is about a mile and a half east of Chad's Ford.

Skirmishing on the March toward the Brandywine.

Engagement near Chad's Ford.

Skirmishing on the Brandywine.

ties of militia kept up an annoying fire upon the advancing enemy. Knyphausen, however, pushed forward toward Chad's Ford. He sent a strong advance party to dislodge Maxwell. They met at about ten o'clock, and a severe engagement ensued. Maxwell was driven back to the verge of the stream at the ford, where he was re-enforced. Turning upon his pursuers, he made a furious charge. The ranks of the enemy were thrown into confusion, and fell back upon Knyphausen's main column. Unable to cope with Maxwell in open battle without bringing a larger force into action, Knyphausen sent a detachment through the woods to make an attack upon his flank. Perceiving this movement, Maxwell retreated across the stream, leaving the whole west bank of the Brandywine in possession of the enemy.¹

Knyphausen now brought forward his ordnance, and from the brow of the hill upon the west side of the stream he kept up a strong cannonade upon the Americans, without attempting to cross. The fire was returned with spirit by Proctor's artillery. Knyphausen did not cross the Brandywine, because he was instructed by Howe to amuse the Americans

VIEW AT CHAD'S FORD.²

with feigned efforts to make the passage of the ford, until Cornwallis should cross above, and gain the right and rear of the patriots. This accomplished, Knyphausen was directed to push across Chad's Ford, when the two divisions of the royal army would make a simultaneous attack. During these maneuvers of Knyphausen, several detachments of the Americans crossed the river, and boldly attacked his flanking parties and those who were laboring to throw up intrenchments. Captains Porterfield and Waggoner having secured a footing on the western side, General Maxwell recrossed the stream with a considerable force, drove the enemy from the ground, killed about thirty men, and seized a quantity of intrenching tools, with which they were constructing a battery. Knyphausen sent an overwhelming force against them, which soon drove the Americans back to their lines on the east side of the river.

General Sullivan, who commanded the right wing of the Americans, was ordered to guard the fords as high up as Buffington's, just above the forks of the Brandywine. He sent

¹ The loss of the enemy in this engagement was estimated at about three hundred; that of the Americans was trifling.

² This view is from the east bank of the Brandywine, looking southwest. The ford was about ten rods above the present bridge. Its place is indicated in the picture by the hollow in front of the tree on the extreme left. The wooded height seen on the opposite side of the river is the place where Knyphausen's artillery was planted.

Sullivan deceived by conflicting intelligence.

Washington's Suspense.

Passage of the Brandywine by the British Army.

scouting parties in various directions to observe the movements of the enemy. Colonel Moses Hazen¹ was stationed with a considerable force at Jones's Ford. Between nine and ten in the morning, Colonel Theodoric Bland,² with some light horse, crossed the Brandywine at Jones's Ford, and discovered a portion of Cornwallis's division marching toward the west branch, at Trimble's Ford. Bland dispatched a messenger to Sullivan with the information, which was confirmed by another dispatch from Colonel Ross (dated at "Great Valley road at eleven o'clock"), who was in the rear of Cornwallis's division, informing Sullivan that "five thousand men, with sixteen or eighteen field-pieces, were on the march for Taylor's and Jefferis's Fords." Similar intelligence was sent by Colonel Hazen. These accounts reached Washington, from Sullivan, between eleven and twelve o'clock. The commander-in-chief immediately ordered Sullivan to pass the Brandywine and attack Cornwallis, while he, with the main division, crossed, and engaged Knyphausen at Chad's Ford. General Greene, of Washington's division, was ordered to cross the river above the ford and gain Knyphausen's rear. Before these several movements could be executed, counter intelligence was received by Sullivan from Major Spear of the militia, posted upon the forks of the Brandywine, who informed him that there was no appearance of an enemy in that quarter. Spear's information was confirmed by Sergeant Tucker, who had been sent out in that direction expressly to gain information. Relying upon this intelligence, Sullivan halted. He dispatched a messenger to Washington with the information, and the meditated attack upon the enemy at Chad's Ford was abandoned. Greene, who had crossed with his advanced guard, was recalled.

While Washington was thus kept in suspense by conflicting intelligence, Cornwallis gained his coveted advantage. He made a circuitous march of seventeen miles, keeping beyond the American patrols, crossed the west branch of the Brandywine at Trimble's Ford, and the east branch at Jefferis's, and gained the heights near the Birmingham meeting-house, within two miles of Sullivan's right flank, before that general was certain that Howe and Cornwallis had left Kennet Square! This apparent want of vigilance on the part of his patrols drew upon Sullivan the severest censure of the public. Already the failure of an expedition against British posts on Staten Island,³ under his general command, had biased public opinion against him; and Congress, wherein Sullivan had several active enemies, had directed General Washington to appoint a court to investigate the matter. The dis-

¹ Moses Hazen was appointed colonel of a second Canadian regiment in 1775. He commanded at Montreal for a short time. Afterward he was appointed colonel of a regiment called *Congress's Own*. He was in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine. Having charge of prisoners in Pennsylvania, he was ordered to designate, by lot, a British officer for retaliation in the

case of Huddy, mentioned on page 366. He died at Troy, New York, January 30, 1802, aged 69 years.

² Theodoric Bland was a native of Virginia. He was prepared by study for the medical profession, but abandoned it for the field when the Revolution commenced. He was among the earliest active opposers of Dunmore in Virginia. After distinguishing himself as a leader among the volunteers, he joined the regular army, and soon rose to the rank of colonel of dragoons. He was a vigilant and energetic officer. In 1779, he was appointed to the command of the "convention troops" (as those of Burgoyne's captured army were called), at Charlottesville, in Virginia, where he continued till the autumn of 1780, when he was elected a delegate in Congress.

He held a seat in that body until the close of the war. He was then chosen a member of the Legislature of Virginia, and in that body he opposed the rat-

ification of the Federal Constitution. When adopted, he patriotically gave it his firm support, and was chosen to represent his district in the first Congress under that instrument. While attending the session in New York, he was seized with illness, and expired on the 1st of June, 1790, at the age of forty-eight. Colonel Bland was a soldier, legislator, and poet. His papers were collected and published a few years since, and are interesting mementoes of the war.

³ This expedition will be noticed in detail hereafter. I have briefly referred to it on page 262, in connection with a notice of the political influence of the Quakers during the war.

Moses Hazen

Theodoric Bland

Forming of the Lines for Battle. Conduct of Deborre. Commencement of the Battle. Skill and Courage of the Belligerents.

asters which occurred on the Brandywine were charged to Sullivan's want of vigilance, energy, and skill, and he was held responsible for the defeat of our troops.¹ Even his honorable acquittal, by a court martial, subsequently, did not altogether remove from the public mind a distrust of his ability as a general officer.

When Sullivan was assured, by a note from Colonel Bland, dated at "quarter past one o'clock," that the enemy were in great force on Osborne's Hill, a little to the right of the Birmingham meeting-house, he dispatched a messenger to Washington with the intelligence,² and marched immediately to oppose the enemy. His division consisted of his own, Stirling's, and Stephen's brigades. Upon the gentle slopes near the Birmingham meeting-house he began to form his line for battle, his left extending toward the Brandywine. It was an advantageous position, for both flanks were covered by thick woods; but, in consequence of the delay in waiting the return of the messenger with orders from the commander-in-chief, the rough and broken character of the ground, and the time occupied by Sullivan in making a wide circuit in bringing his brigade to its assigned place in the line,³ he was not fully prepared for action when the refreshed and well-formed battalions of the enemy, under Cornwallis, came sweeping on from Osborne's Hill,⁴ and commenced a furious attack. The advanced guard were German troops. On arriving at the Street road, they were fired upon by a company of Americans stationed in an orchard north of Samuel Jones's brick dwelling-house. The Hessians returned the fire, and the action soon became general. The artillery of both armies opened with terrible effect; and while the Americans maintained their position, the carnage was great. The most indomitable courage was displayed, and, for a while, the result was doubtful. The Americans, many of them unskillful militia, repelled charge after charge of the well-disciplined infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards of the enemy, until overwhelming numbers obliged them to yield. The right wing of the Americans, under General Deborre, first gave way, and the left, under Sullivan, soon followed. The latter officer used every exertion to rally the flying troops, but in vain. In broken fragments they fled over the fields toward the main division of the army at Chad's Ford. The center division (Stirling's brigade), in which was General Conway, with eight hundred men, yet remained firm as a rock in the midst of the wild ocean of carnage. To this divi-

¹ Three days after the battle on the Brandywine (September 14th), Mr. Burke, a delegate in Congress, made specific charges against Sullivan. On the strength of these charges, Congress voted that Sullivan should be recalled from the army till an inquiry should be made into his conduct. The recall was suspended at the earnest solicitation of Washington, who knew the falsity of the charges, the worth of Sullivan, and the immediate wants of the army; there being a lack of general officers, in consequence of Lincoln, Arnold, and others, having been sent to the northern army.

² Tradition says that Thomas Cheyney, a resident Whig, gave Washington the first intelligence of the approach of the enemy. He was alone, on a spirited mare, reconnoitering, and came suddenly upon the British. They fired upon him, but he escaped to the quarters of Washington. The chief doubted the truth of his intelligence at first; but the solemn assurances of Cheyney that it was correct—an assurance backed by an oath—made Washington believe him. Sullivan's note soon removed all doubt. Cheyney was an active spy while the American army was in the vicinity of the Delaware, and often suffered much from the Tories.

³ A dissension at this time existed respecting the post of honor, on the extreme right of the line. General Deborre, a French officer who had lately joined the army, claimed this post, an honor which Sullivan would not yield. Perceiving his orders disobeyed, and Deborre pertinaciously insisting upon taking the right, Sullivan made a circuitous march for the purpose of outreaching him, and was, consequently, late upon the field. His brigade was not formed for action when the conflict commenced. Sullivan did not accomplish his purpose, and Deborre obtained his coveted position on the right. His brigade was the first to give way in the action. For his conduct on this occasion, and also in the expedition against Staten Island, Congress voted an inquiry. Deborre was offended, and resigned his commission. Having made himself very unpopular in the army, Congress readily accepted his resignation. He was an officer of thirty-five years' service in Europe, but was totally unfit to command American troops.

⁴ Osborne's Hill is an eminence extending eastward from the Brandywine, and crossing the road from Jefferis's Ford, about a mile and a quarter above the Birmingham meeting-house. The British, under Cornwallis, halted and divided on the north side of Osborne's Hill, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. It was at this time that the two armies first discovered each other, and prepared for action. The British army advanced over and down the south side of the hill (according to the narrative of Joseph Townsend, an eye-witness), across the lands of James Carver, now (1848) occupied by his nephew, James Forsyth.

Effects of the British Artillery.

Retreat of the Americans.

March of Greene to their Support.

La Fayette wounded.

sion Sullivan now attached himself, and, with Stirling and La Fayette, engaged personally in the hottest of the battle. To this point Cornwallis directed his energies. His artillery made dreadful breaches in their ranks, and strewed the earth with the slain.¹ Resistance was vain, and, when hope no longer encouraged the contending patriots of the center, they, too, wheeled, and joined their comrades in their flight. Two of Sullivan's aids were killed; and La Fayette, who had leaped from his horse, and, sword in hand, was endeavoring to rally the yielding patriots, was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball, and fell. Gimat, his aid, helped him on a horse, and he escaped.² Despair seized the troops, and every effort to rally them was, for a time, vain. They fled to the woods in the rear, pursued by the victorious enemy. Some of them were rallied half a mile northward of Dilworth, and a brief encounter ensued between the fugitives and the pursuing party of the left wing of the enemy. The conflict was short, and the Americans again fled. The British right wing got entangled in the woods, and did not participate in the subsequent engagement, when Greene checked the pursuers.

On receiving intelligence of the approach of the British, Washington, with Greene's division of Virginians and Pennsylvanians, pushed forward to the support of Sullivan, leaving General Wayne at Chad's Ford to oppose the passage of Knyphausen. When the first cannon-peals from the Birmingham meeting-house broke over the country, Greene pressed forward to the support of the right wing. His first brigade, under General Weedon,³ took the lead, and so rapid was their march that they traveled four miles in forty minutes.⁴ Between Dilworth and the meeting-house they met the flying Americans, closely pursued by the British. Greene, by a skillful movement, opened his ranks and received the fugitives, then, closing them again, he covered their retreat and checked the pursuers by a continual

¹ The place where the hottest of the conflict occurred was between the Birmingham meeting-house and the present dwellings of Messrs. Hibbert Davis and Brinton Jones. Many were killed near the meeting-house; and, on the day after the battle, several bodies were found south of the meeting-house, doubtless slain in the retreat. The meeting-house was taken possession of by General Howe, and used as an hospital. Several officers who died there were buried in the grave-yard, on the north side of the building. A popular tradition asserts that Earl Percy, the officer who commanded the retreat from Lexington, was killed in this engagement, and that he had a presentiment of his death on this occasion. Even the place where he was said to be buried, near the entrance gate to the grave-yard of the Birmingham meeting-house, was pointed out to me. This is not correct. The earl (who was afterward Duke of Northumberland) left America previous to this battle. He died in England at the age of ninety-four, on the 10th of July, 1817.

² The bullet passed quite through his leg. He met a surgeon in the rear, who put a slight bandage around his leg, and he rode to Chester. The soldiers were retreating, in a straggling manner, in that direction; and La Fayette placed a guard near the bridge, at the entrance of the village, with orders to stop all the retreating soldiers at that place. His wound was then dressed, and the next morning he was conveyed to Philadelphia, from whence, after a few days, he proceeded to Bristol. When Henry Laurens was on his way to York, he took the route through Bristol, and conveyed La Fayette in his carriage to Bethlehem, where he received the kind attentions of the Moravians. There he remained about two months, till his wound was sufficiently healed to enable him to join the army. Laurens's kindness was long remembered. When, subsequently, he became a prisoner in the Tower of London, the Marchioness De La Fayette wrote a touching letter in his behalf to the Count De Vergennes, soliciting the aid of the French court in procuring the release of Laurens.—Sparks's *Washington*, v., 456.

³ George Weedon was a native of Virginia, and was an inn-keeper at Fredericksburg before the war.* We find his name first connected with military affairs, in a letter to Colonel Washington, in April, 1775, informing him that the Independent Company of Fredericksburg were determined, with his approbation, to march to Williamsburg, on account of the removal of powder from the magazine by order of Governor Dunmore. This letter was signed by himself, Hugh Mercer, Alexander Spotswood, and John Willis. He joined the Continental army in the course of the summer, and in February, 1777, he received from Congress a commission as brigadier. He was in the battles at Brandywine and Germantown. In consequence of some dissatisfaction about rank, he left the service while the army was at Valley Forge. He resumed the command of a brigade in 1780, and commanded the Virginia militia at Gloucester, during the siege of Yorktown, in October, 1781. From that time he was not engaged in active service in the field. I have met with no account of his subsequent career and death.

⁴ Gordon, ii., 225.

* Dr. J. F. D. Smyth, an English traveler in America, in giving an account of Fredericksburg, says, "I put up at the inn kept by one Weedon, who was afterward a general officer in the American army, and was then very active and zealous in blowing the flames of sedition."

The British checked by Greene.

Knyphausen preparing to cross the Brandywine.

General Muhlenberg.

fire of artillery. At a narrow defile about a mile from the meeting-house, in the direction of Chester, flanked on each side by woods, he changed his front, faced the enemy, and kept them at bay while the retreating party rested and formed in his rear. Greene defended this pass with great skill and bravery until twilight, when the pursuers encamped for the night. In this defense the brigades of Weedon and Muhlenberg were greatly distinguished, particularly the tenth Virginia regiment, under Colonel Stevens, and a Pennsylvania regiment, under Colonel Stewart.



We have observed that the plan of the enemy was to attack the Americans front and rear at the same time, by Cornwallis gaining the right flank of the patriots, and Knyphausen crossing the Brandywine at Chad's Ford. The firing of heavy guns on the American right was to be the signal for the German general to ford the stream. When the firing commenced at the Birmingham meeting-house, Knyphausen observed the departure of Greene's division, and the consequent weakening of the defense of the passage of the river. He immediately made a proper disposition of his troops for crossing. Wayne was on the alert, and, the moment Knyphausen's forces moved forward, he

¹ JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUHLENBERG was born in the village of Trappe, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, on the 1st of October, 1746. He was the son of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, D.D., the founder of the Lutheran Church in America; and his mother was the daughter of Conrad Weiser, a celebrated officer and Indian agent in Pennsylvania. Peter, his eldest born, was dedicated in infancy to the Church, and he was educated for the ministry, partly in this country and partly in Europe. He was ordained a minister in 1768, and commenced his labors in Western New Jersey the following year. He was married to Anna Barbara Meyer in 1770. In order to take charge of a congregation in Virginia, to which he had been called, he went to London in 1772, to receive ordination from an English bishop. Mr. White (afterward Bishop White, of Pennsylvania) was ordained at the same time (the 23d of April, 1772) by the Bishop of London. In his journal Mr. Muhlenberg states that, before their return to America, he and Mr. White attended the theater to see the performance of Garrick, then in the height of his career as an actor. Returning to America, he assumed ministerial duties at Woodstock, in Virginia, where he soon became a leading spirit among those who opposed British oppression. In 1774, he was chairman of the committee of safety in his county, and was also elected a member of the House of Burgesses. At the close of 1775, he was elected colonel of a Virginia regiment, and laid aside his pastoral character. In concluding his farewell sermon, he said, that, in the language of Holy Writ, "there was a time for all things; a time to preach, and a time to pray, but those times had passed away;" and then, in a voice that echoed like a trumpet-blast through the church, he said, "that there was a time to fight, and that time had now come!" Then, laying aside his sacerdotal gown, he stood before his flock in the full regimental dress of a Virginia colonel. He ordered the drums to be beaten at the church door for recruits; and almost his entire male audience capable of bearing arms joined his standard. Nearly three hundred men enlisted under his banner on that day. He was in the battle at Charleston in 1776, and served with fidelity in the Southern campaign that year. Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier general in February, 1777, and he was ordered to take charge of all the Continental troops of the Virginia line in that state. He joined the army under Washington, at Middlebrook, in May following, and was with the chief in all his movements until 1779, including the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, the sufferings at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge, the conflict on the plains of Monmouth, and the capture of Stony Point. At the close of that year he was directed to take command of the troops in Virginia, where he was very active until the attack of Cornwallis at Yorktown. In that battle and victory General Muhlenberg participated. At the close of the war, he was elevated to the rank of major general. He removed to Pennsylvania, and in various civil capacities served that state. He was a member of the third Federal Congress, and in 1801 was elected a United States senator. The same year he was appointed supervisor of the internal revenue of Pennsylvania, and in 1802 was made collector of the port of Philadelphia. He remained in that office until his death.

Passage of the Brandywine by Knyphausen. Bravery of Wayne. General Retreat of the Americans. Result of the Battle.

opened upon him a heavy fire of artillery from his intrenchments and the battery near Chad's house. Although in no condition to oppose nearly one half of the British army, he stood firm at first, and gallantly confronted the heavy and steadily progressing columns. But, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Sullivan at Birmingham meeting-house, and discovering that a considerable force of the enemy, who had penetrated the woods, were coming out upon his flank, Wayne ordered a retreat. This was accomplished in great disorder, leaving his artillery and munitions of war in the hands of Knyphausen. They retreated, in broken columns and confused fragments, behind the division of General Greene, then gallantly defending the pass near Dilworth, and joined the other defeated troops. The approach of night ended the whole conflict. The Americans retreated to Chester that night, where they rendezvoused, and the next day marched toward Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown. General Armstrong, who was stationed at Pyles's Ford, had no opportunity to engage in the action. The British remained upon the field, near Dilworth, Howe taking up his quarters at Gilpin's, a few miles from Chad's Ford.¹

Military men, when considering the battle of Brandywine, have questioned the judgment of Washington in incurring the great risk incident to a disparity in numbers and discipline. The numbers engaged in the action have never been accurately ascertained. The British effective force, on the day of the battle, was probably not less than seventeen thousand men, while that of the Americans did not exceed eleven thousand, and many of these were raw militia. Washington was aware of the expectations of Congress and the whole country, and wisely considered that a defeat in battle would be less depressing upon the minds of the soldiers and the people, than permitting the enemy to march, without opposition, to the capture of Philadelphia, then the political metropolis of America. Influenced by these considerations, he resolved to fight the enemy; and had not conflicting intelligence perplexed and thwarted him in his plans, it is probable that victory would have crowned the American army. The result was disastrous, and many noble patriots slept their last sleep upon the battle-field that night.²

which occurred at his country seat, near Philadelphia, on the 1st of October (his birth-day), 1807, at the age of sixty-one years. His grave is near the village church where he was baptized, and a simple monument bears this inscription: "Sacred to the memory of General PETER MUHLENBERG, born October 1st, 1746; died October 1st, 1807. He was brave in the field, faithful in the cabinet, honorable in all his transactions, a sincere friend, and an honest man."

The portrait here given is copied, by permission of the author, from an engraving in the *Life of Peter Muhlenberg*, by his grandson, Henry A. Muhlenberg, Esq., from which I compiled this brief memoir.

¹ In M. Hiliard d'Auberteuil's work, in French, published in 1782, entitled "*Essais Historiques et Politique sur la Revolution de l'Amerique Septentrionale*," there is a touching story of a scene which occurred near the Brandywine, after the battle. It is in substance as follows: A beautiful girl, named Molly Harvey, loved a young patriot soldier by the name of Seymour. Her father was wealthy; the young man was poor. They were not allowed to marry; and young Seymour, determined to distinguish himself, went to South Carolina, and was in the severe battle at Sullivan's Island. He afterward joined the army under Washington, and commanded a company in the battle on the Brandywine. After the battle he obtained leave of absence for three days, and repaired to the house of Harvey, near by. The parents consented to the marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated. The friends of the parties were assembled under the trees, enjoying the festivity, when two soldiers from the British army approached, and attempted to make Seymour their prisoner. A contest ensued, in which the bride was killed by a bayonet-thrust. The day of her marriage was the day of her death. Accompanying the story is a beautiful engraving, representing the sad spectacle.

² The number of the killed and wounded in the several engagements on the 11th is not known. Washington was unable to make a return of the American loss on account of the confusion which followed the defeat, many of the militia companies being thinned by desertion; and Howe's estimates were only conjectural. General Greene estimated the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at about 1200; that of the royal army nearly 800. Howe reported his loss at 90 killed, 488 wounded, and six missing. He also stated the loss of the Americans at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners; about the number estimated by Greene. The Americans also lost ten small field-pieces, and a howitzer. Many French officers were engaged in the action. The Baron De St. Ouary, serving as a volunteer, was taken prisoner. Captain Louis de Fleury, the hero of Stony Point, had a horse killed under him. His bravery commanded the admiration of Washington. Two days after the battle, Congress ordered another horse to be presented to De Fleury.

Washington again made Dictator.

Attempt to attack the British Army.

Du Coudray.

Patriotism of the Israel.

Congress was not dismayed by the disaster on the Brandywine, but were nerved to new exertions. They resolved to exert their whole power in strengthening the army in the vicinity, and for that purpose Washington was directed to order fifteen hundred troops of Putnam's division, on the Hudson, to march immediately to the Delaware, while the militia of Pennsylvania and the adjoining states were summoned to join the army. Anticipating the necessity of leaving Philadelphia, and, perhaps, of a temporary speedy dissolution, Congress voted to enlarge the powers of Washington, and he was partially reinvested with the dictatorial character, first conferred upon him before the attack on the enemy at Trenton in 1776.¹ Nor was Washington himself dispirited. Allowing his troops one day for rest and refreshments at Germantown, he recrossed the Schuylkill,² for the purpose of giving the enemy battle even upon the field of his late defeat, if his camp yet remained there. He took the Lancaster road, and the next day met the enemy not far from the Warren tavern, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. Howe had left his encampment near the Brandywine, and was on his way to Goshen (West Chester) when he heard of the approach of the Americans.³ By a quick maneuver, he gained

September 15,
1777.

September 16.

The day after the battle, Howe wrote to Washington, informing him that the wounded Americans were so numerous that his surgeons could not attend to them, and offering to receive any surgeons the American chief might send. Doctors Rush, Leiper, Latimer, and Willet, with their attendants, were sent back to take care of them.

¹ The following is a copy of the resolution: "*Resolved*, That General Washington be authorized and directed to suspend all officers who misbehave, and to fill up all vacancies in the American army under the rank of brigadiers, until the pleasure of Congress shall be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same; to remove and secure, for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided that the powers hereby vested shall be exercised only in such parts of these States as may be within the circumference of seventy miles of the head-quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of sixty days, unless sooner revoked by Congress."—*Journals*, iii., 318. The last clause was important, for there were a great number of disaffected persons who preferred to have their property fall into the hands of the enemy, to contribute to their support.

² Monsieur Du Coudray, a French officer, who had just obtained permission to join the army as a volunteer, set off with a party of French gentlemen to overtake Washington. Du Coudray rode a young and spirited mare. As he entered upon a flat-bottomed boat to cross the Schuylkill, she went out to the extreme end, and into the river, with her rider on her back. Du Coudray was drowned. Congress ordered

(September 17) his corpse to be interred at the expense of the United States, and with the honors of war.

³ The evening after the battle, a party of British were sent to Wilmington to seize Governor M'Kinley, and secure such plunder as might fall in their way. They took the governor from his bed, and, seizing a shallop, which was lying in the stream, laden with the valuable effects of the people, together with the public records of the county, a large quantity of public and private money, all the papers and certificates belonging to the loan and treasury offices there, with plate and jewels, returned to the camp. The whole country was in a state of terror; and while the victorious Britons were on their march toward Philadelphia, all lower Pennsylvania and Delaware were eminent for the loyalty of their inhabitants. There were, however, noble exceptions. The patriotism of the Israel, and the bold heroism of Hannah Irwin Israel, will never be forgotten. Israel Israel, her husband, was a member of the committee of safety, and of course a marked man. Betrayed by his Tory neighbors, he and his wife's brother were made prisoners, and taken on board the *Roebuck* frigate, lying in the Delaware, in sight of his house, for trial. He was treated harshly; his bed was a coil of ropes on deck; his food of the meanest kind. It was reported that he had declared that he would sooner drive his cattle as a present to General Washington, than to receive thousands of dollars in British gold for them. On being informed of this, the British commander ordered a detachment of soldiers to go to his meadows, in full view, and seize and slaughter his cattle then feeding there. His young wife (only nineteen years of age) saw her husband and brother taken to the frigate, and she also saw the movement of the plunderers. She guessed their purpose when she saw the soldiers land. With a boy eight years old, she hastened to the meadow, cast down the bars, and began driving out the cattle. The soldiers told her to desist, and threatened to shoot her. "Fire away!" cried the heroic woman. They fired, and the balls flew thickly but harmlessly around her. The shield of God's providence was over her, and, though the cowardly soldiers fired several shots, not one grazed her. The cattle were all saved, and the discomfited marauders returned to the frigate. The trial of Israel took place. A kind-hearted sailor asked him if he was a *Free-mason*. He answered in the affirmative, and was informed that a Lodge

du Coudray

Battle prevented.

March of the Americans toward Germantown.

Localities near the Brandywine.

the high ground near the White Horse tavern with a part of his army, and turned the right flank of the Americans, while the main body advanced toward the left. Skirmishing commenced between the advanced guards of the two armies, and a general battle appeared about to ensue, when a terrible storm of rain (already noticed on page 315), accompanied by heavy thunder, broke upon the belligerents, and so injured their ammunition that they were obliged to defer the battle. Washington found his loss of ammunition to be so great, that prudence forbade a present engagement with the enemy. He accordingly withdrew his army, and fled off toward Reading. Wayne, in the mean while, was hanging upon the rear of the enemy, and suffered the defeat at Paoli. Washington retired to Yellow Springs and Warwick, among the range of mountains which extend to Valley Forge, and passed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford. The subsequent movements of the two armies—the battles of Germantown, Red Bank, and Fort Mifflin; the encampment at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge; the evacuation of Philadelphia by the enemy the following spring, and the battle of Monmouth which ensued, have been noticed in the preceding chapter.

We will now close the chronicle, finish the sketch of the Birmingham meeting-house, printed on page 375, and, leaving the venerated fane with its interesting associations, ride to Dilworth to dine.

About half-way between the meeting-house and Dilworth, and one hundred rods westward of the road, in a field belonging to Mr. Bennet, is the place where La Fayette was wounded. The ground is very undulating; in fact, the whole scene of the battle of Brandywine is a broken but very fertile country, highly cultivated, and remarkable for the good character of its inhabitants. They were chiefly Quakers during the Revolution; and their descendants, professing the same faith and discipline, own a large portion of the land at present.

From Dilworth we proceeded toward Chad's Ford, by the way of Brinton's Mills. Upon



CHAD'S HOUSE.

the brow of an eminence near the mills, and overlooking the Brandywine, the old Brinton mansion (16 on the map) was yet standing, a gray and moss-grown relic of the war. In the gable toward the river is a hole made by the passage of a cannon-ball, fired from Knyphausen's batteries on the west side of the Brandywine. About a mile below it, upon a road running parallel with the river, is Chad's house, a small stone building, and another relic of the Revolution. It is upon a slope on the east side of the road. The sketch here given was made from the highway, looking northeast. Upon a loftier knoll, a few rods south of Chad's, is the place where Wayne stationed Proctor with his artillery. It was an eligible point for commanding the passage of the ford.

Turning eastward from the road leading to the bridge over the Brandywine at the ford, I visited the head-quarters of Washington (22 on the map), delineated on the opposite page, then the residence of Benjamin Ring, now the dwelling of Joseph P. Harvey. It is somewhat modernized, but its general aspect is the same as when the patriot chief occupied it. Mr. Harvey gave me a grape-shot which was plowed up on his farm a few weeks before. Hundreds of pounds of cannon-balls have been

was to be held on board the vessel that night, the officers being Masons. The trial ended, and the life of Israel was in jeopardy. He made a manly defense before the court, and, when opportunity offered, he gave a sign of the brotherhood. It was recognized; the haughty bearing of the officers was changed to kindness; the Tory witnesses were reprimanded for seeking the harm of an honorable man; presents were prepared for his heroic wife; and himself and brother were sent on shore in a splendid barge, and set at liberty. The records of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania bear testimony that Mr. Israel (who was many years Grand Master) was saved from an ignominious death by the use of masonic signs.—See Mrs. Ellett's *Women of the Revolution*, i., 155.

The Quarters of Washington and Howe.

Kennet Square.

A Storm.

New London and Elkton.

found in the vicinity of Chad's Ford, and are now preserved by relic-seekers. From Washington's temporary residence I rode to the reputed quarters of La Fayette (21), situated a



WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

little more than a mile east of Chad's Ford; and thence, up the *New Road*, to George Gilpin's, the quarters of Howe after the battle. From the field where Mr. Gilpin and his sons were at work, I made the sketch printed on page 378, and there parting company with Mr. Townsend, my cicerone over the battleground of the Brandywine, I turned my face toward Kennet Square, with my back to the keen northeast wind. It was nearly four o'clock when I reached Chad's Ford. The clouds were deepening, and every aspect of nature was dreary. I alighted, tied my horse to a bar-post, and, shivering with cold, stood upon the bank of the congealing stream,

and sketched the picture on page 379—giving it the effects of sunlight and foliage as in pleasant summer time, after a warm supper at Kennet Square. The shadows of evening were coming on when I crossed the Brandywine, and it was too dark to see objects clearly when I passed the old Kennet meeting-house and Welsh's tavern, places of historic interest upon the highway. I arrived at Kennet Square, seven miles west of the Brandywine, at about half-past five o'clock, and passed the night at Wiley's tavern, a venerable edifice, in which Howe had his quarters while his army was encamped in the vicinity.

I arose at daybreak, in anticipation of beholding a furious snow-storm, for the wind roared in the spacious chimneys, and the neighboring shutters and sign-boards were beating a tattoo. But the wind had changed to the southeast, and, though blowing with the fury of a December tempest, it was as warm as the breath of early spring. I breakfasted early, and departed for Elkton, twenty-four miles distant, with a prospect of receiving a drenching, for scuds, dark and billowy, came up from the ocean upon the wings of the gale like a flock of monster birds. I had just passed the "Hammer and Trowel" inn, a few miles from Kennet, when a thick mist came sweeping over the hills in the van of a tempest of wind and rain. For more than an hour, it seemed as if the "windows of heaven were opened," and that Æolus and Jupiter Pluvius were joined in merry-making upon the earth. The huge leafless oaks in the forests swayed to and fro like the masts and spars of tempest-tossed navies; and a thousand turbid streamlets poured from the hill-sides, and made rivers of the gentle water-courses in the vales. Twice, while passing over a lofty hill, I felt my wagon lifted from the ground by the wind, its spacious cover acting like a parachute. The storm ceased as suddenly as it arose, and, when I reached New London (a village of some twenty houses), about ten miles from Kennet Square, the clouds broke, and the winds were hushed. A brilliant, mild afternoon made the ride from New London to Elkton a delightful one, and fully compensated for the suffering of the morning. The country is hilly, until within a few miles of the head of the Elk, when it becomes flat, and marshy, and penetrated by deep estuaries of the bay and river.

Elkton (the "Head of Elk" of the Revolution) is an old town, the capital of Cecil county, in Maryland. It is situated at the junction of the two branches of the Elk River, the upper portion of Chesapeake Bay, and at the head of tide-water. The rail-way from Philadelphia to Baltimore passes within half a mile of the town. Here the British made their first halt, after leaving the place of debarkation at Turkey Point, twelve miles below; and Elkton may be considered the dividing point, in the military operations of the Revolution, between the North and South. The accompanying map, divided by the Delaware River, with New

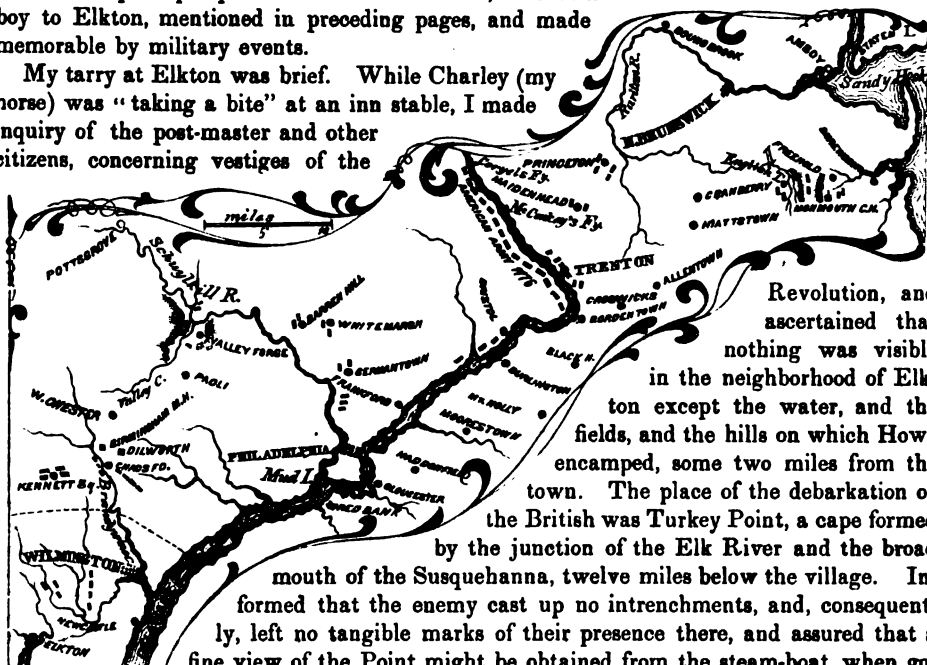
Scene of Military Operations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

An Evening on the Chesapeake.

Baltimore.

Jersey on the right and Pennsylvania on the left, is introduced to exhibit the relative position of the principal places in those two states, from Amboy to Elkton, mentioned in preceding pages, and made memorable by military events.

My tarry at Elkton was brief. While Charley (my horse) was "taking a bite" at an inn stable, I made inquiry of the post-master and other citizens, concerning vestiges of the



Revolution, and ascertained that nothing was visible in the neighborhood of Elkton except the water, and the fields, and the hills on which Howe encamped, some two miles from the town. The place of the debarkation of the British was Turkey Point, a cape formed by the junction of the Elk River and the broad

mouth of the Susquehanna, twelve miles below the village. Informed that the enemy cast up no intrenchments, and, consequently, left no tangible marks of their presence there, and assured that a fine view of the Point might be obtained from the steam-boat, when going

down the Chesapeake, I resolved to be satisfied with a distant observation. I accordingly rode to Frenchtown, three miles below Elkton, whence the boats connecting with the Delaware and Chesapeake rail-way depart for Baltimore; "took tea" with a widow lady, residing in a fine brick dwelling on the bank of the river, and, just before sunset, embarked. Charley was restive when walking the plank, but, using all the philosophy he possessed, he soon decided that the hubbub in the steam-pipe was harmless, and his footing on deck secure. These problems settled, he seemed to enjoy the evening voyage quite as much as the bipeds around him. It was, indeed, a glorious evening. When the *George Washington* cast off her moorings, the last gleams of the evening sun gilded the hills of Delaware, and, while passing Turkey Point, the scene was truly gorgeous. The tall trees of the cape were sharply penciled upon a back-ground of blended ruby, orange, gold, purple, and azure, glowing like opal, and spreading over many degrees of the western horizon; while above, far up in the dark blue, was the crescent moon, with Jupiter in her lap, beaming so brightly that he cast a line of silver light upon the calm waters of the bay. Both had gone down behind the hills when we passed North Point¹ light-house, and entered the Patapsco. We arrived

¹ North Point, at the entrance of the Patapsco, was the scene of a sanguinary battle between the Americans, under General Striker, and the British, under General Ross, in September, 1814. The Americans were defeated, and the British lost their commander-in-chief. In 1815, the citizens of Baltimore erected a monument on the corner of Calvert and Fayette Streets, in memory of those Americans who fell in that engagement, and also during the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, the next day. This monument was planned by Maximilian Godefroy, and erected under his supervision. It is entirely of pure white marble, and rests upon a square plinth, or terrace, of the same material, forty feet square, and four feet in height. From this platform rises a square Egyptian basement, entirely rusticated, to indicate strength. It is composed of eighteen layers of stone, to signify the number of states which formed the confederacy at the time of the battle thus commemorated. This basement is surmounted by a cornice, each of the four angles of which bears an elegantly executed griffin. A winged globe adorns each center of the Egyptian cornice, symbolical of eternity and the flight of time. On each of the four fronts of the basement is a false door, like those of ancient cenotaphs. Three steps ascend to these doors, and indicate the three years' duration of the war. The shaft represents an enormous fasces, symbolical of union, the rods of which are bound with

Battle Monument at Baltimore.

at Baltimore, sixty-eight miles from Elkton, at ten o'clock. The city was in a tumult. A destructive fire was raging; and the grand diapason of the trumpet shouts of the firemen and the clangor of bells met us upon the waters, almost as far distant as the lurid glare of the flames.

"Oh the bells, bells, bells,
What a tale their terror tells
Of despair!
How they clang, and clash, and roar!
What a horror they outpour
On the bosom of the palpitating air!

In the startled ear of night
How they scream out their affright!
Too much horrified to speak,
They can only shriek, shriek,
Out of tune,
In a clamorous appeal to the mercy of the fire."

EDGAR A. POE.

I had traveled since dawn, by land and water, in rain and sunshine, full ninety miles; and it was a pleasant thought that to-morrow would be the Sabbath—a day of rest.

fillets. Upon these fillets, inscribed in letters of bronze, are the names of those who fell in defense of the city of Baltimore. Around the top of the fasces are two wreaths; one of laurel, the other of cypress, indicating glory and grief. Between these wreaths are the names of the officers who were killed, inscribed in bronze letters. The fasces is ornamented with two epic sculptures, in low relief; one representing the battle at North Point, the other a battery of Fort M'Henry. On the east and west fronts are *lachrymal urns*, emblematic of regret and sorrow. Beneath the epic sculptures are inscriptions, as follows: *North side*.—"BATTLE OF NORTH POINT, 12th September, A.D. 1814; and of the independence of the United States, the thirty-ninth." *South side*.—"BOMBARDMENT OF FORT M'HENRY, 13th September, A.D. 1814; and of the independence of the United States, the thirty-ninth."

The basement and fasces form, together, thirty-nine feet. Upon the top is a beautifully-wrought colossal statue. It is a female figure, intended to personify the city of Baltimore. Upon her head is a mural crown, emblematic of cities; in one hand she holds an antique rudder, symbolic of navigation, and in the other she raises a crown of laurel, as with a graceful inclination of the head she looks toward the fort and battle-ground. At her feet, on one side, is the American eagle; on the other, a bomb-shell. The height of the monument, including the statue, is fifty-two feet, two inches.

The following are the names of the slain, inscribed upon the monument:

OFFICERS.—James Lowry Donaldson, *adjutant 27th reg.*; Gregorius Andree, *lieut. 1st rifle battalion*; Levi Claggett, *3d lieut., Nicholson's artillery*.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES.—John Clemm, T. V. Beaston, S. Haubert, John Jephson, T. Wallace, J. H. Marriot of John, E. Marriot, Wm. Ways, J. Armstrong, J. Richardson, Benjamin Pond, Clement Cox, Cecilius Belt, John Garrett, H. G. M'Comes, Wm. M'Clellan, John C. Bird, M. Desk, Danl. Wells, Jr., John R. Cop, Benjn. Neal, C. Reynolds, D. Howard, Uriah Prosser, A. Randall, R. R. Cooksey, J. Gregg, J. Evans, A. Maas, G. Jenkins, W. Alexander, C. Fallier, T. Burniston, J. Dunn, P. Byard, J. Craig.

CHAPTER XV.

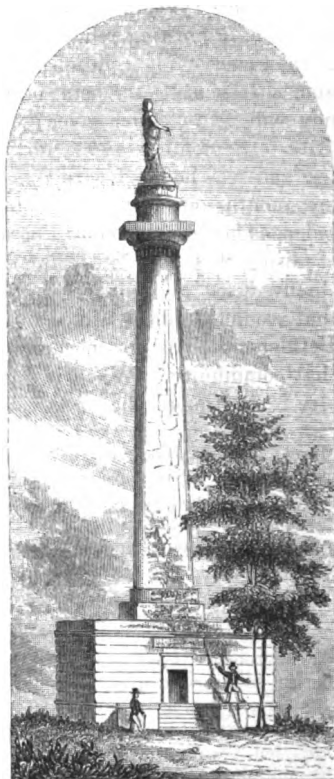
"Hear the holy Sabbath bells,
Sacred bells!
Oh what a world of peaceful rest
Their melody protests!
How sweetly at the dawning
Of a pleasant Sabbath morning,
Sounds the rhyming,
And the chiming
Of the bells!"—H. S. NOLEN.



UNDAY was as mild and bright in Baltimore as a Sabbath in May, although it was the 3d of December. That city has no old churches hallowed by the presence of the patriots of the Revolution. Annapolis was the only city in Maryland, except little St. Mary's, on its western border, when the battles for independence were fought; and "Baltimore towne," though laid out as early as 1729, contained, in 1776, less than one hundred houses. It is a city of the present; and yet, in extent, commerce, and population, it is the third city of the republic, numbering now about one hundred and sixty-five thousand inhabitants.¹

I passed half an hour in the Roman Catholic cathedral during the matin services. Toward noon I listened to a persuasive sermon from the lips of Doctor Johns, of Christ Church (brother of the Virginia bishop), predicated upon the words of Moses to Hobah;² employed the remainder of the day in reading; and, early on Monday morning, started out, with port-folio and pencil, to visit the celebrities of the city.

The noble monument erected by the State of Maryland in honor of Washington is the object of first and greatest attraction to visitors. It stands in the center of a small square, at the intersection of Monument and Charles Streets, in the fashionable quarter of the city, one hundred and fifty feet above tide-water. It is composed of a base of white marble, fifty feet square, and twenty feet in height, with a Doric column, one hundred and sixty feet in height, and twenty feet in diameter at the base, gradually tapering upward to a handsomely-formed capital.

WASHINGTON MONUMENT.³

¹ The census for 1850, which shows this result, also exhibits a case of remarkable longevity in Baltimore. Sukey Wright, a colored woman, whose age is well certified, was then 120 years old. She had a child twenty-five years of age when the Revolutionary war broke out in 1775.

² "We are journeying toward the land of which the Lord said, I will give it you, and we will do thee good."—*Numbers*, x., 29.

³ The following are the inscriptions on the monument: *East front*.—"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, by the State of Maryland. Born 22d February, 1732. Died 14th December, 1799." *South front*.—"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, 4th March, 1789. Returned to Mount Vernon, 4th

Maryland Historical Society.

Pulaski's Banner.

Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem.

Upon the top is a statue of Washington, by Causici, sixteen feet in height, which is reached by a winding stair-way on the interior. It represents the chief in the act of resigning his commission. The statue cost nine thousand dollars. The ground on which the monument stands was given for the purpose by John Eager Howard, the "hero of the Cowpens." The corner stone of the monument was laid on the 4th of July, 1815, with imposing ceremonies. This view is from Monument Street, looking northeast. The Battle Monument, near Barnum's Hotel, erected to the memory of those who fell in defense of Baltimore in 1814, is beautiful and chaste in design and execution, and is an ornament to the city. It cost about sixty thousand dollars. A description of this structure, and copies of the inscriptions upon it, are given in a note on page 388.

After sketching these mementoes, I visited the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society, bearing a letter of introduction to its president, General Smith, a son of Colonel Samuel Smith, the hero of Fort Mifflin, portrayed on page 296. To that gentleman, and to President N. C. Brooks, of the Baltimore Female College, I am indebted for kind attentions and local information. The Historical Society is young, but vigorous and flourishing. Its collection contains but few relics of the Revolution worthy of special notice. There is an old painting representing Yorktown, in Virginia, in 1781, and also a portrait of Governor John Eager Howard, a copy of which will be found in another part of this work. One of the most interesting relics which I saw during my tour is carefully preserved in the library of the society—the crimson banner of the Count Pulaski, beautifully wrought by the Moravian sisters, at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. Count Pulaski (whose portrait and biography will be hereafter given) was appointed a brigadier in the Continental army on the 15th of September, 1777, just after the battle on the Brandywine, in which he participated, and was honored with the command of the cavalry. He resigned this honor within a few months, and asked and obtained permission from Congress to raise and command an independent corps, to consist of sixty-eight horse and two hundred foot. The mode March 22,
1778. of raising these was left to the direction of General Washington.¹ This corps was chiefly raised, and fully organized in Baltimore in 1778. Pulaski visited La Fayette while that wounded officer was a recipient of the pious care and hospitality of the Moravians at Bethlehem. His presence, and eventful history, made a deep impression upon the minds of that community. When it was known that the brave Pole was organizing a corps of cavalry in Baltimore, the nuns,² or *single women* of Bethlehem, prepared a banner of crimson

March, 1797." *West front*.—"To GEORGE WASHINGTON. Trenton, 25th December, 1776. Yorktown, 19th October, 1781." *North front*.—"To GEORGE WASHINGTON. Commander-in-chief of the American armies, 15th June, 1775. Commission resigned at Annapolis, 23d December, 1783."

¹ *Journals of Congress*, iv., 127.

² The word *nun*, as applied to the single sisters of the Moravian sect, has a different meaning than when applied to the recluses of the Roman Catholic Church. De Chastellux, who visited Bethlehem in 1782, says of the community: "Their police, or discipline, is of the monastic kind, since they recommend celibacy, but without enjoining it, and keep the women separate from the men. There is a particular house, also, for the widows, which I did not visit. The two sexes being thus habitually separated, none of those familiar connections exist between them which lead to marriage; nay, it is even contrary to the spirit of the sect to marry from inclination. If a young man finds himself sufficiently at ease to keep house for himself, and maintain a wife and children, he presents himself to the commissary, and asks for a girl, who, after consulting with the superintendent of the women, proposes one to him, which he may, in fact, refuse to accept; but it is contrary to custom to choose a wife for himself. Accordingly, the Moravian colonies have not multiplied in any proportion to the other American colonies. That at Bethlehem is composed of about six hundred persons, more than half of whom live in a state of celibacy." De Chastellux visited the "house for single women," a spacious stone edifice, provided with well-heated rooms for working in, and a large vaulted chamber, well ventilated, where all the girls slept in single beds. He refers to their skill in embroidery. His whole account of his visit is an interesting picture of the simple habits of the Moravians. He says they "have no bishops, being governed by synods." They have had bishops from the beginning, but their office allows them no elevation of rank or pre-eminent authority; and the communities are, indeed, governed by councils, or synods, composed of deputies from the different congregations, who meet in conference once in seven years. There are two bishops in the United States at present. The principal Moravian establishments are at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, and Salem, in North Carolina. Their marriage and other customs have materially changed within the last thirty years.

"Hymn of the Moravian Nuns."

Patriotism in Baltimore.

Committees of Correspondence and Observation.

milk, with designs beautifully wrought with the needle by their own hands, and sent it to Pulaski, with their blessing. The memory of this event is embalmed in verse by Longfellow, in the following beautiful

"HYMN OF THE MORAVIAN NUNS AT THE CONSECRATION OF PULASKI'S BANNER.

"When the dying flame of day
Through the chancel shot its ray,
Far the glimmering tapers shed
Faint light on the cowed head,
And the censor burning swung,
When before the altar hung
That proud banner, which, with pray'r,
Had been consecrated there;
And the nuns' sweet hymn was heard the while,
Sung low in the dim mysterious aisle.

"Take thy banner. May it wave
Proudly o'er the good and brave,
When the battle's distant wail
Breaks the Sabbath of our vale;
When the clarion's music thrills
To the hearts of these lone hills;
When the spear in conflict shakes,
And the strong lance, shivering, breaks.

"Take thy banner; and, beneath
The war-cloud's encircling wreath,
Guard it—till our homes are free—

Guard it—God will prosper thee!
In the dark and trying hour,
In the breaking forth of pow'r,
In the rush of steeds and men,
His right hand will shield thee then.

"Take thy banner. But, when night
Closes round the ghastly fight,
If the vanquish'd warrior bow,
Spare him—by our holy vow;
By our prayers and many tears;
By the mercy that endears;
Spare him—he our love hath shared;
Spare him—as thou wouldst be spared.

"Take thy banner; and, if e'er
Thou should'st press the soldier's bier,
And the muffled drum should beat
To the tread of mournful feet,
Then this crimson flag shall be
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.
And the warrior took that banner proud,
And it was his martial cloak and shroud."

Pulaski received the banner with grateful acknowledgments, and bore it gallantly through many a martial scene, until he fell in conflict at Savannah in the autumn of 1779. His banner was saved by his first lieutenant (who received fourteen wounds), and delivered to Captain Bentalon, who, on retiring from the army, took the banner home with him to Baltimore.¹

When oppression began to awaken a spirit of general resistance throughout the colonies, "Baltimore town" was not behind its sister communities in zeal and action. A meeting ^{• May 27.} was held there in 1774,² when the people generally agreed to support non-intercourse measures. Afterward they elected a *Committee of Observation*,³ and also appointed a committee of correspondence.⁴ These committees were exceedingly vigilant and active in watching the disaffected, giving information of importance to their brethren abroad, and in passing intelligence between the patriots of the North and the South. They were no respecter of persons, and Loyalists of every grade came under their surveil-

Anburey and the Baroness Riedesel were also in Bethlehem, and speak in the highest terms of the Moravians.

¹ It was used in the procession that welcomed La Fayette to that city in 1824, and was then deposited in Peale's Museum. On that occasion, it was ceremoniously received by several young ladies. Mr. Edmund Peale presented it to the Maryland Historical Society in 1844, where it is now carefully preserved in a glass case. But little of its former beauty remains. It is composed of double crimson silk, now faded to a dull brownish red. The designs on each side, as represented on the following page, are embroidered with yellow silk, the letters shaded with green. A deep green bullion fringe ornaments the edges. The size of the banner is twenty inches square. It was attached to a lance when borne to the field.

² Andrew Buchanan was chosen chairman, and Robert Alexander clerk or secretary.

³ This committee, consisting of twenty-nine of the leading men of Baltimore, was elected by the qualified voters, at a town meeting, regularly assembled at the court-house. They not only took cognizance of political matters, but assumed a general supervision of the public morals, not by coercive measures, but by advice. Among other things, they recommended the discontinuance of fairs in Baltimore, and denounced them as nuisances, conducive to "mischief and disorders," "serving no other purpose than debauching the morals of their children and servants," and "encouraging riots, drunkenness, gaming, and the vilest immoralities." Horse-racing, cock-fighting, general extravagance, and dissipation were inveighed against, not only as wrong, but as derogatory to the character of patriots at that solemn hour (1775).

⁴ The following are the names of this committee: Robert Alexander, Samuel Purviance, Jr., Andrew Buchanan, Doctor John Boyd, John Moale, Jeremiah Townly Chase, William Buchanan, and William Lux. Four members constituted a quorum for the transaction of business.

Treatment of Loyalists.

Meeting of Congress in Baltimore.

La Fayette in Baltimore.

lance. The Reverend Mr. Edmiston, pastor of St. Thomas's parish, was arraigned before the Committee of Observation, on a charge of being favorable to the Quebec Act. He pleaded guilty, apologized, and was forgiven. Other suspected Loyalists, of equal standing, were arraigned, and middlemen soon became scarce.¹

I have mentioned the fact (page 225) that, on the approach of the royal troops toward the Delaware, in 1776, Congress, then in session in Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore. Their first meeting in that city, pursuant to adjournment, was on the 20th of December. They met, and continued their session in the spacious brick building yet standing on Baltimore, Sharpe, and Liberty Streets. The Reverend Patrick Allison, first minister of the Presbyterian church of Baltimore, and Reverend W. White, were appointed chaplains on the 23d. It was there, on the 27th of December, two days after the battle at Trenton, that Congress, by resolution, delegated so much of their powers to Washington, for six months, as made him a military dictator, a fact already noticed on page 232. Through a local committee of Congress, left in Philadelphia, efficient co-operation with the army was secured, and the whole military establishment, as we have seen (page 241), was placed in a

higher and more effective condition than it had been since the organization of the army. Congress continued in session in Baltimore until Friday, the 27th of February, when it adjourned to Philadelphia, where the delegates met on the following Wednesday, the 4th of March.

PULASKI'S BANNER.²THE CONGRESS HOUSE.³

many of the poor soldiers are without shirts and other necessaries." "We will supply them," was the noble reply of the ladies; and the gayety of the ball-room was exchanged for the sober but earnest services of the needle. They assembled the next day in great numbers to make up clothing for the soldiers, of materials furnished by fathers and husbands.⁴ One gentleman, out of his limited means, gave La Fayette five hundred dollars to aid him

¹ Purviance's *Narrative*, pages 12-13.

² On one side of the banner are the letters U. S., and in a circle around them the words UNITA VIRTUS FORCIOR; "United valor is stronger." The letter o in the last word is incorrect; it should be t. On the other side, in the center, is the All-seeing Eye, with the words NON ALIUS REGIT; "No other governs."

³ This view is from Baltimore Street, looking southeast. The front on the left is on Baltimore Street; the other is on Liberty Street. Its first story is now used for commercial purposes; otherwise it exhibits the same external appearance as when Congress assembled there.

⁴ M'Sherry's *History of Maryland*, p. 229.

Journey to Annapolis.

Departure from the Right Road.

Hospitality.

City of Annapolis.

in clothing his soldiers. His wife, with her own hands, cut out five hundred pairs of pantaloons, and superintended the making of them.¹

In the passage of troops between the Northern and Southern States, Baltimore was often the scene of activity and excitement; beyond this, it has but little military history connected with our subject. Its statesmen and soldiers did good service in the forum and in the field, and their names and deeds are conspicuously recorded in various portions of these volumes. We will make Annapolis, the old capital of Maryland, our point of view, in taking a survey of the general history of the state, for that city was the soul and center of action during the Revolution.

December 4,
1848. I left Baltimore for Annapolis, thirty miles southward, at a little after three o'clock, crossing the Patapsco River at sunset, upon a long, rickety draw-bridge, having a toll-gatherer at the southern end. The sky was clear, and the moon being sufficiently advanced in illumination to promise a fair degree of light, I resolved to push forward as far as the "half-way house," fifteen miles from Baltimore, before halting. Soon after leaving the bridge, the road penetrated a forest of oaks and chestnuts, filled with those beautiful evergreens, the laurel and the holly. Passing several cultivated openings where the country was rolling, I reached a level, sandy region, and at dark entered a forest of pines, its deep shadows relieved occasionally by small openings recently made by the woodman's ax. I had passed only two small houses in a journey of six miles, and without seeing the face of a living creature, when I met a negro man and woman, and inquired for the "half-way house." The woman assured me that it was two miles ahead; and, in the plenitude of her kind feelings, promised that I should find "plenty o' liquor dar." After driving at least four miles, I perceived that I had "run off the track," mistaking one of the numerous branches of the main road for the highway itself. After traversing the deep, sandy way, in the gloom, until almost eight o'clock, when traveler and horse were thoroughly wearied, I was cheered by the barking of a dog, and in a few moments crossed a stream, and came in sight of a spacious mansion, surrounded by many broad acres of cultivation. The merry voices of children, who were playing in the lane, were hushed as I halted at the gate and hailed. A servant swung it wide open for my entrance, and when I asked for entertainment for the night, the kindest hospitality was extended. The proprietor of the plantation was the widow of a Methodist clergyman, who was drowned in the Severn a few years ago. Her mother, residing with her, had been, in former years, a parishioner of my own pastor, the Reverend Stephen H. Tyng, D.D. This fact was a sympathetic link; and a home feeling, with its gentle influence, came over me as the evening passed away in pleasant conversation. I left the mansion of Mrs. Robinson, the next morning, with real regret. I had there a foretaste of that open hospitality which I experienced every where at the South, and must ever remember with gratitude.

Under the guidance of a servant, I traversed a private road, to the public one leading to Annapolis. The highway passes through a barren region until within two miles of the town, relieved, occasionally, by a few cultivated spots; and so sinuous was its course, that I crossed the Baltimore and Annapolis rail-way seven times in a distance of thirteen miles. The deep sand made the journey toilsome, and extended its duration until almost an hour past meridian.

Annapolis is apparently and really an old town. Many of its houses are of the hip-roofed style of an earlier generation, with the distinctive features of Southern houses, so odd in appearance to the eyes of a Northern man—the chimneys projecting from the gable, from the ground to their tops. The city is beautifully located on the south branch of the River Severn, upon a peninsula formed by Acton's and Covey's Creeks, which rise within half a mile of each other. It commands an extensive view of the Chesapeake Bay and the surrounding

¹ This gentleman was Mr. Poe. His widow, the lady who cut out the garments, was living when La Fayette visited Baltimore in 1824. The two patriots met, and the scene was one of peculiar interest.—See *Niles's Register*, 24th October, 1824.

Founding of Annapolis.

First Lord Baltimore.

Exploration of the Chesapeake.

Maryland Charter.

country, where almost every diversity of picturesque scenery is exhibited, except the grandeur of lofty mountains.

Annapolis was erected into a town, port, and place of trade in 1683, under the name of the "Town land at Proctor's," or "The Town land at Severn." Eleven years afterward it received the name of "Anne Arundle Town," and was made the naval station of the infant colony, and the seat of government. It received the name of Annapolis (Anne's city) in 1703, which was given in honor of Queen Anne, the reigning sovereign of England. Before noticing the associations which give peculiar interest to the history of Annapolis, let us consult the chronicles of the state.

Maryland was settled at a little later period than New England. The London Company, of which Sir George Calvert (Lord Baltimore), the first proprietor of Maryland, was a member, claimed, under its charter, the whole of the vast region from the head of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays—the boundary line of the Dutch settlements in New Netherlands—to an undefined boundary south and west. Calvert was a young man of good birth and fine talents. He attracted the attention and won the friendship of Sir Robert Cecil (afterward Earl of Salisbury), first lord of the Treasury under James the First. Calvert was appointed by Cecil his private secretary,^a which office he held for several years. Cecil died in 1612. Calvert appears to have won the esteem of his king, for, in 1617, James conferred the honor of knighthood upon him, appointed him clerk of the Privy Council, and, two years later, made him principal secretary of state, as successor to Sir Thomas Lake. In 1624, Calvert resigned his office, not, as Fuller says, because "he freely confessed himself to the king that he was become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office,"¹ for he was doubtless a Roman Catholic from his earliest youth, if not born in the bosom of that Church, but probably for the purpose of giving his personal attention to schemes of foreign colonization, in which he was interested. On retiring from the secretary's office, the king continued him a privy counselor, granted him a tract of land in Longford, Ireland,^b with a pension of one thousand pounds, and created him "Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore, Ireland."^c He already had a patent as absolute lord and proprietor of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland. After the death of James, in 1625, Lord Baltimore went to Avalon, where, with his family, he resided for some time, and then returned to England. He visited Virginia in 1628; and, although a member of the London Company, and high in the confidence of Charles, the successor of James, he was required by the local authorities of that colony to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.^d Baltimore was offended, for he considered the requisition as an intended insult, he being a Roman Catholic. He refused to take the oaths himself, or allow his attendants to do so; and soon afterward departed from the James River, and made a voyage up the Chesapeake. He entered the Potomac, was pleased with the appearance of the country, projected a settlement upon the upper portions of the Chesapeake Bay, and then returned to England.

The London Company dissolved in the mean while. Baltimore successfully applied to Charles for a grant of the unoccupied land on the Chesapeake, and in 1632 the king gave him permission to frame a charter for a province, to suit himself. The grant included the present area of Maryland, notwithstanding the territory was clearly within the limits of the Virginia charter, and Kent Island, opposite the site of Annapolis, was already occupied. It is believed that the Maryland charter was penned by Lord Baltimore himself. Before it passed the seals, Calvert died,^e leaving his son Cecil heir to his title and fortune. The charter was executed about two months afterward,^d and signed by Cecil, with no alteration from the original except in the name of the province. It was called Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the queen of Charles the First, instead of *Crescentia*,

¹ Fuller's *Worthies of England*.

² The Oath of Supremacy was one denying the supremacy of the pope in ecclesiastical or temporal affairs in England, which was required to be taken, along with the Oath of Allegiance, by persons, in order to qualify them for office.

^c April 25, 1632.

^d June 30.

Character of the first Maryland Charter.

Toleration its chief Glory.

Baltimore's Policy.

as the first Lord Baltimore named it. This charter was full of the ideas of absolutism and royal prerogatives which distinguished the character and career of James and his son Charles.



It made the proprietor absolute lord of the province—"Absolutus Dominus et Proprietarius"—with the royalties of a count palatine. Theoretically, he was not inferior in rights and privileges to the king himself. He could make laws with the advice of the freemen, and withhold his assent from such as he did not approve. He claimed, and sometimes practiced, the right to dispense with the laws, in accordance with the principles and occasional practice of King James. He was authorized to create manorial lordships; to bestow titles upon the meritorious of his subjects; to summon, by writs, any freemen he chose, to take a seat in a legislative Assembly without election; to make ordinances of equal force with the laws without the confirmation of the Assembly; to declare martial law at his pleasure—for he had absolute control of the military and naval force of the colony—and to present ministers to the parishes. Such were the extensive powers which the charter of Maryland conferred upon the proprietor; yet the absolute authority of the "Baron of Baltimore" was conceded rather with reference to the crown than the colonists, for the charter

contained concessions and grants to the people sufficient to guarantee them against oppression. The privileges, liberties, and franchises of liege subjects of England, born within the realm, were secured to them; they were protected against the operation of all laws repugnant to the statutes and customs of England; and they were forever exempted, by an express covenant in the charter, from all "impositions, customs, or other taxations, quotas, or contributions whatever," to be levied by the king or his successors. The sovereign did not reserve to himself even the right of superintendence of the affairs of the colony, or the power to interfere, in any way, with its laws. In fact, the province of Maryland was, by its royal charter, made independent of the crown from the beginning; it was what the proprietor termed it, "a separate monarchy." The dependence was acknowledged only by the provision of the charter which obliged the proprietor to acknowledge fealty by paying a tribute to the king of two Indian arrows yearly, and a fifth of all gold or silver ore which might be found.

The true glory of the first Maryland charter consists in the religious freedom which it recognizes; a freedom reasserted and enforced by an act of the Assembly in 1649, seventeen years after the charter passed the seals, when the whole realm of England was in commotion on account of the execution of the king and establishment of the commonwealth under Cromwell. To Lord Baltimore belongs the honor of being the first lawgiver in Christendom who made freedom of conscience the basis of a state constitution. There seems to be something paradoxical in the fact that an absolutist in political affairs should have been so democratic in matters of religion. But Baltimore was a latitudinarian; sagacious, far-sighted, and awake to the best temporal interests of himself and his successors. He clearly perceived that the growth of his colony depended greatly upon the extent of religious freedom which might be guaranteed to emigrants. Persecution was overturning many peaceful

Baltimore's Toleration.

First Settlers.

Leonard Calvert.

Settlement at St. Mary's.

homes in Great Britain; and, to wherever the light of toleration was seen, thousands of the oppressed made their way. He was exceedingly tolerant himself, or he never would have retained the friendship of James; and therefore his feelings and interests were coincident. His Catholic brethren were more or less persecuted in England; while the Puritans, who were peopling the coasts of Massachusetts Bay, had also been "harried out of the land" by the hierarchy. Maryland was made the asylum for the persecuted; not for Roman Catholics alone, but for the English Puritans, and the equally harassed reformers of Virginia, under the administration of the bigoted Berkeley.

The first two hundred settlers, who came with Leonard Calvert^a (brother of Cecil, and first governor of the province), were principally Roman Catholics, but in a few ^{a 1633.} years Protestants became almost as numerous as they. These settled upon the unoccupied territory north of the Patuxent, and formed a new county which they called Severn, or Anne Arundel, extending nearly to the present site of Baltimore. "All the world outside of these portals [St. Michael's and St. Joseph's, as the first emigrants denominated the two headlands at the mouth of the Potomac, now Point Lookout, and Smith's Point] was intolerant, proscriptive, vengeful against the children of a dissenting faith. Only in Maryland, throughout this wide world of Christendom, was there an altar erected, and truly dedicated to the freedom of Christian worship." Yet it must not be forgotten that, fifteen months before the charter of Maryland was executed, Roger Williams had sounded the trumpet of intellectual freedom in New England, and "it became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions, in characters so deep that the impress has remained to this day."³

It is not within the scope of my design to notice in detail the progress of the Maryland colony. The first settlement was made by Leonard Calvert, who, in February, 1634, arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia, with about two hundred Roman Catholics. The Virginians had remonstrated against the grant to Baltimore, but, by express commands of the king, Harvey, then governor, received Calvert with courtesy. Early in March he sailed up the Potomac, and, casting anchor under an island which he called St. Clement, he fired his first cannon, erected a cross, and took possession "in the name of the Savior of the world and the King of Great Britain."⁴ He then proceeded up the Potomac to the mouth of the Piscataqua Creek, opposite Mount Vernon, and near the site of the present Fort Washington, fifteen miles south of Washington City. The chief of the Indian village at that place was friendly; but Calvert, deeming it unsafe to settle so high up the river, returned, and entered the stream now called St. Mary's. He purchased a village of the Indians, and commenced a settlement.^b Founded upon religious toleration and the practice of justice,^c the colony rapidly increased in population and resources; and peace, except ^{b April, 1634.}

¹ Kennedy's *Discourse on the Life and Character of George Calvert*, before the Maryland Historical Society, 1845, page 43.

² Bancroft, i., 375.

³ Belknap.

⁴ As an instance of the determination to preserve peace within his borders, Leonard Calvert issued a proclamation in 1638, to prohibit "all unreasonable disputations in point of religion tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to the opening of faction in religion." A Catholic gentleman (Captain Cornwaleys) had two Protestant servants. They were one day reading aloud, together, Smith's Sermons, and were overheard by Cornwaleys's overseer, a Roman Catholic, while reading a passage in which the pope was called anti-Christ, and the Jesuits anti-Christian ministers. The overseer abused them, and ordered them to read no more. The servants preferred a formal complaint against the overseer, and submitted it to the governor and council. Of the latter, Cornwaleys was one. The parties were heard, and the overseer was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ordered to remain in prison until he should find sureties for his good behavior in future. This case shows the tolerant spirit of a Catholic administration.—Kennedy's *Discourse*, page 45.

The act for religious liberty, passed in 1649, contained a clause authorizing the imposition of a fine of ten shillings for abusive expressions between the parties; such as idolater, popish priest, Jesuit, and Jesuited papist, on the one side, and, on the other, heretic, schismatic, round-head, and similar epithets.—Langford, page 29.

The clause for religious freedom in the act of 1649 extended only to *Christians*. It was introduced by the proviso that, "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death."

First Legislative Assembly.

Religious Animosity.

Toleration of the Roman Catholics.

Civil Commotions.

during the troubles arising from the refusal of Clayborne, an original settler, to acknowledge the authority of the governor, reigned within its borders until 1642, when petty hostilities were carried on against the Indians. Leonard Calvert was appointed governor¹ of the province, as the proprietor's lieutenant; and in 1635 the first Legislative Assembly convened at St. Mary's. A representative government was established in 1639, the people being allowed to send as many delegates to the General Assembly as they pleased. At the same time, a declaration of rights was adopted, the powers of the proprietor were defined, and all the privileges enjoyed by English subjects were confirmed to the colonists. The Indian hostilities closed in 1644, and the next year a rebellion under Clayborne involved the province in a civil war. The revolt was suppressed in August the following year.

Religious animosity between the Protestants and Roman Catholics finally became a source of great trouble, and in 1649 the Assembly adopted the Toleration Act. This allayed party strife for a while. At this time Charles the First was beheaded, and Cromwell became the chief magistrate of Great Britain. Lord Baltimore, who was warm in his professions of attachment to the king while his affairs were prosperous, when he saw the downfall of royalty inevitable, was equally loud in proclaiming his attachment to the Republicans. Thomas Green, his governor, who had hastily proclaimed Charles the Second, on hearing of the execution of his father, was removed, and his place was filled by William Stone, a Protestant, who "was always zealously affected to the Parliament."

In 1650, the legislative body was first divided into two branches, an Upper and a Lower House; the former consisting of the governor and his council, appointed by the proprietor, and the latter of the representatives chosen by the people. At that session, all taxes were prohibited except by the consent of the freemen.

In 1651, the Long Parliament, which had established its supremacy in England, appointed commissioners to govern Maryland. Stone, Lord Baltimore's lieutenant, was removed; but, on the dissolution of that Parliament by Cromwell in 1654, he was restored to his full powers. The commissioners, however (who had retired to Virginia), entered Maryland, and compelled Stone to surrender his warrant into their hands. The Protestants, who acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, and had the power, by majority, in their own hands, questioned the rights and privileges of an hereditary proprietor. They stoutly contended for religious liberty, yet they actually disfranchised those who differed from them in religious opinions. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Assembly; and an act was passed toward the close of 1654, declaring that they were not entitled to the protection of the laws of Maryland!

Early in 1655, Stone, with greater loyalty to his master, the proprietor, than to his religious profession, organized an armed body of Catholics, and seized the provincial records. Civil war raged with fury, and was intensified by the heat of religious acrimony. The Catholics were finally defeated, Stone was made prisoner, and four of the principal men of the province, attached to Baltimore's party, were executed.

Josiah Fendall, who had actively supported Stone, and headed an insurrection, was appointed governor, by Lord Baltimore, in 1656, but he was soon arrested by the Protestant party. He was a man of good address, and finally succeeded in having himself acknowledged as governor.² The proprietor was restored to all his rights, but he did not long

^{1658.} enjoy them, for, on the restoration of Charles the Second, the Assembly, knowing the animosity of the king against Lord Baltimore, dissolved the Upper House, and assumed to

¹ Clayborne having obtained a royal license in 1631 to traffic with the Indians, had established two settlements, one on the island of Kent, and one other near the mouth of the Susquehanna. Clayborne not only refused to acknowledge the authority of Baltimore, but sought to maintain his own claims by force of arms. He was defeated, and fled to Virginia, whence he was sent to England for trial as a traitor. He applied to the king for a redress of grievances, but, after a full hearing, the charter of Lord Baltimore was declared valid, against the earlier license of Clayborne. The latter returned to Maryland, got up a rebellion in 1645, and drove Governor Calvert into Virginia. For a year and a half the insurgents held the reins of government, and the horrors of civil war brooded over the infant colony. Clayborne afterward became one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament, under the Protectorate, to govern Maryland.

Baltimore a Courtier.	Civil War.	Maryland a Royal Province.	Republican Constitution.	Annapolis.
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itself the whole legislative power of the state.^a They declared that no power should be recognized in Maryland except their own and the king's. Fendall then surrendered his trust to Lord Baltimore, and accepted from the Assembly a new commission as governor. Charles, however, forgave Baltimore for his homage to the Republicans, for he was assured by that courtier that his partialities had always been really in favor of the royal cause. The same year the rights of the proprietor were restored, and Philip Calvert appointed governor. Fendall was arrested upon a charge of treason, was tried, and found guilty, but, under a general pardon to political offenders, wisely proclaimed by Lord Baltimore, he escaped death. He was only fined a trifling sum, and declared ineligible for office forever.¹

Cecil, Lord Baltimore, died in 1675, and was succeeded in title and fortune by his son Charles, who had been his lieutenant in Maryland from 1662 to 1668. The new proprietor caused the government to be administered by Thomas Notley, who governed with equity, and he became very popular with all parties. Tranquillity prevailed in the province until the Revolution in England in 1688, which drove James the Second from the throne, and shook every colony in America. False rumors, alleging that the Catholics and Indians had coalesced for the purpose of massacring the Protestants, aroused all the fire of religious animosity which had been slumbering for years, and caused the formation of an armed association for the alleged defense of the Protestant faith, and of the rights of William and Mary, the successors of James. A compromise was finally effected, and the Catholic party surrendered the powers of government to the association, by capitulation. A convention of the associates assumed the government, and exercised its functions until 1691, when the king, by an arbitrary act, deprived Charles, Lord Baltimore, of his political rights as proprietor, and constituted Maryland, for the first time, a royal government. Sir Lionel Copley was appointed governor, and, on his arrival,^b the principles of the proprietary government were overturned; religious toleration, so freely conceded and so firmly maintained when the Catholic proprietors held sway, was abolished, and the Church of England was established as the religion of the state, and demanding support from general taxation.

Maryland continued a royal province under the successive administrations of Copley, Nicholson, Blackstone, Seymore, Lloyd, and Hart, until 1720, and tranquillity prevailed. The inheritance of the proprietorship having fallen to Charles, infant heir of Lord Baltimore,^c who, on attaining his majority,^d professed the Protestant faith, George the First restored the patent to the family. It remained a proprietary government until our Revolution,^e when, as an independent state, it adopted a constitution,^e and took its place (the fourth in the point of time) in the confederation of states. A large number of Presbyterians from the north of Ireland had settled in the province, and the principles of their ecclesiastical polity being favorable to republicanism, they exerted a powerful influence in casting off the royal yoke.

Annapolis being the capital of the province, it was the heart of political action. In common with the people of the other colonies, Maryland took a bold stand against the oppressive measures of the mother government, commencing with the Stamp Act. On the 27th of August, 1765, a meeting of "Assertors of British American privileges" met at Annapolis, "to show their detestation of and abhorrence to some late tremendous attacks on liberty, and their dislike to a certain late arrived officer, a *native of this province*."^f The

¹ Fendall afterward became concerned in a rebellious movement, with an accomplice named Coode. He was arrested, fined four thousand pounds of tobacco, imprisoned for non-payment, and banished from the province.

^a The successive governors were Charles and Benedict Leonard Calvert; Samuel Ogle; Lord Baltimore; Ogle again; Thomas Bladen; Ogle again; Benjamin Tasker, acting governor; Horatio Sharpe, and Robert Eden. Thomas Johnson was the first republican governor.

^b This was a Mr. Hood, who had been appointed stamp-master, while in England, on the recommendation of Dr. Franklin. Such was the indignation of the people against him, that no one would purchase goods of him, though offered at a very low price. Just before the burning of his effigy he escaped to New York, in time to save himself from being presented with a coat of tar and feathers.

Stamp-master's Effigy hanged and burned.

The Sons of Liberty.

Statue of the King and Portrait of Camden.

landing of that officer was at first opposed and prevented, but he was finally permitted to enter the town. They made an effigy of him, dressed it curiously, placed it in a cart, like a malefactor, with some sheets of paper before it, and, while the bell was tolling, paraded it through the town. They proceeded to a hill, where, after punishing it at the whipping-post and pillory, they hung it upon a gibbet, set fire to a tar-barrel underneath, and burned it.¹ Governor Sharpe informed the colonial secretary of the proceedings, and plainly told him that, such was the temper of the people, that any stamped paper which might arrive would doubtless be burned. Some of the proscribed paper, which arrived in December,² was sent back by Governor Sharpe. The people refused to use the odious stamps, and all legal business was suspended for a while. The Maryland Gazette, like the Pennsylvania Journal (see page 259), appeared in mourning on the 31st of October, declaring, like its cotemporary, that "The times are Dreadful, Dismal, Doleful, Dolorous, and Dollarless." The editor issued "an apparition of the *late* Maryland Gazette" on the 10th of December, and expressed his "belief that the odious Stamp Act would never be carried into operation."

On the 1st of March, 1766, the Sons of Liberty of Baltimore, Kent, and Anne Arundel counties held their first formal meeting at the court-house in Annapolis. The Reverend Andrew Lendrum was appointed moderator, and William Paca (afterward a signer of the Declaration of Independence) was chosen secretary. Joseph Nicholson, from Kent county, presented an address from that district, signed by twenty-three of the leading men.³ It was an application to the chief justice of the provincial court, the secretary and commissary general.



LORD CAMDEN.⁴
From an English Print.

and judges of the land-offices, asking them to resume the business of their respective offices regardless of the law. The Anne Arundel and Baltimore committees also signed the request,⁵ which, being forwarded to those officers, was complied with. The Stamp Act thus virtually became a nullity a month before the intelligence of its repeal arrived. That intelligence reached Annapolis at noon on the 5th of April, and diffused unusual joy through the city. The remainder of the day was spent by the people in mirth and festivity, and at an assemblage in the evening, "all loyal and patriotic toasts were drank." The Assembly of Maryland voted a statue to the king, and ordered a portrait of Lord Camden, a parliamentary friend of the Americans, to be painted for the State House. On the 11th of June, great rejoicings were again held at Annapolis, that day having been appointed for the purpose by the

¹ Ridgeley's *Annals of Annapolis*, page 136.

² The following are the names of the Sons of Liberty of Kent county, appended to the address: "Joseph Nicholson, William Ringgold, William Stephenson, Thomas Ringgold, Jr., Joseph M'Hard, Gideon M'Caulley, Daniel Fox, Benjamin Binning, William Bordley, Jarvis James, William Stukely, Joseph Nicholson, Jr., James Porter, Thomas Ringgold, James Anderson, Thomas Smyth, William Murray, George Garnet, S. Boardley, Jr., Peroy Frisby, Henry Vandike, and John Bolton."

³ The Anne Arundel committee consisted of William Paca, Samuel Chase (also a signer of the Declaration of Independence), and Thomas B. Hands. The Baltimore county committee were John Hall, Robert Alexander, Corbin Lee, James Heath, John Moale, and William Lux. The Baltimore town committee consisted of Thomas Chase, D. Chamier, Robert Adair, Reverend Patrick Allison, and W. Smith.

⁴ Charles Pratt, earl of Camden, was the third son of Chief-justice Pratt, of the King's Bench. He was born in 1713, and educated at Eton and Cambridge. His fine talents as a legal scholar having been made known in a case wherein he defended Mr. Pitt, that gentleman, when chancellor in 1757, procured for Pratt

Governor Eden.

Arrival of a Tea Ship.

Burning of the Vessel and Cargo

mayor. A large concourse of people from the neighboring counties were assembled, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

Robert Eden was the last royal governor of Maryland. He arrived at Annapolis on the 5th of June, 1769, and continued in office during the stormy period preceding the actual hostilities of the Revolution, and until the colonies had declared themselves independent, when he returned to England. Governor Eden was respected by all for his urbanity and kindness of heart, but his duty to his king brought him into collision with the leading minds in the colony as the Revolution advanced, and at length, in consequence of several intercepted letters, Congress recommended the Council of Safety of Maryland to put him under arrest, and to take possession of his papers.¹ The Baltimore committee volunteered to carry out the recommendation of Congress, and, in consequence, became involved in difficulty with the Maryland convention.² A committee of the convention, before whom Eden's letters were laid, reported that, in such correspondence as the governor had carried on with the ministry, he did not evince hostility to the colonists; and the matter ended by signifying to Eden that the public safety and quiet required him to leave the province.

Annapolis was a scene of great excitement in the autumn of 1774. Already public sentiment had been expressed against the Boston Port Bill at a general meeting,^b and the people were ripe for rebellion. On Saturday, the 15th of October, the ship *Peggy*, Captain Stewart, arrived from London, bringing, among other things, seventeen packages of tea, consigned to T. C. Williams & Co., of Annapolis. This was the first arrival of the proscribed article at that port. As soon as the fact was known, the citizens were summoned to a general meeting. It was ascertained that the consignees had imported the tea, and that Anthony Stewart, proprietor of the vessel, had paid the duty upon it. This was deemed an acquiescence in the justice of the claim of Great Britain to tax the colonies, and it was resolved that the tea should not be landed. The people of the surrounding country were summoned to a public meeting in Annapolis the following Wednesday. Mr. Stewart issued a handbill explaining the transaction, and disclaiming all intention to violate the non-importation pledge; and expressed his regret that the article had been placed on board his ship. But the people, too often cajoled by the whining of men when their bad conduct had brought them into trouble, were more disposed to punish than to forgive, and they resolved, at the Wednesday meeting, to destroy the vessel, with its packages of tea. To prevent raising a tempest that might not be allayed by the simple destruction of the vessel, and to soften the asperity of public feeling toward him, Mr. Stewart, under the advice of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and others, consented to burn the vessel himself. Accompanied by some friends, he ran her aground near Windmill Point, and set her on fire. The people were satisfied, and the crowd dispersed. "The tea burning at Boston," says M. Mahon, "has acquired renown, as an act of unexampled daring at that day in the defense of American liberties; but the tea burning of Annapolis, which occurred in the ensuing fall, far surpasses it, in the apparent deliberation, and utter carelessness of concealment, attending the bold measures which led to its accomplishment."³

the office of attorney general. He was raised to the dignity of chief justice of the Common Pleas in 1762, and had the manly courage, while in office, to pronounce in favor of John Wilkes, against the wishes of government. For this he was applauded throughout the kingdom. He was made a peer of the realm, with the title of *Earl of Camden*, in 1765, and in 1766 was advanced to the Seals. Throughout the struggle of the Americans for right and liberty, he was a consistent friend of the colonists. In 1782, he was appointed president of the Privy Council, which place he held, except for a short interim, until his death. He died on the 18th of April, 1794, aged eighty-one years.

¹ These letters, which fell into the hands of the Baltimore committee, and were by them transmitted to Congress, were addressed to the colonial secretary and other members of the British cabinet, and were considered "highly dangerous to the liberties of America."—*Journals of Congress*, ii., 130.

² General Charles Lee, who was then at Williamsburg, in Virginia, wrote to Samuel Purviance, chairman of the Baltimore committee, advising particular military action in respect to the seizure of Eden and his papers. For this the Council of Safety blamed him, and he was charged with unwarrantable interference. In an explanatory letter to Mr. Jenifer, chairman of the council, Lee fully justified himself, and uttered the noblest sentiments of patriotism.

³ *History of Maryland*.

At Elizabethtown (now Hagerstown, in Washington county) the committee of vigilance of the district caused one John Parks to go with his hat off, with a lighted torch, and set fire to a chest of tea in his possession. The committee recommended entire non-intercourse with Parks; but the populace, thinking the committee too lenient, satisfied themselves by breaking the doors and windows of his dwelling. Tar and feathers were freely used in various places, and the town committees exercised supreme authority in all local matters having a relation to the great subject which engrossed the public mind.

^a May 10, 1776. When Congress recommended^a the several colonies to establish provisional governments, where it had not already been done, the Maryland convention, as we have noticed (page 282), did not at first concur with the resolution. On the contrary, they voted that it was not necessary to suppress every exercise of authority under the crown.^b ^b May 20. Through the efforts of Samuel Chase and others in calling county conventions, a change of public sentiment was speedily wrought in Maryland, and on the 28th of June the convention empowered its delegates in Congress to vote for a resolution declaring the colonies "free and independent." Her representatives, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, and Charles Carroll, were among the most active of those who signed the great Declaration. A state Constitution was adopted on the 14th of August following, and from that period Maryland labored assiduously, shoulder to shoulder, with her sister colonies, in maintaining the independence which Congress had declared.

Annapolis, like Baltimore, was frequently the scene of military displays, but not of sanguinary conflicts. When Washington, covered with all the glory which victory in battle can bestow, came fresh from the fields of Yorktown, on his way to Philadelphia, he passed through Annapolis.^c On his arrival, all business was suspended, and crowds of ^c November 21, 1781. eager gazers thronged the windows and the streets. A public address was presented by the citizens, and every manifestation of esteem for the great chief was exhibited. Again, late in 1783, when the war was ended, the Continental army was disbanded, and Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the United States, the State House at Annapolis, now venerated, because of the glorious associations which cluster around it, was filled with the brave, the fair, and the patriotic of Maryland, to witness the sublime spectacle of that beloved chief resigning his military power, wielded with such mighty energy and glorious results for eight long years, into the hands of the civil authority which gave it.^d ^d December 23, 1783.

The Continental Congress having adjourned at Princeton,^e to meet at Annapolis on the 26th of No-



THE STATE HOUSE AT ANNAPOLIS.¹

¹ This fine building is situated upon an elevation in the center of the city, and is admired by every visitor, not only for its style of architecture, but for the beauty of its location. The building is of brick. The superstructure consists of a spacious dome, surmounted by two smaller ones, with a cupola of wood. From the dome, a magnificent prospect opens to the eye. Around the spectator is spread out the city and harbor like a map, while far away to the southeast stretches the Chesapeake, with Kent Island and the eastern shore looming up in the distance. The edifice fronts Francis Street, and the hill on which it stands is surrounded by a substantial granite wall, surmounted by an iron railing, having three gateways. It was

The Senate Chamber where Washington resigned his Commission.

Portraits.

Departure of Rochambeau.

vember, was then in session there. In the Senate Chamber of the Capitol the interesting scene took place, so well delineated by the pens of Marshall and others, and the pencil of Trumbull. I shall here omit the details of that closing event of the war, for it is too closely connected with the departure of the last hostile foot from our shores, a month ^{a November 25, 1783.} previously,* to be separated from that narrative, without marring the sublime beauty of the picture. Never shall I forget the peculiar emotions which I felt while sitting in that room, copying the portraits of those patriots of Maryland who signed our Declaration of Independence.¹ The little gallery wherein stood Mrs. Washington and other distinguished ladies when the chief resigned his commission, is still there, and unchanged; and the doors, windows, cornices, and other architectural belongings are the same which echoed the voice of the Father of his Country on that occasion. The very spot where Mifflin, the president, and Thomson, the secretary of Congress sat, when the treaty of peace with Great Britain was ratified, was pointed out to me. Reflecting upon the events which consecrate it, that hall, to me, seemed the shrine wherein the purest spirit of patriotism should dwell, for there the victorious warrior for freedom laid his sword upon the altar of Peace—there the sages of a people just made free ratified a solemn covenant of peace, friendship, and political equality with the most powerful nation upon earth, wrung from its rulers by the virtues and prowess of men who scorned to be unrequited vassals. From that hall, like the dove from the ark, the spirit of peace and reconciliation went out, never to return disappointed; for the deluge of misery which war had brought upon the land was assuaged, the floods had returned to their proper boundaries, and the hills and valleys of the new republic were smiling with the blessings of returning prosperity and quiet. The gentle spirit found a resting-place every where throughout the broad land.

I have little else to note concerning Annapolis, as connected with my subject. The French army was encamped upon the College green for a short time, while on its march northward in 1782, and it was from this port that Rochambeau and his suite embarked for France. Great rejoicings were held in April, 1783, on the receipt of the intelligence of a general cessation of hostilities. Three years after the treaty of peace was ratified, commissioners from the several states met at Annapolis, "to consider on the best means of remedying the defects of the Federal government."^b This convention was the incipient step toward framing our Federal Constitution, a subject to be noticed in detail hereafter. From that period the city rather declined in commerce and general importance; for Baltimore, having been established as a port of entry, with a custom-house, and supported by a thriving agricultural population, soon outstripped it in trade. But Annapolis remains the political metropolis of Maryland.

erected in 1772, upon the site of the old Court-house, built in 1706. The corner stone was laid by Governor Robert Eden. The dome was not built until after the Revolution. The architect was Joseph Clarke. Tradition relates that when Governor Eden struck the corner stone with a mallet, at the time of laying it, a severe clap of thunder burst over the city, though there was not a cloud in the sky. Thomas Dance, who executed the stucco work of the dome, fell from the scaffold, and was killed, just as he finished the center piece.—See Ridgely's *Annals of Annapolis*.

¹ Full-length portraits of Carroll, Chase, Paca, and Stone, grace the walls of the Senate Chamber. Copies of the heads of these will be found among those of the signers in the frontispiece of the second volume of this work. Carroll and Stone were painted by Sully, the other two by Bordley—both native artists. It is worthy of remark that the four signers were then residents of Annapolis. The portrait of Paca is a fine picture of a fashionable gentleman of that day. His coat is a claret color, vest white silk, black silk breeches, and white silk stockings. Stone, who is sitting, has a graver appearance. His coat is brown, vest and breeches black silk, and white silk stockings. Carroll and Chase are both sitting. The former has an overcoat on, the skirt of which is thrown over his knee; the latter is dressed in his judicial robe, a simple black gown. In the same room is a portrait of John Eager Howard, and William Pitt, earl of Chatham. The latter a full-length, and in Roman costume, was painted by Charles Wilson Peale (who was also a native of Maryland), while in England, and presented by the artist to his native state in 1794. In the hall of the House of Delegates is a full-length likeness of Washington, attended by La Fayette and Colonel Tilghman—the Continental army passing in review. This picture, commemorative of the surrender at Yorktown, was also painted by Peale, pursuant to a resolution of the Assembly of Maryland. In Trumbull's picture of this room, in which is represented the commander-in-chief resigning his commission, the artist for the purpose of having proper lights and shadows, has omitted the three large windows.

CHAPTER XVI

"How lovely all,
 How calmly beautiful! Long shadows fall
 More darkly o'er the wave as day declines,
 Yet from the west a deeper glory shines,
 While every crested hill and rocky height
 Each moment varies in the kindling light
 To some new form of beauty—changing through
 All shades and colors of the rainbow's hue,
 'The last still loveliest,' till the gorgeous day
 Melts in a flood of golden light away,
 And all is o'er."—SARAH HELEN WHITMAN.



OWARD the decline of a brilliant afternoon, I left Annapolis for Washington City. The air was as balmy as spring; "December as pleasant as May." The west was glowing with radiant beauty at sunset when I crossed the long bridge over the South River, and quaffed a cup of cold water from a bubbling spring at the toll-house on the southern side. The low, sandy country was exchanged for a region more rolling and diversified; and my ride during the early evening, with a half moon and brilliant stars casting down their mild effulgence, would have been delightful, but for the provoking obstructions which a lack of public spirit and private enterprise had left in the way. The highway was the "county road," yet it passed, almost the whole distance from Annapolis to Washington, through plantations, like a private wagon-path, without inclosure. Wherever the division fences of fields crossed the road, private interest had erected a barred gate to keep out intrusive cattle, and these the traveler was obliged to open. Being my own footman, I was exercised in limbs and patience to my heart's content, for, during a drive of thirteen miles that evening, I *opened* fifteen gates; who *closed* them I have never ascertained. The miles seemed excessively long; the gates were provokingly frequent. I never paid tribute with greater reluctance, for it was the exaction of laziness and neglect.

I crossed the Patuxent at seven o'clock, and halted at Queen Anne, a small, antiquated-looking village, some of the houses of which, I doubt not, were erected during the reign of its godmother. It is close to the Patuxent, and for many years was the principal depôt in the state for the inspection and sale of tobacco. Flat-bottomed boats bore away from it, in former years, heavy cargoes of the nauseous stuff; now sand-bars fill the river channel, and the freight-boats stop eight miles below. The tobacco business has ceased; the railway from Annapolis to Washington has withdrawn the business incident to a post-route, and every thing indicates decay. There was no tavern in the place, but I procured a supper and comfortable lodgings at the post-office. We breakfasted by candle-light, and, before "sun up," as the Southerners say, I was on my way toward the Federal city, twenty-three miles distant.

I had hardly left the precincts of Queen Anne before a huge red gate confronted me! I thought it might be the ghost of one I had encountered the night before, but its substantiality as a veritable gate was made manifest by the sudden halt of Charley before its bars. I was preparing to alight, when a colored boy came from behind a shock of corn, and kindly opened the way. "How far is it to the next gate?" I inquired. "Don't know, massa," said the lad; "but I reckons dey is pretty tick, dey is, twixt here and Uncle Josh's." Where "Uncle Josh" lived I do not know, but I found the gates more than "pretty tick" all the way until within a short distance of Bladensburg. In the journey of thirty-six miles

First View of the Capitol.

Rainbow at Noon.

The Federal City, Capitol, and Congress Library

from Annapolis to Washington, I passed through fifty-three gates! Unlike the doors and windows of the people of the South, I found them all *shut*.

From the brow of a hill, eight miles from Washington, I had the first glimpse of the Capitol dome, and there I opened the last gate; each a pleasing reminiscence now. I passed to the left of Bladensburg,¹ crossed the east branch of the Potomac, and entered Washington City, eastward of the Capitol, at one o'clock. For thirty minutes I had witnessed a rare phenomenon at that hour in the day. Dark clouds, like the gatherings of a summer shower, were floating in the northeastern sky, and upon them refraction painted the segment of quite a brilliant rainbow. I once saw a lunar bow at midnight, in June, but never before observed a solar one at mid-day in December.

Our national metropolis is a city of the present century; for before the year 1800, when the seat of the Federal government was permanently located there, it was a small hamlet, composed of a few houses. The selection of a site for the Federal city was intrusted to the judgment of the first president, who chose the point of land on the eastern bank of the Potomac, at its confluence with the Anacostia, or east branch of that river. A territory around it, ten miles square, was ceded to the United States by Virginia and Maryland in 1788. The owners of the land gave one half of it, after deducting streets and public squares, to the Federal government, to defray the expenses to be incurred in the erection of public buildings. The city was surveyed under the chief direction of Andrew Ellicott, and was laid out in 1791. The Capitol was commenced in 1793, but was not yet completed on the original plan, when, in 1814,² the British troops, under General Ross, burned it, together with the library of Congress, the president's house, and all the public buildings except the Patent Office. The city then contained about nine hundred houses, scattered in groups over an area of three miles. The walls of the Capitol remained firm, though scarred and blackened. The present noble edifice was completed in 1827,³ more than a quarter of a century after the seat of government was located at Washington.

¹ Bladensburg is in Prince George county, Maryland, six miles northeast of Washington. It is made memorable in the history of the war of 1812 from the circumstance of a severe battle having taken place there on the 24th of August, 1814, between a small body of Americans and a portion of the British army, then on its way to destroy the Federal city. Bladensburg had, for a long time, the unenviable notoriety of being the cock-pit for duellists who congregated at Washington City. There, on the 22d of March, 1820, Commodores Decatur and Barron fought with pistols. The latter was mortally wounded, and died in the arms of his distracted wife that night, at the early age of forty years.

² The Capitol is of the Corinthian order, built of white freestone. It is upon an eminence almost eighty feet above tide-water, in the center of a large square. It is composed of a central edifice, with two wings. The north wing was commenced in 1793, and finished in 1800, at a cost of \$480,202. The corner stone was laid by President Washington. The apron and trowel which he used on that occasion, as Grand Master of the Masonic Order, are preserved, and were used by Grand Master B. B. French, at the recent (1851) ceremonies of laying the corner stone of another enlargement of the Capitol. The south wing was commenced in 1803, and finished in 1808, at an expense of \$308,808. The central building was commenced in 1818, and completed in 1827, at a cost of \$957,647. The whole edifice covers an area of one and a half acres, exclusive of the circular inclosure for fuel, which forms an elegant area and glacis on the west front. The length of the front, including the two wings, is 352 feet; the depth of the wings is 121 feet. A projection on the east, or main front, including the steps, is 65 feet wide, and another, on the west front, 83 feet wide. There is a portico of 22 columns, 38 feet high, on the east front, and on the west front is another portico of 10 columns. The whole height of the building to the top of the dome is 120 feet. Notwithstanding the spaciousness of the Capitol, it is found to be insufficient for the use of our growing republic, and another addition is now (1852) in process of erection.

The British set fire to both wings of the Capitol, and the president's house, a mile distant, at the same time. The government officers and the people fled on the approach of the strong force of the enemy. The library of Congress, the furniture of the president's house, with other articles of taste and value, were destroyed. The bridge across the Potomac, the public stores, and vessels and buildings at the navy-yard, were consumed; and, not content with this destruction, they mutilated the beautiful monument erected in front of the Capitol in honor of the naval heroes who fought at Tripoli. The library of Congress was replaced by the purchase of that of Mr. Jefferson, in 1815, for the sum of \$23,000. It contained 7000 volumes, many of them exceedingly rare and valuable. A large portion of this library, which had been increased to 55,000 volumes, was destroyed by fire on the morning of the 24th of December, 1851. It was the result of accident. About 20,000 volumes were saved. The original portrait of Peyton Randolph, from which the copy printed on page 267 of this work was made, and also that of the Baron Steuben, by

The National Institute.

The Widow of General Alexander Hamilton.

Washington's Camp Chest.

Washington City has no Revolutionary history of its own; but in the library of Congress; the archives of the State and War Departments; in the rooms of the National Institute,¹ and the private collection of Peter Force, Esq., I found much of value and interest. The city was full of the life and activity incident to the assembling of Congress, and I passed four days there with pleasure and profit. My first evening was spent in the company of the venerable widow of General Alexander Hamilton, a surviving daughter of General Philip Schuyler. Mrs. Hamilton was then^a ninety-two years of age, and yet her mind seemed to have all the elasticity of a woman of sixty. A sunny cheerfulness,

^a December,
1848.

which has shed its blessed influence around her during a long life, still makes her society genial and attractive. Her memory, faithful to the impressions of a long and eventful experience, is ever ready, with its varied reminiscences, to give a charm to her conversation upon subjects connected with our history. With an affectionate daughter (Mrs. Holly), she lives in elegant retirement in the metropolis, beloved by her friends, honored by stran-



E. Schuyler Hamilton

gers, venerated by all. She is, I believe, the last of the belles of the Revolution—the last of those who graced the social gatherings honored by the presence of Washington and his lady during the struggle for independence—the last of those who gave brilliancy to the levees of the first president, and, with Lucy Knox and others, shared the honors and attentions of the noble and refined of all lands, who crowded to the public audien-

^a December,
1850.

^b January,
1852.

ces of the venerated Pater Patria, when chief magistrate of the nation. Two years later,^a I was privileged to enjoy her hospitality, and again to draw instruction from the clear well of her experience. She still lives, at the age of ninety-four, with the promises of centenary honors impressed upon her whole being. May Time, who has dealt so gently with her, bear her kindly to the goal of a hundred years!

In the rooms of the National Institute (a portion of the Patent Office building) are a few of the most interesting relics of the Revolution now in existence, carefully preserved in a glass case. Upon the floor stands Washington's *camp chest*, an old fashioned hair trunk, twenty-one inches in length, fifteen in width, and ten in depth, filled with the table furniture used by the chief during the war. The compartments are so ingeniously arranged, that they contain a gridiron; a coffee and tea pot; three tin sauce-pans (one movable handle being used for all); five glass flasks, used for honey, salt, coffee, port wine, and vinegar; three large tin meat dishes; sixteen plates;³ two knives and five forks; a candlestick and

Pine, on page 341, were burned, together with a large collection of ancient and modern medals, presented by Alexander Vattemare, and other precious things, which can not be replaced. The original Declaration of Independence was again saved from the flames.

¹ The *National Institution for the Promotion of Science* was organized at Washington City in 1840. The President of the United States is patron; the heads of the Departments constitute the directors on the part of the government, and an equal number of literary and scientific citizens are directors on the part of the institution. Its collections (to which have been added those of the United States Exploring Expedition, and the Historical Society and Columbia Institute of the District) are in the great hall of the Patent Office building, a room 275 feet long and 65 feet wide.

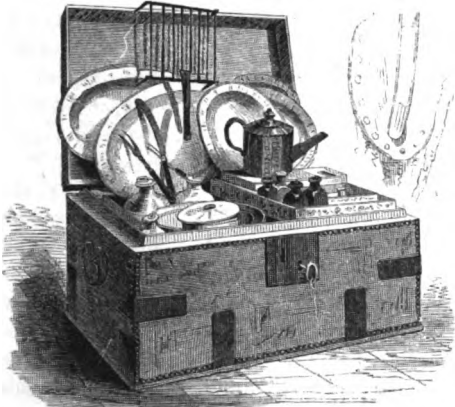
³ These are the dishes alluded to in the following letter, written by Washington, at West Point, to Dr. John Cochran, surgeon general of the northern department of the Continental army. It is dated "August 16, 1779." The original is in the present possession of the New York Historical Society, where it was deposited by Dr. Cochran's son, the late Major Cochran, of Oswego. See page 221, vol. i.

Washington's Letter to Dr. Cochran.

Pomp of Ancient Generals.

"The Sword and the Staff."

tinder-box ; tin boxes for tea and sugar, and five small bottles for pepper and other materials for making soup. Such composed the appointments for the table of the commander-in-chief of the American armies, while battling for independence, and laying the corner stone of our republic. What a contrast with the camp equipage of the heroes of other times and other lands, whom history has apotheosized, and whom the people of the earth call great ! With all the glitter and the pomp of wealth and power, which dazzle the superficial eye, the splendor which surrounds them is but dimness compared to the true glory that haloes the name and deeds of Washington, appreciated by the consequences of his career.



WASHINGTON'S CAMP CHEST.

cane, bequeathed to the hero by the sage.* Of these relics Morris has sweetly sung, in his ode called

"THE SWORD AND THE STAFF."

"The sword of the Hero !
The staff of the Sage !
Whose valor and wisdom
Are stamp'd on the age !

Time-hallowed mementoes
Of those who have riven
The scepter from tyrants,
'The lightning from heaven.'

"DEAR DOCTOR,—I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow ; but am I not in honor bound to apprise them of their fare ? As I hate deception, even where the imagination only is concerned, I will. It is needless to premise that my table is large enough to hold the ladies. Of this they had ocular proof yesterday. To say how it is usually covered is rather more essential ; and this shall be the purport of my letter.

"Since our arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table ; a piece of roast beef adorns the foot ; and a dish of beans, or greens, almost imperceptible, decorates the center. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, which I presume will be the case to-morrow, we have two beef-steak pies, or dishes of crabs, in addition, one on each side of the center dish, dividing the space and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which without them would be nearly twelve feet apart. Of late he has had the surprising sagacity to discover that apples will make pies ; and it is a question if, in the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef-steaks. If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and will submit to partake of it on plates, *once tin but now iron* (not become so by the labor of scouring), I shall be happy to see them ; and am, dear doctor, yours," &c.

¹ Montfaucon, in his *Antiquity Explained*, gives an account of the splendid processions of the conquerors of Persia, and the gold and silver vessels used in the tents of the generals. After mentioning the vast number of gold and silver vessels, chairs, tables, couches, &c., in the magnificent tent of Ptolemy Philadelphus, he thus describes the triumphal procession of Antiochus Epiphanes :

"First came twenty thousand *Macedonians*, the greatest Part of which had brass Shields, and others silver Shields. Then three thousand Horsemen of *Antioch*, most of whom had gold Collars and gold Crowns. Two thousand Horsemen more, all with gold Collars. Eight hundred young Men, each wearing a gold Crown. A thousand young Men, each carrying a silver Vase, the least of which weighed a thousand Drachms. Six hundred young Men more, each carrying a Vase of Gold ; and two hundred Women, each with a Gold Vase to scatter Perfumes. Eighty Women carried on Chairs, the feet of which were Gold ; and five hundred other Women, carried on Chairs with silver feet. This pompous Procession would appear very magnificent, were it not put after the former [Ptolemy Philadelphus], which surpasses every thing that can be imagined."—*Supplement*, tome iii., book v., p. 323.

I refer to this parade as an example of the contrast alluded to.

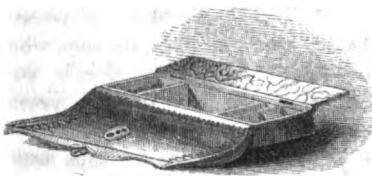
² Doctor Franklin, in the codicil to his Will, wrote as follows : "My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, *General Washington*. If it were a scepter, he has merited it, and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame De Forbach, the dowager duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it."

"This weapon, O Freedom!
Was drawn by thy son,
And it never was sheath'd
Till the battle was won!
No stain of dishonor
Upon it we see!
'Twas never surrender'd—
Except to the free!

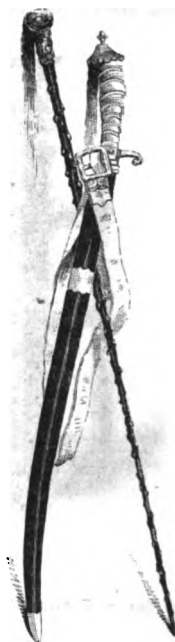
"While Fame claims the hero
And patriot sage,
Their names to emblazon
On History's page,
No holier relics
Will Liberty hoard,
Than FRANKLIN's staff, guarded
By WASHINGTON's sword."

The war sword of the chief is incased in a black leather sheath, with silver mountings. The handle is ivory, colored a pale green, and wound spirally with silver wire at wide intervals.¹ It was manufactured by J. Bailey, Fishkill, New York,² and has the maker's name engraved upon the hilt. The belt is white leather, with silver mountings, and was evidently made at an earlier period, for upon a silver plate is engraved "1757."

Washington's commission, signed by John Hancock, and the suit of clothes which he wore when he resigned that instrument into the custody of Congress, at Annapolis, are also there, together with a piece of his tent, and the portable writing-case represented in the engraving, which he used during all of his campaigns. The case is of



WASHINGTON'S WRITING-CASE.



SWORD AND STAFF.

board, covered with black leather, ornamented with figured borders. But the most precious relic of all was the original Declaration of Independence, written upon parchment, and bearing the autographs of the signers. In the year 1818, this priceless document was allowed to go into the hands of Benjamin Owen Tyler, a teacher of penmanship, for the purpose of making a fac simile of it for publication. By some process which he used for transferring it, it narrowly escaped utter destruction. Many of the names are almost illegible, while others are quite dim. This document (which was since removed to the Congress Library), with other precious things, was saved when the public buildings were burned by the British in 1814. In another part of the rooms of the Institute, which is devoted chiefly to the scientific collections made by the exploring expedition a few years ago, is the printing-press with which Franklin labored in London, when a journeyman printer, in 1725-6.³ It is carefully preserved in a glass case. It is an exceedingly rude apparatus, and presents a wonderful contrast to the printing machines of Hoe, of the present day, from which twenty thousand impressions may be thrown each hour. The *platen* is of wood, the *bed* of stone. Its construction is in the primitive style universally

¹ Upon the thigh of the chief, in Leutze's picture of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, is a perfect representation of this sword.

² See note on page 122.

³ In 1841, John B. Murray, Esq., of New York, being in Liverpool, was informed that this press was in the possession of Messrs. Harrild and Sons, of London. Mr. Murray visited their establishment, and proposed to purchase the press for the purpose of sending it to America. The owners informed him that they had thought of presenting it to the government of the United States, and assured him that they would not part with it for any other purpose. After some negotiation, the Messrs. Harrild agreed to let Mr. Murray have it, on condition that he should procure a donation to the Printers' Pension Society of London. The press was forwarded to Liverpool, and there exhibited. It attracted great attention; and finally the Reverend Hugh M'Neile, of Liverpool, was induced to deliver a public lecture on the *Life of Franklin*, the proceeds from admission tickets to be given to the society above named. In November, Mr. Murray had the pleasure of remitting to the treasurer of the Printers' Pension Society \$752, to be appropriated to the relief of one pensioner, a disabled printer of any country, to be called the Franklin pension. Mr. Murray brought the press to the United States, and it now occupies an appropriate place among the historical relics of our country at the Federal metropolis.

The lecture of Mr. M'Neile was published, with a fac simile of a letter written by Franklin in 1756, to the Reverend George Whitefield, and also a page containing an engraving of the press, which was printed upon the identical machine thus honored.

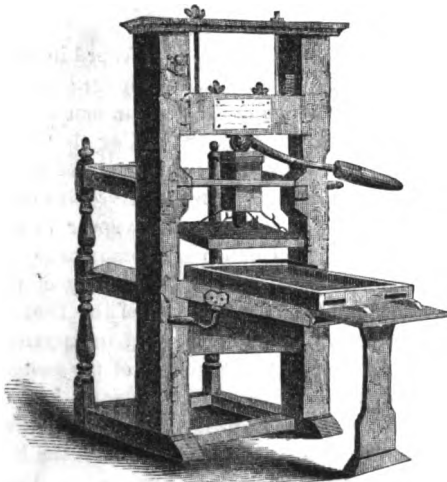
Character of the Press.

Franklin's Remarks in 1768.

Peale's Picture of Washington.

Its History.

used before the improvements made by the Earl of Stanhope; the power being obtained by



FRANKLIN'S PRESS.

a single screw, like a common standing-press, instead of a combination of lever and screw, as applied by that nobleman, or the combination of levers alone, as seen in the *Columbian* press invented by our countryman, George Clymer. Upon a brass plate affixed to the front of the press is the following inscription:

"Dr. Franklin's remarks in relation to this press, made when he came to England as agent of Massachusetts, in the year 1768. The doctor, at this time, visited the printing-office of Mr. Watts, of Wild Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and, going up to this particular press (afterward in the possession of Messrs. Cox and Son, of Great Queen Street, of whom it was purchased), thus addressed the men who were working at it: 'Come, my friends, we will drink together. It is now forty years since I worked, like you, at this press, as a journeyman printer.' The doctor then sent

out for a gallon of porter, and he drank with them,

SUCCESS TO PRINTING.

"From the above it will appear that it is one hundred and eight years since Doctor Franklin worked at this identical press.—June, 1833."

Upon the wall of the room is a full-length portrait of Washington, painted by Charles Wilson Peale,¹ under peculiar circumstances. Peale was a remarkable man. Possessed of great versatility of talent, he brought all his genius into play as circumstances demanded. He was a sturdy patriot, and entered the army at an early period of the contest. He commanded a company at the battle of Trenton, and also at Germantown; and he was with the army at Valley Forge. He employed the leisure hours incident to camp duty in painting, and it was at Valley Forge that he commenced the picture in question. When the army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey in pursuit of Sir Henry Clinton, and fought the battle of Monmouth, Peale went with it, taking his unfinished picture and his materials with him; and at Brunswick, a day or two after the Monmouth conflict, he obtained the last sitting from the commander-in-chief. The picture was finished at Princeton. A distant view of Nassau Hall, at that place, with a body of British prisoners marching, compose a portion of the back-ground. The picture of the sword hanging upon the thigh of Washing-

¹ Charles Wilson Peale was born at Charlestown, in Maryland, in 1741, and was apprenticed to a saddler in Annapolis. He became also a silver-smith, watch-maker, and carver. Carrying a handsome saddle to Hesselius, a portrait-painter in his neighborhood, he begged him to explain the mystery of putting colors upon canvas. From that day his artist life began. He went to England, where he studied under Benjamin West in 1770 and 1771. He returned to America, and for fifteen years was the only portrait painter of excellence in this country. By close application he became a good naturalist and preserver of animals. He practiced dentistry, and invented several machines. During the war he conceived the grand design of forming a portrait gallery, and for that purpose he painted a great number of likenesses of the leading men of the Revolution, American and foreign. Many were of life size, and others in miniature. A large number of the former are now in the possession of P. T. Barnum, proprietor of the American Museum in New York, and grace the gallery of that establishment.

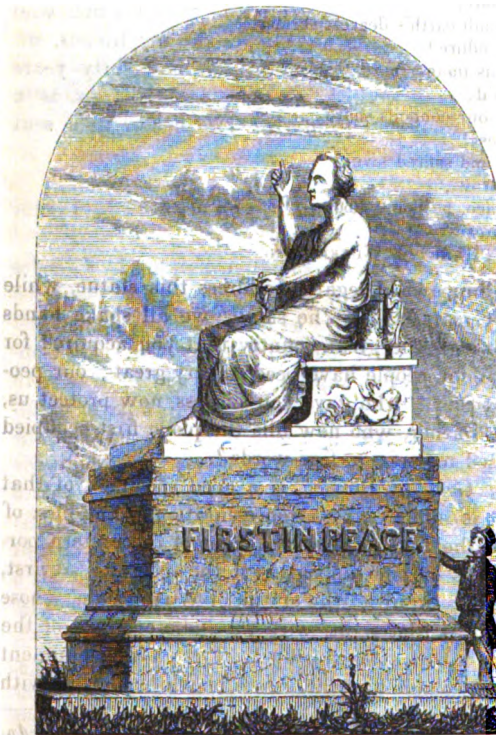
Mr. Peale opened a picture gallery in Philadelphia, and also commenced a museum, which, in time, became extensive. He delivered a course of lectures on natural history, and was very efficient in the establishment and support of the Academy of Fine Arts. He lived temperately, worked assiduously, and was greatly esteemed by all who knew him. He died in February, 1827, aged eighty-five years. I once saw a full-length portrait of himself which he painted at the age of eighty—a fine specimen of art.

ington is an evidence of the truthfulness of the costume, for it is an exact representation of the real weapon just described and depicted, which stands in a case on the opposite side of the room.

Leaving the room of the National Institute, I went up to the Capitol, and peeped in upon the sages of the Senate and House of Representatives, who seemed busily engaged in preparing to do something in the way of legislation. It is a practice quite too common for our writers to speak disparagingly of members of Congress, with the apparent feeling that they being the *servants* of the people, every scribbler has a right to exercise his freedom of utterance, censuring them to the fullest extent. Doubtless some of our representatives are entitled to much censure, and *some* to ridicule; but, as a body, they generally appear to the candid visitor as a collection of wise and honorable men. An English gentleman who accompanied me to both chambers, assured me that he had often sat in the gallery of the House of Commons of England, of the Chamber of Deputies of France, and of the Diet of Frankfort and other Germanic Legislatures, and not one of them could rival in apparent talent, wisdom, decorum, and faithfulness to their constituents, the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in listening to whose delegates he had

spent many weeks during three consecutive sessions. Being more interested in the historical pictures in the Rotunda of the Capitol, and in the books in the library of Congress, than in the preliminary business of the Legislature, I repaired thither, and occupied the remainder of the day in making sketches of portraits contained in Trumbull's celebrated pictures, which adorn four of the panels of that spacious room.¹

Early on the following morning I again went up to the Capitol, and sketched the statue of Washington, by Greenough; the group of Columbus and the Indian Girl, by Persico; and the elegant monument erected to the memory of the naval heroes who fought at Tripoli. The first is a colossal statue of the Father of his Country, sculptured in Parian marble by Greenough, draped in classic style, and seated upon an elaborately-wrought chair, the whole supported by a granite pedestal. In his left hand the chief holds a Roman short sword, in the act of presenting; the right hand, with the index finger extended, is lifted toward heaven. The chair has a filagree scroll-work back. On the left is a small



GREENOUGH'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON.

¹ The Rotunda is under the dome, in the middle of the center building. It is 95 feet in diameter, and of the same height. Just below the cornice, at the base of the dome, are four *tasso* relieves, representing *Smith delivered from Death by Pocahontas*; *The Landing of the Pilgrims*; *The Conflict of Daniel Boone with the Indians*; and *Penn's Treaty*. The Rotunda has eight panels, in four of which are pictures by Colonel John Trumbull, representing *The Presentation of the Declaration of Independence to Congress*; * *The Surrender*

* According to Colonel Trumbull's circular, now before me, the picture of the Presentation of the Declaration of Independence, so familiar to every American, was begun in Europe in 1787. It contains faithful portraits of thirty-six members, who were then living, and of all others of whom any correct representation could, at that early period, be obtained. These, with others which have since been obtained, to the number of forty-nine, are faithfully given in the frontispiece to this volume. There are two heads among them who were not signers of the Declaration: John Dickinson and Thomas Willing, of Pennsylvania. Trumbull's picture was engraved by A. B. Durand, the now eminent painter, in 1820-1. The paper on which it was

Description of Greenough's Statue.

Tuckerman's Poem.

A Chippewa's Speech.

Persico's Group.

figure of an aged man, with flowing beard, covered by a mantle; on the right stands an Indian of similar size, and both are in a contemplative attitude. On the left side of the seat, in low relief, is an infant Hercules, holding a serpent in one hand. Near him is another infant, prostrate, with its hand over its face. On the other side is Phœbus, with "his coursers of the sun." On the back of the seat, below the filagree work, is a Latin inscription, in raised letters.¹ This statue was originally intended for the center of the Rotunda. Too large for that room, it was placed upon the open grounds facing the east front of the Capitol, where, exposed to the sun and storm, its beauty, except in form, must soon pass away. It is a noble work of art, and, as I gazed upon the features of the great chief in the solemn grandeur of the inert marble, the beautiful lines of the poet came like a gushing stream from the deep well of memory, and the heart chanted,

"O, it was well, in marble firm and white,
To carve our hero's form,
Whose angel guidance was our strength in fight,
Our star amid the storm!
Whose matchless truth has made his name divine,
And human freedom sure,
His country great, his tomb earth's dearest shrine,
While man and time endure!
And it is well to place his image there,
Upon the soil he bless'd;
Let meaner spirits, who our councils share
Revere that silent guest!
Let us go up with high and sacred love
To look on his pure brow,
And as, with solemn grace, he points above,
Renew the patriot's vow!"

HENRY T. TUCKERMAN.

Eloquently did one of the chiefs of the Chippewa delegation address this statue, while standing before it a few years ago. "My Great Father," he said, "we all shake hands with you; we have traveled a long way through the great country that you acquired for your people by the aid of the Great Spirit. Your people have become very great; our people have become very small. May the Great Spirit, who gave you success, now protect us, and grant us the favor we ask of our Great Father, who now fills the place first occupied by you." What orator or sage ever expressed more in so few words?

The group of *Columbus and the Indian Girl*, by Persico, is a good specimen of that sculptor's skill. It is in white marble, and is intended as a representation of the idea of the discovery of America. This group is on the south side of the steps of the eastern portico of the Capitol. In the Discoverer's hand is a globe, appearing to the spectator, at first, like a simple ball. The relative position of this figure to the statue of Washington, whose right hand is elevated, impresses the beholder, at first sight, with the ludicrous idea of the Navigator and the Patriot engaged in tossing a ball at each other. The naval monument is upon the highest terrace on the western front of the Capitol. It is of white marble, with

of *Burgoyne*; the *Surrender of Cornwallis*; and *Washington resigning his Commission to Congress at Annapolis*. Besides these is a representation of the *Baptism of Pocahontas*, by John G. Chapman; *The Embarkation of the Pilgrims*, by Robert W. Weir; and *The Landing of Columbus*, by John Vanderlyn. One panel remains to be filled.

¹ The following is a copy of the inscription: "SIMULAGRUM ISTUD AD MAGNUM LIBERTATIS EXEMPLUM NEC SINE IPSA DURATURUM, HORATIUS GREENOUGH FACIEBAT."—"Horatio Greenough made this effigy, for a great exemplar of freedom, and one destined only to endure with freedom itself."

Upon the granite pedestal are the following words, in large cameo letters: *South side*.—"FIRST IN PEACE." *North side*.—"FIRST IN WAR." *West side*.—"FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN."

printed was made by Messrs. Gilpin, at Brandywine, and the printing was executed in New York. It was first published in 1822, and is the original of the millions of copies of all sizes which are in circulation.

The portraits of the officers of the French army in America, delineated in the picture of the *Surrender of Cornwallis*, were painted from life, by Colonel Trumbull, at the house of Mr. Jefferson, at Paris. Copies of these portraits, fourteen in number may be found in another portion of this work.

Tripoli Monument.

President Polk.

Arlington House.

Mr. Custis and the "Washington Treasures."

a brown stone pedestal, and is about forty feet high. It stands within a large basin of water, eight or ten feet deep, and supplied by a fountain in which gold fishes in abundance are seen sporting. The basin is surrounded by a strong iron fence. Upon one side of the pedestal, in low relief sculpture, is a view of Tripoli and the American fleet, and upon the other the following inscription :

" TO THE MEMORY OF SOMERS, CALDWELL, DECATUR, WADSWORTH, DORSEY, ISRAEL."¹

This monument, although too small to appear grand, is a fine embellishment, and commands the attention of every visitor to the Federal Capitol.

¹ December, 1848. I passed the morning of the 8th^a in the library of Mr. Force, preparing from old maps a plan of my Southern route. Toward noon I went up to the presidential mansion, and enjoyed the pleasure of an hour's interview with the chief magistrate, the late Mr. Polk. It was not a visit prompted by the foolish desire to see the exalted, but for the purpose of seeking information respecting an important movement in North Carolina at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, in which some of the family of Mr. Polk were conspicuous actors. I allude to the celebrated *Mecklenburgh Convention*, in May, 1775. The president readily communicated all the information in his possession, and kindly gave me a letter of introduction to the grandson of the secretary of that convention, then residing in Charlotte, where the meeting was held. This matter will be considered in detail hereafter.

At meridian I crossed the Potomac upon the mile-long bridge, and rode to *Arlington House*, the seat of George Washington Parke Custis, Esq. His mansion, wherein true Virginian hospitality prevails, is beautifully situated upon high ground overlooking the Potomac, Washington City, and Georgetown, half surrounded by a fine oak forest, and fronting broad lawns. Mr. Custis received me, though a stranger, with cordiality, and when the object of my visit was made known, the "Washington treasures of Arlington House" were opened for my inspection. As executor of the will, and the adopted son and member of the immediate family of Washington, Mr. Custis possesses many interesting mementoes of that great man. He has several fine paintings. Among them is the original three-quarter length portrait of his grandmother (Lady Washington), by Woolaston, from which the engraving in Sparks's *Life of Washington* was made; also the original portrait of the chief by Trumbull; of the two children of Mrs. Washington (the father and aunt of Mr. Custis); of Parke, an ancestor, who was aid to the great Marlborough in the battle of Blenheim, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller; crayon profile sketches of Washington and his lady, made in 1796; a beautiful painting on copper, in imitation of a medallion, of the heads of Washington and La Fayette, executed by the Marchioness De Brienne, and presented to Washington in 1789; and a number of other fine family portraits, choice engravings, and sculpture. Mr. Custis is himself an amateur artist, and has painted several historical subjects, among which is a cabinet picture of Washington at Yorktown, wherein the figure of the chief is truth-



WASHINGTON AND LA FAYETTE.²

¹ This monument was wrought in Italy, by *Copelano*, in 1804, by order of the surviving officers of the siege of Tripoli, and paid for by them. It was erected in the navy-yard at Washington City in 1806, where it was damaged by the British in 1814. This fact was kept in perpetual remembrance by the inscription cut upon it, "*Mutilated by Britons, August, 1814.*" When the monument was placed in its present position, that record was generously erased.

² The head of Washington is from a bust by Houdon, in possession of Mr. Custis.

Alexandria.

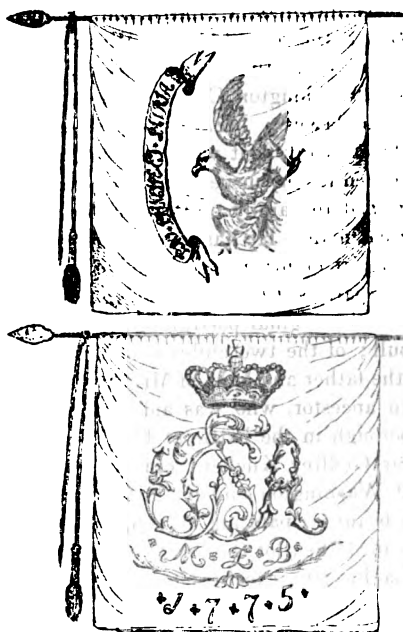
Its Museum.

The Hessian Flag captured at Trenton.

Anecdote of Washington.

fully delineated. A copy of his battle of Monmouth is printed on page 361. With books and pencil, in the bosom of an affectionate family, Mr. Custis, the last survivor of Washington's immediate household, is enjoying the blessings of a green old age. He has been present at the inauguration of every president of the United States (now numbering thirteen); and he has grasped the hand in friendly greeting of almost every distinguished personage who has visited our national metropolis during the last half century. For many years he communicated to the National Intelligencer his *Recollections of Washington*. These are graphic pictures of some of the most eventful scenes in the life of the patriot chief, described by eye-witnesses, and it is hoped that they will yet be arranged and published in a volume by the author.

It was almost sunset when I left Arlington House and returned to the Federal city. Before breakfast the next morning I rode down to Alexandria, an old town on the Virginia side of the Potomac, seven miles below Washington. It is quite a large place, and was once a commercial mart of considerable importance. The town is handsomely laid out in rectangles, and is said to be remarkably healthy. It has but little Revolutionary history, except such as appertains to the personal affairs of Washington, whose residence, at Mount Vernon, was near.¹ In its museum, which is closed to the public, are many relics of the war for independence, of exceeding rarity and value, most of which belongs to Mr. Custis. I procured permission to visit the museum from Mr. Vietch, the mayor of Alexandria, under whose official charge the corporation has placed the collection; and, accompanied by an officer, I passed an hour among its curiosities. Among them is the flag which Washington took from the Hessians at Trenton, mentioned on page 229. It is composed of two pieces of very heavy white damask silk, on which the devices are embroidered with silk and gold thread. The lettering is all done with gold thread. On one side is an eagle, bearing in its talons a scroll and olive branch. Over it, upon a ribbon, are the words *Pro principe et patria*; "For principle and country;" a curious motto for the flag of mercenaries. Upon the other side is a monogram, composed of the letters E. C. T. S. A., and supposed to be that of the general commandant of the Anspachers. Under it are the initials M. Z. B., and the date 1775. The whole is surmounted by the British crown. This flag was probably wrought in England, while the German troops were awaiting embarkation for America, toward the close of 1775. It is four feet square. The tassels, made of silver bullion, are suspended to a plait of silver tinsel.



VIEW OF THE TWO SIDES OF THE HESSIAN FLAG.

Near the Hessian flag was the royal union stand-

¹ The following anecdote is illustrative of the generous and noble character of Washington in his early manhood: When colonel of the Virginia troops in 1754, he was stationed at Alexandria. At an election for members of Assembly, Colonel Washington, in the heat of party excitement, used offensive language toward a Mr. Payne. That gentleman struck the colonel a blow which prostrated him. Intelligence went to the barracks that Colonel Washington had been murdered by a mob. His soldiers rushed to the city to avenge his death. Joyfully they met him, and, being quieted by an address, they returned peaceably to their barracks. Next day, Mr. Payne received a note from Washington, requesting his attendance at the tavern in Alexandria. Mr. Payne anticipated a duel, but, instead of pistols in the hands of an irritated man, he saw wine and glasses, and was met with a friendly smile by his antagonist. Colonel Washington felt that himself was the aggressor, and determined to make reparation. He offered Mr. Payne his hand, and said, "To err is nature; to rectify error is glory. I believe I was wrong yesterday; you have already had some satisfaction, and, if you deem that sufficient, here is my hand—let us be friends." And they were so.

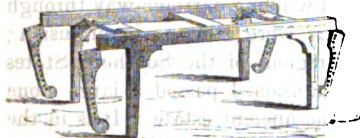
Washington's Bier, and other Relics.

Departure for Mount Vernon.

The Mansion.

ard which Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown. A picture of this flag will be given when considering that last great triumph of the Americans. The Hessian and the British flags are labeled, respectively, *Alpha* and *Omega*, for they were the "first and the last" captured by Washington.

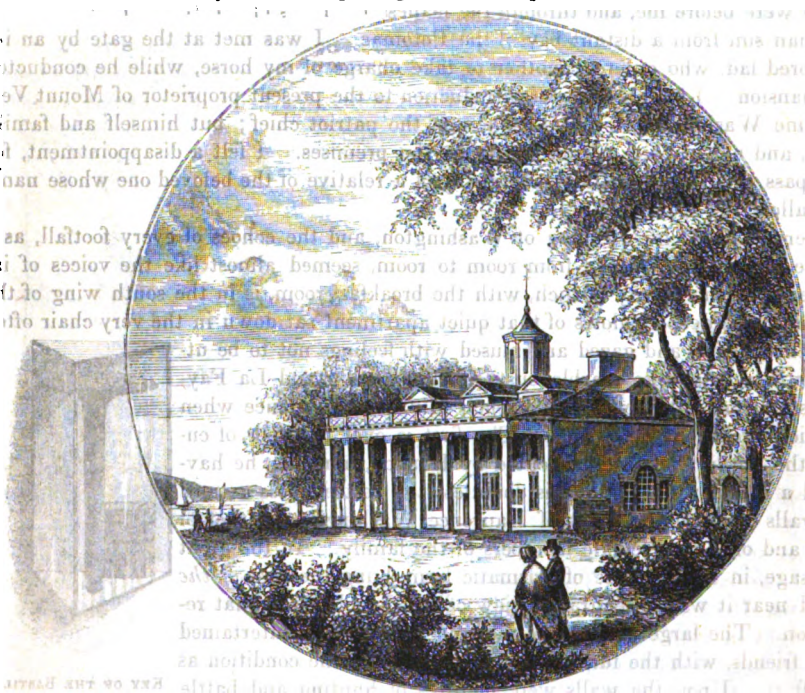
A flag which belonged to the *Commander-in-chief's Guard*, printed on page 120, and one that belonged to Morgan's rifle corps, were also there; and in the midst of common



WASHINGTON'S BIER.

curiosities, covered with dust and cobwebs, stood the bier on which Washington was carried to the tomb at Mount Vernon. It is of oak, painted a lead color, and is six feet in length. The handles, which are hinged to the bier, had leather pads on the under side, fastened with brass nails. Hanging over the bier was the letter

of Washington, printed in a note on page 115; and near by laid a napkin said to have been used on the occasion when he was christened. The museum contains many other things of general and special interest; but, being closed to the

MOUNT VERNON.¹

public, they are quite useless, while neglect is allowing the invisible fingers of decay to destroy them. I was glad to learn that the precious relics above named, which belong to Mr.

¹ This view is from the lawn in front, looking down the Potomac. The mansion is built of wood, cut so as to resemble stone, like Johnson Hall, at Johnstown, in New York, and is two stories in height. The central part was built by Lawrence Washington, a brother of the chief. The wings were added by the general. Through the center of the building is a spacious passage, level with the portico, and paved with tessellated Italian marble. This hall communicates with three large rooms, and with the main stair-way leading to the second story. The piazza on the eastern or river front is of square paneled pilasters, extending the whole length of the edifice. There is an observatory and cupola in the center of the roof, from whence may be obtained an extensive view of the surrounding country.

The Mount Vernon estate was inherited by Lawrence Washington, who named it in honor of Admiral Vernon. He bequeathed it to George, and it passed into his possession on the death of Lawrence, which occurred in the mansion we are now noticing, on the 26th of July, 1752.

Approach to Mount Vernon.

The Library and its Associations.

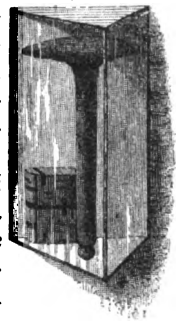
Key of the Bastille.

Destruction of that Prison.

Custis, are about to be transferred to the rooms of the National Institute, where they may be seen by the thousands who visit the metropolis.

Toward noon I rode to Mount Vernon, nine miles below Alexandria. It was a mild, clear day, almost as balmy as the Indian summer time. After crossing an estuary of the Potomac the road was devious, passing through a rough, half-cultivated region, and almost impassable in places on account of gulleys scooped by recent rains. Leaving the main road when within about three miles of Mount Vernon, I traversed a winding carriage-way through partially-cultivated fields, over which young pines and cedars were growing in profusion; the unerring certifiers of that bad husbandry which many regions of the Southern States exhibit. When within about two miles of the venerated mansion, I passed a large stone upon the left of the road, which denotes a boundary line of the ancient estate. It is in the midst of stately forest trees; and from this land-mark to the residence, the road, unfenced and devious, passed through a greatly diversified region, some of it tilled, some returning to a wilderness state, and some appearing as if never touched by the hand of industry. Suddenly, on ascending a small steep hill from the edge of a wild ravine, the mansion and its surroundings were before me, and through the leafless branches of the trees came the sheen of the meridian sun from a distant bay of the Potomac. I was met at the gate by an intelligent colored lad, who ordered another to take charge of my horse, while he conducted me to the mansion. I bore a letter of introduction to the present proprietor of Mount Vernon, Augustine Washington, a grand-nephew of the patriot chief; but himself and family were absent, and not a white person was upon the premises. I felt a disappointment, for I desired to pass the time there in the company of a relative of the beloved one whose name and deeds hallow the spot.

Silence pervaded the life-dwelling of Washington, and the echoes of every footfall, as I moved at the beck of the servant from room to room, seemed almost like the voices of intruders. I entered the library (which, with the breakfast-room, is in the south wing of the building), and in the deep shadows of that quiet apartment sat down in the very chair often occupied by the patriot, and gazed and mused with feelings not to be uttered. Upon brackets were marble busts of Washington and La Fayette, and a small one of Necker, the French Minister of Finance when the Revolution broke out in France. The first is over the door of entrance into the library. It was executed by Houdon, from life, he having obtained a mask, in plaster, and is doubtless the best likeness extant. Upon the walls hung the portraits of Laurence Washington, brother of the general, and of several female members of the family. In the great hall, or passage, in a glass case of prismatic form, hung the *Key of the Bastille*, and near it was an engraved view of the demolition of that renowned prison. The large north room wherein Washington entertained his political friends, with the furniture, is kept in the same condition as when he left it. Upon the walls were pictures of hunting and battle

KEY OF THE BASTILLE.¹

¹ This key of the old Paris prison known as the Bastille, was sent by La Fayette to Washington after the destruction of that edifice by the infuriated populace on the 14th of July, 1789. This was the beginning of the French Revolution. The Bastille was originally a royal palace, built by Charles the Fifth of France in 1369. It was afterward used as a state prison, like the Tower of London, and became the scene of dreadful sufferings and frightful crimes. When the mob gained possession of it in 1789, they took the governor and other officers to the Place de Grève, where they first cut off their hands and then their heads. With the key, La Fayette sent a plaster model of the old building. The model, somewhat defaced from long exposure in the Alexandria museum, is among the collections of the National Institute, while the key retains its ancient position at Mount Vernon. It is of wrought iron, seven inches long. La Fayette, in his letter to Washington which accompanied the key and picture, dated "Paris, March 17th, 1789," said, "Give me leave, my dear general, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it appeared a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of this fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father; as an aid-de-camp to my general; as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch."

Thomas Paine, then in London, employed in constructing an iron bridge which he had invented, was

Pictures at Mount Vernon.

Chimney-piece.

Monumental Eulogy.

The Old Vault of the Washington Family.

scenes. Among them were prints of the death of Montgomery, and the battle of Bunker Hill, but not one of any engagement in which Washington himself participated. There hung the small portrait of the chief, on the back of which an unknown hand wrote an admirable monumental eulogy.¹ There, too, was a large painting—a family group—representing the mother and children of the present proprietor. The fire-place of the drawing-room is decorated with a superb Italian chimney-piece, made of variegated Sienna marble, in which is sculptured, in bold relief, on the tablets of the frieze, prominent objects of agriculture and husbandry. It was presented to Washington in 1785, by Samuel Vaughn, Esq., of London. One room is closed to the public gaze, and I honor the holy motives which prompt the veiling of that apartment from the eyes of prying curiosity; it is the chamber whence the spirit of the illustrious Washington departed for its home in

“The bosom of his Father and his God.”



WASHINGTON'S OLD FAMILY VAULT.

I passed out upon the eastern piazza (seen in the engraving), which overlooks the Potomac. By the side of the door hung the spy-glass often used by Washington; and, prompted by curiosity, I drew its tubes, and through them surveyed the hills of Maryland stretching away eastward on the opposite side of the river.

From the mansion of the living I went to the dwelling of the dead, the old family vault, situated upon the declivity of a dell in full view of the river. It is about three hundred yards south of the mansion. Therein the body of Washington was first laid, and remained undisturbed for thirty years, when it was removed to a new tomb, erected in a more secluded spot, in accordance with direc-

chosen by La Fayette as the medium through which to forward the key to Washington. Paine, in his letter to the general accompanying the key, dated “London, May 1, 1789,” wrote, “Our very good friend, the Marquis De La Fayette, has intrusted to my care the key of the Bastille, and a drawing, handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that detestable prison, as a present to your excellency, of which his letter will more particularly inform you. I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the spoils of despotism, and the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe, to his great master and patron. When he mentioned to me the present he intended you, my heart leaped with joy. It is something so truly in character, that no remarks can illustrate it, and is more happily expressive of his remembrance of his American friends than any letters can convey. That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key comes to the right place.

“I have permitted no drawing to be taken here, though it has been often requested, as I think there is a propriety that it should first be presented. But Mr. West wished Mr. Trumbull to make a painting of the presentation of the key to you.”

¹ It is supposed to have been written by an English gentleman. The following is a copy:

“WASHINGTON—

The Defender of his Country—the Founder of Liberty—The Friend of Man. History and Tradition are explored in vain For a Parallel to his Character. In the Annals of Modern Greatness He stands alone; And the noblest names of antiquity Lose their Luster in his Presence. Born the Benefactor of Mankind, He united all the qualities necessary to an illustrious career. Nature made him great; He made himself virtuous. Called by his country to the defense of her Liberties, He triumphantly vindicated the rights of humanity, And on the Pillars of National Independence Laid the foundations of a great Republic. Twice invested with supreme magistracy, By the unanimous voice of a free people, He surpassed in the Cabinet The Glories of the Field, And voluntarily resigning the Scepter and the Sword, Retired to the shades of Private Life. A spectacle so new and so sublime Was contemplated with the profoundest admiration, And the name of WASHINGTON, Adding new luster to humanity, Resounded to the remotest regions of the earth

Attempt to steal the Remains of Washington.

The New Tomb.

Sarcophagi of Washington and his Lady.

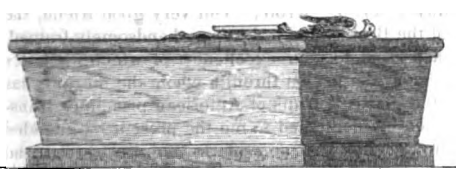
tions in his will.¹ The construction of this tomb was delayed until many years ago, when an attempt was made to carry off the remains of the illustrious dead. The old vault was entered, and a skull and some bones were taken away. They formed no part of the remains of Washington. The robber was detected, and the bones were recovered.

The new vault is on the side of a steep hill, on the edge of a deep wooded dell leading toward the river. The interior walls are built of brick, arched over at the height of eight feet from the ground. The front of the tomb is rough, and has a plain iron door inserted in a freestone casement. Upon a stone panel over the door are inscribed the words, "I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE; HE THAT BELIEVETH IN ME, THOUGH HE WERE DEAD, YET SHALL HE LIVE." Inclosing this tomb is a structure of brick twelve feet high. In front is an iron gateway, opening several feet in advance of the vault door, and forming a kind of ante-chamber. This gateway is flanked with pilasters, surmounted by a stone coping, covering a pointed Gothic arch.² Over this arch is a tablet, on which is inscribed, "WITHIN THIS INCLOSURE REST THE REMAINS OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON." I was much disappointed in the exterior appearance of the tomb, for it seems to me that in material and design it is quite too common-place. It justifies the description of it given recently by Lord Morpeth, who visited it in 1841. "The tomb of that most illustrious of mortals," he said, "is placed under a glaring red building, somewhat between a coach-house and a cage."³ Art should be allowed to contribute the best offerings of genius in enshrining the mortal remains of GEORGE WASHINGTON.



WASHINGTON'S NEW FAMILY VAULT.

In the ante-chamber of the tomb are two marble sarcophagi, containing the remains of Washington and his lady. That of the patriot has a sculptured lid, on which is represented

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF WASHINGTON.⁴

the American shield suspended over the flag of the Union; the latter hung in festoons, and the whole surmounted, as a crest, by an eagle with open wings, perched upon the superior bar of the shield. Below the design, and deeply cut in the marble, is the name of WASHINGTON. This sarcophagus was constructed by John Struthers, of Philadelphia, from a design by

Magnanimous in youth, Glorious through life, Great in Death; His highest ambition, the Happiness of Mankind; His noblest Victory, the conquest of himself. Bequeathing to posterity the inheritance of his fame, And building his monument in the hearts of his countrymen, He LIVED The Ornament of the 18th Century, He DIED regretted by a Mourning World."

¹ The following is the clause referred to: "The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out, in which my remains, and those of my deceased relatives (now in the old vault), and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited."

² This exterior structure was made for the special accommodation and preservation of the sarcophagi inclosed within it, the vault being too small and damp for the purpose.

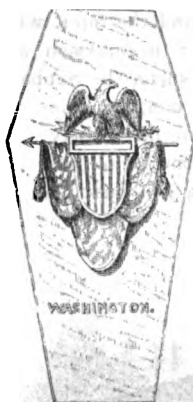
³ Lecture on *America*, before the Mechanic's Institute at Leeds, November, 1850.

⁴ This was placed in the family vault in the autumn of 1837. Mr. Strickland wrote an interesting account of the transaction. While the sarcophagus was on its way by water, he and Mr. Struthers repaired to Mount Vernon to make arrangements for the reception. On entering, they found every thing in confu-

Tomb of Lady Washington.

Narrative of the Re-entombing of Washington's Remains.

Their Appearance.



THE LID

William Strickland, and was presented by him to the relatives of Washington. It consists of an excavation from a solid block of Pennsylvania marble, eight feet in length and two in height. The marble coffin of Lady Washington, which stands upon the left of the other, is from the same chisel, and plainly wrought. Both may be seen by the visitor, through the iron gate.

Who can stand at the portals of this tomb, where sleeps all that is left of the mortality of the Father of his Country, and not feel the outgoings of a devotional spirit—an involuntary desire to kneel down with reverence, not with the false adulations of mere hero-worship, but with the sincere sympathies of a soul beuding before the shrine of superior goodness and greatness?

"There is an awful stillness in the sky,
When, after wondrous deeds and light supreme,
A star goes out in golden prophecy.
There is an awful stillness in the world,
When, after wondrous deeds and light supreme,
A hero dies with all the future clear
Before him, and his voice made jubilant
By coming glories, and his nation hush'd
As though they heard the farewell of a God.
A great man is to earth as God to heaven."

WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

I lingered long at the tomb of Washington, even until the lengthening evening shadows were cast upon the Potomac; and I departed with reluctance from the precincts of Mount Vernon, where the great and good of many lands enjoyed the hospitality of the illustrious owner when living, or have poured forth the si-

MOUNT VERNON, WEST FRONT.¹

sion. Decayed fragments of coffins were scattered about, and bones of various parts of the human body were seen promiscuously thrown together. The decayed wood was dripping with moisture. "The slimy snail glistened in the light of the door-opening. The brown centipede was disturbed by the admission of fresh air, and the moldy cases of the dead gave out a pungent and unwholesome odor." The coffins of Washington and his lady were in the deepest recess of the vault. They were of lead, inclosed in wooden cases. When the sarcophagus arrived, the coffin of the chief was brought forth. The vault was first entered by Mr. Strickland, accompanied by Major Lewis (the last survivor of the first executors of the will of Washington) and his son.

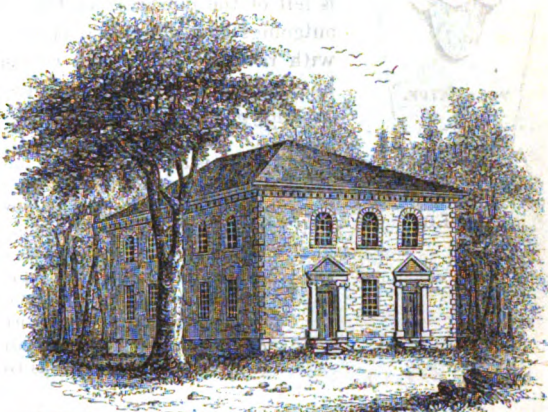


When the decayed wooden case was removed, the leaden lid was perceived to be sunken and fractured. In the bottom of the wooden case was found the silver coffin-plate, in the form of a shield, which was placed upon the leaden coffin when Washington was first entombed. "At the request of Major Lewis," says Mr. S., "the fractured part of the lid was turned over on the lower part, exposing to view a head and breast of large dimensions, which appeared, by the dim light of the candles, to have suffered but little from the effects of time. The eye-sockets were large and deep, and the breadth across the temples, together with the forehead, appeared of unusual size. There was no appearance of grave-clothes; the chest was broad; the color was dark, and had the appearance of dried flesh and skin adhering closely to the bones. We saw no hair, nor was there any offensive odor from the body; but we observed, when the coffin had been removed to the outside of the vault, the dripping down of a yellow liquid, which stained the marble of the sarcophagus. A hand was laid upon the head and instantly removed; the leaden lid was restored to its place; the body, raised by six men, was carried and laid in the marble coffin, and the ponderous cover being put on and set in cement, it was sealed from our sight on Saturday, the 7th day of October, 1837. . . . The relatives who were present, consisting of Major Lewis, Lorenzo Lewis, John Augustine Washington, George Washington, the Rev. Mr. Johnson and lady, and Miss Jane Washington, then retired to the mansion."

¹ This view is from the lawn, looking east; the buildings seen upon each side, and connected with the mansion by arcades, are the servants' houses.

Departure from Mount Vernon. Pohick Church. Occoquan and its Reminiscences. Dunmore's Repulse at Occoquan.

lent eulogium of the heart at his grave. The sun was disappearing behind the forest when I passed the gate, at the verge of a spacious lawn on the western front of the mansion, and departed for Occoquan, about twelve miles distant, where I purposed to spend the Sabbath. The road was in a wretched condition. It passes through a series of small swamps and pine barrens, where once fertile plantations smiled under the fostering care of industry. At sunset I crossed a large stream at the Occatunk saw-mills, where the aspect of nature is grand and romantic, and at early twilight reached the venerated *Pohick* or *Powheek* Church, where Washington worshiped, and Weems, his first biographer, preached. It is about seven miles southwest of Mount Vernon, upon an elevation on the borders of a forest, and surrounded by ancient oaks, chestnuts, and pines. The twilight lingered long enough with sufficient intensity to allow me to make the annexed sketch from my wagon in the road, when I gave my horse a loose rein, and hastened toward Occoquan as fast as the deep mud in the highway would permit. A thick vapor came up from the southwest and obscured the stars, and when I heard the distant murmurs of the



POHICK CHURCH.

falls of the Occoquan, the heavens were overcast, and the night was intensely dark. As I approached the village, I perceived that I was upon the margin of the waters lying deep below, for there came up the reflected lights from a few dwellings upon the opposite shore. I had more confidence in my horse's sight than in my own, and allowed him to make his way as he pleased along the invisible road to the bridge; how near to the precipice I knew not, until the next morning, when I traced my wagon tracks, in one place, within a few feet of the brow of a cliff scores of feet above the deep waters.

Occoquan is a small manufacturing village in Prince William county, near the mouth of a creek of that name, and at the head of navigation up from the Potomac.¹ The creek falls seventy-two feet within the distance of a mile and a half. All around the scenery is remarkably picturesque, and to the dweller and traveler, under favorable circumstances, it may be a delightful place. To me, the remembrance of a night at Occoquan is the most unpleasant reminiscence of my journey. There was but one tavern in the place. It was kept by a kind-hearted woman, who seemed desirous of contributing to my comfort, but her *bar-room*, where strong liquors appeared to be dealt out with unsparing hand, was the source of all my discomfort. There I could hear the ribald voices of loungers growing more vociferous as the evening wore away; and in my chamber I was not relieved. It was midnight before the revelry ceased, and then two or three negroes, with wretched voices, accompanied by a more wretched fiddle, commenced a serenade in the street. It was two hours past midnight before I slept, and when I awoke in the morning the dram-drinkers were again there, guzzling, and talking profanely. Greatly annoyed, I determined to leave the place, and, contrary to my custom, travel on toward Fredericksburg, rather than

¹ After Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia, with his motley force of whites and negroes, was driven from Gwyn's Island in July, 1776, he sailed up the Potomac, and, with petty spite, laid waste several fine plantations upon its banks. He proceeded as far as the mills at Occoquan falls (where the village now is), and destroyed them. He was repulsed and driven on board his ships by a few of the Prince William militia, and then descended the river. This circumstance will be noticed more in detail hereafter. It is supposed that Dunmore intended to capture Lady Washington, and destroy the estate at Mount Vernon. A heavy storm and the Prince William militia frustrated his design.

Visit to Pohick Church.

Its dilapidated Condition.

Worship there.

Rev. Mason L. Weems.

Washington's Pew.

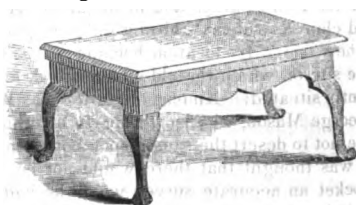
spend the Sabbath there. Informed that the roads between Occoquan and Fredericksburg were worse than those I had traversed the day before, I concluded to return to Alexandria, and go down the Potomac to Aquia Creek on Monday.

I left Occoquan after a late breakfast, and rode as far as *Pohick Church*, on the road to

REV. MASON L. WEEMS.¹

Alexandria, where I understood a Methodist meeting was to be held that day. No person had yet arrived, but the broad doors of the church stood wide open, inviting ingress. Within that venerated fane I awaited the slow-gathering auditory for more than an hour. When they were all assembled, men and women, white and black, the whole congregation, including the writer, amounted to only twenty-one persons. What a contrast with former days, when some of the noblest of the Virginia aristocracy filled those now deserted and dilapidated pews, while Massey or Weems performed the solemn and impressive ritual of the Church of England! No choir, with the majestic organ, chanted the *Te Deum* or the *Gloria in Excelsis*; the Decalogue was not read, nor did solemn, audible responses, as in other days, go up from the lips of the people. Yet the glorious hymn, beginning "Come, holy Spirit, heavenly Dove!" was sung with fervor; and, standing behind the ancient com-

munion-table, a young preacher in homely garb, with the eloquence of true piety, proclaimed the pure Gospel of love, and warmed the hearts of all present with emotions of Christian charity, the burden of his discourse. I sat in the pew, near the pulpit, wherein Washington and his family were seated, Sabbath after Sabbath, for many years,² and I looked with peculiar interest upon the LAW, the PRAYER, and the CREED, inscribed upon the walls back of the chancel, on which, a thousand times, the eyes of the Washingtons, the Masons, the Fairfaxes, the Coffers, and the Hendersons had rested. It was a melancholy sight to behold the dilapidation of that edifice, around which cluster so many associations of interest.³ A large portion of the panes of glass were



THE COMMUNION-TABLE.

¹ Reverend Mason L. Weems was rector of Pohick Church for a while, when Washington was a parishioner. He was possessed of considerable talent, but was better adapted for "a man of the world" than a clergyman. Wit and humor he used freely, and no man could easier be "all things to all men" than Mr. Weems. His eccentricities and singular conduct finally lowered his dignity as a clergyman, and gave rise to many false rumors respecting his character. He was a man of great benevolence, a trait which he exercised to the extent of his means. A large and increasing family compelled him to abandon preaching for a livelihood, and he became a book agent for Matthew Carey. In that business he was very successful, selling in one year over three thousand copies of a high-priced Bible. He always preached when invited, during his travels; and in his vocation he was instrumental in doing much good, for he circulated books of the highest moral character.

Mr. Weems wrote an attractive *Life of Washington*, which became so popular that it passed through some forty editions. He also wrote a *Life of Marion*, which the cotemporaries and fellow-soldiers of that leader disliked. They charged the author with filling his narrative with fiction, when facts were wanting to give it interest. He died at an advanced age, leaving a large and well-educated family.

² A grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington, and sister of Mr. Custis of Arlington House, writing to Mr. Sparks, in 1833, respecting the religious character of Washington, said, "His pew was near the pulpit. I have a perfect recollection of being there before his election to the presidency, with him and my grandmother. It was a beautiful church, and had a large, respectable, and wealthy congregation, who were regular attendants."

³ Pohick Church derived its name from a small river near it, called by the Indians *Powheek* or *Pohick*. It is within old *Truro parish*, and its particular location is ascribed to Washington. Mount Vernon was

A Swallow's Nest.	Location of the Church.	Vestrymen.	A curious Document.	Last of Braddock's Men
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broken out, admitting freely the wind and rain, the bats and the birds. The elaborately-wrought pulpit, placed by itself on one side of the church, away from the chancel, was marred by desecrating hands. Under its sounding-board a swallow had built its nest, and upon the book-ledge of the sacred desk the fowls of the air had evidently perched. I thought of the words of the "sweet singer of Israel," "Yea, the sparrow has found a home, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, *even thine altar*, O Lord of hosts!" The chancel, too, is disfigured; but the LAW, the PRAYER, and the CREED, painted on a blue ground above it, are quite



THE PULPIT.

perfect. The pews are square, with seats upon three sides, and painted lead color. Upon the doors of several of them yet remain the initials of the former occupants, among which I noticed those of George Mason and George William Fairfax, who, with Washington, were the leading men in the parish.³

The whole country around Pohick seems to be degenerating in soil and population, and the old church edifice is left without a guardian, to molder into oblivion.

Geo W Fairfax
G Mason

SIGNATURES OF MASON AND FAIRFAX.

within Truro parish, and in the affairs of the church Washington took a lively interest. About 1764, the old church, which stood in a different part of the parish, had fallen into decay, and it was resolved to build a new one. Its location became a matter of considerable excitement in the parish, some contending for the site on which the old edifice stood, and others for one near the center of the parish, and more conveniently situated. Among the latter was Washington. A meeting for settling the question was finally held. George Mason, who led the party favorable to the old site, made an eloquent harangue, conjuring the people not to desert the sacred spot, consecrated by the bones of their ancestors. It had a powerful effect, and it was thought that there would not be a dissenting voice. Washington then arose, and drew from his pocket an accurate survey which he had made of the whole parish, in which was marked the site of the old church, and the proposed location of the new one, together with the place of residence of each parishioner. He spread this map before the audience, briefly explained it, expressed his hope that they would not allow their judgments to be guided by their feelings, and sat down. The silent argument of the map was potent; a large majority voted in favor of the new site, and in 1765 *Pohick Church* was built.

¹ Psalm lxxxiv., 3.

² Washington was a vestryman, in 1765, of both *Truro* and *Fairfax* parishes. The place of worship of the former was at Pohick, and of the latter at Alexandria. Among the manuscripts in the library of the New York Historical Society, is a leaf from the church record of Pohick. It contains the names of the first vestry, and a few others. By whose desecrating hand it was torn from the records, or how it found its way to its present resting-place, I know not. The following is a copy from the original, from which I also obtained the signatures of Mason and Fairfax, given above. The names were signed at different times, during the summer and autumn of 1765.

"I, A B, do declare that I will be conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, as by law established.

"1765. May 20th.—Thomas Withers Coffer, Thomas Ford, John Ford.

"19th August.—Geo. Washington, Daniel M'Carty, Edward Payne, Thomas Withers Coffer, Thomas Ford, Edw. Dulin, John Dalton, Danl. French, Richard Sanford, Thos. Shaw, Thos. Wren, Townsend Dade, Charles Broadwater,* J. W. Payne, William Adams.

"20th August.—G. W. Fairfax, John West, William Lynton, Wm. Gardner.

"16th September.—Edward Blackburn.

"17th September.—George Mason, Charles Henderson.

"October 21st.—John Possey.

"21st April, 1766.—T. Ellzy."

* Captain Broadwater was the owner of a slave who drove a team with a provision-wagon, belonging to his master, over the Allegheny Mountains in the memorable campaign in which Braddock was killed. The slave's name was Samuel Jenkins. He was in the battle at the Great Meadows, but escaped unhurt. On the death of his master, when he was about forty years of age, he was purchased by a gentleman, who took him to Ohio and manumitted him. He settled in Lancaster, Ohio, where he resided until his death, which occurred in 1849, when he was 115 years old. He was probably the last survivor of Braddock's men.

Return to Washington. Thunder-shower in December. Aquia Creek. Almost a Serious Accident. Potomac Church.

The preacher told me that I might travel ten miles in any direction from Pohick (except to Alexandria) and not find a school-house! A few northern farmers are now redeeming some of the upper portions of Fairfax county; and it is to be hoped that the circles of their influence may enlarge until Pohick Church is included, and its walls saved from destruction.

When I left the church, a slight drizzle omened an approaching storm, and I hastened to Alexandria, where I ascertained that I could not get upon the Potomac steamer with my horse without going to Washington City. Damp, weary, and vexed, I gave Charley a loose rein, for the day was fast waning. When within half a mile of the Long Bridge, a vivid flash of lightning, followed by a loud thunder-peal, burst from the clouds, and seemed to open "the windows of heaven," and set free all the "treasures of the cherubim." Another flash and thunder-peal, with the accompanying deluge, came while I was crossing the draw-bridge, and I reined up at the "Indian Queen," on Pennsylvania Avenue, at twilight, with all the concomitants of a disappointed disciple of Isaack Walton. A thunder-shower in December is a phenomenon so rare that I almost enjoyed the misery.

The steam-boat for Aquia Creek left Washington the following morning at two o'clock. I was upon her deck in time, but a careless servant having left a part of my baggage behind, I was obliged to return and remain in Washington another day. It proved a fine one for traveling, and the very reverse of the next day, when I was upon the road. The dawn opened with sleet and rain, and a raw east wind. This was sufficiently unpleasant for a traveler; yet a more vexatious circumstance awaited my debarkation at Aquia Creek. From the landing to a plantation road leading to the Fredericksburg pike, almost two miles, there was no wagon-track, the rail-road being the only highway. I mounted my wagon upon a hand-car, employed two stout negroes as locomotives, and, leading my horse along the rough-ribbed iron way, finally reached a plantation lane on the edge of a swamp. Where the rail-way traverses a broad marsh, deep ditches cross it transversely. My horse, in attempting to leap one of these, fell between the iron bars, with a hinder leg over one of them, which prevented the use of his limbs in efforts to leap from the ditch. I momentarily expected to hear the thigh-bone snap, for almost the entire weight of his body rested upon it. The salvation of the animal depended upon getting that leg free. I had no aid, for the negroes had neither will nor judgment to assist. At the risk of being made a foot-ball, I placed my shoulder in the hollow of the hoof, and with strength increased by solicitude, I succeeded in pushing the limb over the rail, and the docile animal, who seemed to feel the necessity of being passive, stood erect in his prison of iron and soft earth. Within a rectangle of a few feet, and a bank, shoulder high, he was still confined. He made several efforts to spring out, but his knees would strike the margin. At length, summoning all his energies, and appearing to shrink into smaller compass, he raised his fore-feet upon the bank, gave a spring, and, to my great joy, he stood safe and unhurt (though trembling in every limb) upon the road. With a light and thankful heart I traveled the sinuous pathway, through gates and bars, for five or six miles, to the high road, the storm increasing.

The distance from Aquia Creek to Fredericksburg is fifteen miles. When about half-way, I passed the ruins of old *Potomac Church*, once one of the finest sacred edifices in Virginia. The plan of the interior was similar to that of *Pohick*. The roof is supported by square columns, stuccoed and painted in imitation of variegated marble. The windows are in Gothic style. The LAW, the PRAYER, and the CREED were quite well preserved upon the walls, notwithstanding the roof is partly fallen in, and the storms have free passage through the ruined arches. It is surrounded by a thick hedge of thorn, dwarf cedars, and other shrubs, festooned and garlanded with ivy and the wild grape, which almost effectually guard the venerable relic from the intrusion of strangers. With proper care, this church might have been a place of worship a century longer, but like many other old churches, consecrated in the appreciating mind of the patriotic American, this edifice is moldering through neglect.



RUINS OF POTOMAC CHURCH.

The Rappahannock. Fredericksburg. Washington's Birth-place. First Monumental Stone. Notables of Westmoreland

"They are all passing from the land ;
Those churches old and gray,
In which our fathers used to stand,
In years gone by, to pray.

Ay, pull them down, as well you may,
Those altars stern and old ;
They speak of those long pass'd away,
Whose ashes now are cold.
Few, few, are now the strong-arm'd men
Who worshiped at our altars then.

Then pull them down, and rear on high
New-fangled, painted things,
For these but mock the modern eye,
The past around them brings.
Then pull them down, and upward rear
A pile which suits who worships here."

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

I crossed the Rappahannock¹ upon a long toll-bridge, and entered Fredericksburg at noon. The city is old in fact, and antique in appearance. A century and a quarter ago the settlers who had begun to cultivate extensively the rich lands upon the Rappahannock, applied for a town charter. It was granted ;^a and in honor of Prince Frederick, the father of George III., and then heir-apparent to the British throne, it was called Fredericksburg. At that time there was only a tobacco warehouse on the site of the present city with its four thousand five hundred inhabitants. The town is regularly laid out. Many of the houses are of brick, but few are in modern style, or of apparently recent construction.

Fredericksburg is interesting, as connected with our subject, chiefly from the fact that Washington passed his youthful days in its vicinity, and that near the city, beneath an unfinished monument, repose the remains of his beloved mother. The place of Washington's birth was about half a mile from the junction of Pope's Creek with the Potomac, in Westmoreland county, the "Athens of Virginia."^b It is upon the "Wakefield estate," now owned by John E. Wilson, Esq. The house in which he was born was destroyed before the Revolution. Upon its site, George W. P. Custis, Esq., placed a slab of free-stone,^b June, 1815. represented in the engraving on the following page, on which is the simple inscription, "HERE, THE 11TH OF FEBRUARY [O. S.], 1732, GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS BORN."^c

¹ The Rappahannock is one of the largest streams in Virginia. It rises in the Blue Ridge, 130 miles northwest of its entrance into the Chesapeake Bay, 25 miles south of the Potomac. It is navigable for vessels requiring ten feet of water, to the Falls of the Rappahannock, a little above Fredericksburg.

² This name has been given to Westmoreland on account of the great number of men, distinguished in our annals, who were born there. Washington ; the two Lees, who signed the Declaration of Independence ; the brothers of Richard Henry Lee (Thomas, Francis, and Arthur) ; General Henry Lee ; Judge Bushrod Washington, and President Monroe, were all born in that county. Richard Henry Lee's residence was *Chantilly*, on the Potomac. Monroe was born at the head of Monroe's Creek. In Stratford, upon the Potomac, a few miles above the residence of Richard Henry Lee, is still standing one of the most remarkable buildings in this country. I greatly desired to visit it, and portray it for this work, but circumstances prevented. It was built by Mr. Thomas Lee, father of Richard Henry Lee, who was president of the King's Council, and acting governor of Virginia. While governor, his dwelling was burned, and this edifice was erected for him, either by the government or by the voluntary contributions of London merchants, by whom he was greatly esteemed. There is no structure in our country to compare with it. The walls of the first story are two and a half feet thick, and of the second story, two feet, composed of brick imported from England. It originally contained about one hundred rooms. Besides the main building, there are four offices, one at each corner, containing fifteen rooms. The stables are capable of accommodating one hundred horses. Its cost was about \$80,000.

³ The public career of Washington is illustrated in every part of these volumes, for he was identified with all the important events of the Revolution. His life is too well known to need an extended memoir. I will here briefly chronicle a notice of his family, and the events of his early life. He was descended from an old family of the English aristocracy. The name of Washington, as a family, was first known about the middle of the thirteenth century. Previously there was a manor of that name, in the county of Durham, owned by William de Hertburne, who, as was the custom in those days, took the name of his estate

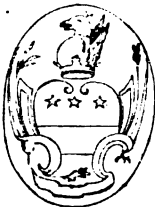
Washington's Birth-place. His Ancestors. Arms and Monuments. First Monumental Stone to the Memory of Washington.

The house in which his nativity took place was precisely the same in appearance as the family residence on the Rappahannock, delineated opposite, being of the better class of plain



SITE OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTH PLACE.¹

From that gentleman have descended the branches of the Washington family in England and America.



ARMS OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.*

The name is frequently mentioned in the local histories of England as belonging to persons of wealth and distinction. Sir Henry Washington was renowned for his bravery at the siege of Worcester against the parliamentary troops, and at the taking of Bristol. Monuments erected in churches with the name of Washington upon them, are proofs of their opulence. The ancient seat of the Washington family is said to be yet well preserved. It is built of stone of great solidity. The timber is chiefly of oak; and in several of the rooms, particularly in the large hall or banquetting-room, are remains of rich carving and gilding in the cornices and wainscoting. Over the mantel-pieces, elaborately carved, are the family arms, richly emblazoned upon escutcheons. The walls of the house are five feet thick. The entire residence is surrounded by a beautiful garden and orchards. The old family monument, erected to the memory of "SIR LAURENCE WASHINGTON, Nite," grandson of the first proprietor of the name, of Sulgrave, and the ancestor of General Washington, is in the cemetery of Gardson Church, two miles from Malmsbury. It is of the mural style, and bears the family arms. Sir Laurence Washington died in May, 1643. Two of his sons, John and Laurence Washington, emigrated to Virginia about the year 1657, and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac, in Westmoreland county. The eldest brother of the emigrants, Sir William Washington, married a half sister of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

John Washington, soon after settling in Virginia, engaged in military expeditions against the Indians, and rose to the rank of colonel. He married Ann Pope, by whom he had two sons, Laurence and John, and a daughter. Laurence married Mildred Warner, of Gloucester county, and had three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred. Augustine first married Jane Butler, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. His sec-

¹ This, and the picture of the residence of the Washington family on the Rappahannock, are from drawings by John G. Chapman, Esq. Under date of August 21, 1851, Mr. Custis kindly furnished me with an interesting account of the dedication of this *first monumental stone* to the memory of Washington. In June, 1815 (a few days before the corner stone of the Washington monument at Baltimore was laid), accompanied by two gentlemen (Messrs. Lewis and Grymes), he sailed from Alexandria in his own vessel, the *Lady of the Lake*, for Pope's Creek. Arrived at the hallowed spot with the inscribed tablet, they proceeded to deposit it in a proper place. "Desirous of making the ceremonial of depositing the stone as imposing as circumstances would permit," says Mr. Custis, "we enveloped it in the 'STAR-SPANGLED BANNER' of our country, and it was borne to its resting-place in the arms of the descendants of four Revolutionary patriots and soldiers—SAMUEL LEWIS, son of George Lewis, a captain in Baylor's regiment of horse, and nephew of Washington; WILLIAM GRYMES, the son of Benjamin Grymes, a gallant and distinguished officer of the Life Guards; the CAPTAIN of the vessel, the son of a brave soldier wounded in the battle of Guilford; and GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS, the son of John Parke Custis, aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief before Cambridge and Yorktown. We gathered together the bricks of the ancient chimney that once formed the hearth around which Washington in his infancy had played, and constructed a rude kind of pedestal, on which we reverently placed the *FIRST STONE*, commending it to the respect and protection of the American people in general, and the citizens of Westmoreland in particular."

* The shield with the stars and stripes, on the right, forms the seal of General Washington. A copy of it, taken from a death warrant, may be found in the Appendix.

Virginia Residence of the Washington Family.

Early Life of General Washington.

Death of his Brother Laurence.

Virginian farm-houses. It had four rooms, with an enormous chimney at each end, on the outside. The estate on the Rappahannock was owned by his father, Augustine Washington.



RESIDENCE OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

ond wife was Mary Ball, to whom he was married on the 6th of March, 1730. By her he had six children; the first-born was **GEORGE**, the subject of our memoir. He was the great-grandson of the first emigrant to America, and sixth in descent from the first Laurence of Sulgrave. He was born on the 22d (11th O. S.) of February, 1732. His parents soon afterward removed to an estate in Stafford county, near Fredericksburg, where his father died on the 12th of April, 1743, and was buried at Bridge's Creek. To each of his sons he left a plantation. To his oldest survivor he bequeathed an estate on Hunting Creek (afterward Mount Vernon), and to George he left the lands and mansion (pictured above) where his father lived. His mother had five young children to nurture and prepare for active life. It was a great responsibility, yet she performed her duty with entire success. To her guidance the world probably owes much of the good which has emanated from the career of her illustrious son.

Washington received few advantages from early school education. There were then few good schools in the colonies. The wealthy planters sent their children to England to be educated. The mother of George did not feel able to incur the expense, and he was obliged to rely upon her, a neighboring school, and occasionally a private tutor in mathematics, for his elementary knowledge. His practical mind developed nobly under even this deficient culture. He left school when almost sixteen years of age, pretty thoroughly versed in mathematics, and fully competent for the profession of a practical surveyor. When he was fourteen years old, his half-brother, Laurence Washington, having observed in him a fondness for military matters, obtained for him a midshipman's warrant, in 1746. That gentleman had served under Admiral Vernon at the siege of Carthage, and in the West Indies, and kept up a friendly correspondence with his commander. He regarded the British navy as an attractive field, where his young brother might become distinguished. The mother of young Washington partly consented; but when the time approached, and the boy with buoyant spirits prepared for departure, her maternal feelings were too strong to allow a separation, and the project was abandoned.

Laurence Washington married a daughter of the wealthy William Fairfax, who was for some time president of his majesty's council in the colony. When young Washington left school, he went to live with his brother Laurence at Mount Vernon, and his intimacy with the Fairfax family led to those initial steps in his public life which resulted so gloriously. He was employed to survey the immense tracts of land in the rich valleys of the Alleghany Mountains, belonging to Lord Fairfax, a relative of William. When only sixteen years and one month old, he set out with George W. Fairfax (whose signature, with that of George Mason, is on page 421) to survey these immense tracts. They suffered great privations, and encountered many dangers; but this expedition proved a school of immense advantage to the future hero. He executed his task very satisfactorily, and soon afterward received an appointment as public surveyor. He devoted three years to this lucrative pursuit. His talents, probity, and general intelligence attracted the attention of the authorities of Virginia. The encroachments of the French on the western frontiers of the state, caused the governor to divide the province into militia districts, over which was placed an officer with the rank of major, whose duty it was to drill the people in military tactics. Over one of these districts young Washington was placed at the age of nineteen, with the pay of \$750 a year. He had just entered upon this duty, when his brother Laurence, on account of failing health, was advised by his physicians to make a voyage to the West Indies. He desired the company of George, and they sailed for Barbadoes in September, 1751. They remained there a few weeks; but hope for the invalid faded away, and he resolved to go to Bermuda, and send George home for his wife. While in Barbadoes, young Washington was sick three weeks with the small-pox. As soon as he recovered, he sailed for home. At first, an encouraging letter came from Laurence; the second was desponding, and, giving up all hope of life, he returned home. He lingered a short time, and died at the age of thirty-four years. His estate of Mount Vernon, as I have elsewhere noticed, he bequeathed to George, in the event of his surviving daughter dying without issue.

The Washington Farm.

Residence of the Mother of Washington.

His early Military Career.

several years before his marriage with Mary Ball (daughter of Colonel Ball, of Lancaster), the mother of the illustrious patriot. It is nearly opposite Fredericksburg, in Stafford county, and when I visited that city,^a it was the property of the Reverend Thomas Teasdale. The mansion-house, which stood near the present residence of Mr. King, a short distance below the rail-road bridge, has long since gone to decay and disappeared, and to the skillful pencil of J. G. Chapman, Esq., I am indebted for the accompanying picture.

The storm continuing, and nothing of interest being left upon the soil known as "The Washington Farm," I did not visit it, but contented myself with a distant view of its rolling acres as I rode out of Fredericksburg to pursue my journey southward.

On the northwest corner of Charles and Lewis streets, in Fredericksburg, is the house (the residence of Richard Stirling, Esq.) where the mother of Washington resided during the latter years of her life, and where she died. There that honored matron, and more honored son, had their last earthly interview in the spring of 1789, after he was elected President of the United States. Just before his departure for New York to take the oath of office, and to enter upon his new duties, Washington, actuated by that filial reverence and regard which always distinguished him,¹ hastened to Fredericksburg to visit his mother. She was then fourscore and five years old, bowed with age and the ravages of that terrible disease, a deep-rooted cancer in the breast. Their interview was deeply affecting. After the first emotions incident to the meeting had subsided, Washington said, "The people, madam, have been pleased, with the most flattering unanimity, to elect me to the chief magistracy of the United States; but before I can assume the functions of that office, I have come to bid you an affectionate farewell. So soon as the public business which must necessarily be encountered in arranging a new government can be disposed of, I shall hasten

George was one of his brother's executors, and the duties incumbent thereon occupied the principal part of his time.

When Governor Dinwiddie came to Virginia, he apportioned the colony into four grand military divisions, over one of which he placed Major Washington. He exercised the functions of his office with great skill and fidelity, and when the continued encroachments of the French and Indians called for a military expedition, Major Washington was sent to reconnoiter, and collect all possible information. In this perilous business he was successful, and so pleased was the governor and council, that they appointed him a commissioner to visit the French posts on the Ohio, and, in the name of the King of England, to demand an explicit answer to the inquiry, "By what right do you invade British territory?" The particulars of this expedition will be noticed hereafter. Washington was then only twenty-one years old. He not only faithfully executed the instructions of the governor, expressed on the face of his commission, but obtained a great amount of information respecting the numbers and resources of the enemy. For eleven weeks he suffered great hardships with his few companions, when he appeared at Williamsburg, and laid his report before the governor and his council. War was deemed necessary, and arrangements were made accordingly. The other colonies were called upon for aid. Washington was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia forces destined for Ohio, and in April he marched toward the Alleghanies. Some severe conflicts ensued, and finally, the expedition was defeated. The conduct of Washington was highly approved. When Braddock undertook an expedition against the enemy in the spring of 1755, Washington, at his request, accompanied him as one of his military family. In the battle at the Great Meadows which ensued, Braddock was killed. Colonel Washington behaved with the greatest bravery, and by his skill the army was saved from entire destruction. He returned to Mount Vernon, and continued in the military service until 1759, when he was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses for Frederick county. He was married the same year to Mrs. Martha Custis, widow of John Parke Custis. This event is noticed elsewhere. The estate of Mount Vernon having come into his possession, he established himself there three months after his marriage. From that period until his election as a delegate to the first Congress in 1774, his time was devoted to agriculture, and to the duties of a state legislator. He early espoused the cause of the colonists in their disputes with Great Britain, and when the crisis arrived, he was appointed, as we have noticed on page 563, volume i., commander-in-chief of the Continental army. From that time his life forms an important portion of the history of our Republic. His final retirement to Mount Vernon after the war, and his death, will be noticed hereafter.

¹ It is related that on one occasion, during the Revolution, his mother was with him at a large social gathering. At nine o'clock in the evening the aged matron approached her son, placed her arm in his, and said, "Come, George, it is time for us to be at home; late hours are injurious." With the docility of a child the general left the company with his mother; "but," as Mrs. Hamilton said to me, when speaking of the circumstance, "he came back again."

Washington's last Interview with his Mother. Her Death, and unfinished Monument. Corner-stone laid by President Jackson.

to Virginia, and—" Here the matron interrupted him with, " You will see me no more. My great age, and the disease which is fast approaching my vitals, warns me that I shall not be long in this world. I trust to God I am somewhat prepared for a better. But go, George, fulfill the destiny which Heaven appears to assign you ; go, my son, and may Heaven's and your mother's blessing be with you always." Washington wept ; the great man was again a little child, and he kissed the furrowed cheek of his parent with all the tender affection and simplicity of a loving boy. With a full heart he went forth to " fulfill the destiny" which Heaven assigned him, and he saw his mother no more. She died in the autumn of 1789, and was buried on a beautiful knoll upon the estate of her son-in-law, Colonel Fielding Lewis,¹ within sound of the busy hum of the city.

In the midst of the thickly-falling sleet, I made a pilgrimage to the grave of the mother of Washington, and sketched the half-finished and neglected monument which was erected over it a few years ago. It stands near a ledge of rocks, where she often resorted in fine weather for private meditation and devotion. Years before her death she selected that spot for her grave. The monument is of white marble, and, even in its unfinished state, has an imposing appearance. The corner-stone was laid by Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, on the 7th of May, 1833, in the presence of a great concourse of people. He went down the Potomac from Washington City on the 6th,² and was met at Potomac Creek, nine miles from Fredericksburg, by the *Monument Committee* of that city. He was also met by a military escort, and conducted to the residence of Doctor Wallace, where he was entertained. A large military and civic procession was formed the following day, and proceeded to the grave, where the imposing ceremonies were to be performed. Mr. Basset, in behalf of the citizens of Fredericksburg, first addressed the president on the character of her whom they sought to honor. The president made an eloquent reply ; and, as he deposited an inscribed plate in the hollow corner-stone, he said, " Fellow-citizens, at your request, and in your name, I now deposit this plate in the spot destined for it ; and when the American pilgrim shall, in after ages, come up to this high and holy place, and lay his hand upon this sacred column, may he recall the virtues of her who sleeps beneath, and depart with his affections purified, and his piety strengthened, while he invokes blessings upon the memory of the mother of Washington."



TOMB OF THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON.

Referring to this event, Mrs. Sigourney thus beautifully wrote for the *Fredonia Arena* :

" Long hast thou slept unnoticed. Nature stole
In her soft minstrelsy around thy bed,

¹ Colonel Fielding Lewis married Elizabeth, the sister of Washington. He was proprietor of half the town of Fredericksburg, and of an extensive territory adjoining. During the war, in which his feelings were warmly enlisted, he superintended the great manufactory of arms in his neighborhood. He was a local magistrate for many years, and often represented his county in the Legislature. He died in December, 1781, at the age of fifty-five years. His son George was at one time a captain in the *Commander-in-chief's Guard*, and his other three sons were active public men. His daughter Elizabeth married Charles Carter, Esq.

² While the boat was lying at the wharf at Alexandria on this occasion, Lieutenant Randolph, who had lately been dismissed from the navy, went on board, and proceeding into the cabin, where the venerable president sat at table reading and smoking, made a brutal and cowardly attack upon him. Randolph was instantly seized by the captain, when a number of his friends, who accompanied him, rescued him, and bore him to the wharf. A citizen of Alexandria hearing of the outrage, was so greatly incensed that he said to the president, " Sir, if you will pardon me in case I am tried and convicted, I will kill Randolph, for this insult to you, in fifteen minutes." " No, sir," responded the president, " I can not do that. I want no man to stand between me and my assailants, nor none to take revenge on my account. Had I been prepared for this cowardly villain's approach, I can assure you all that he never would have the temerity to undertake such a thing again."

Spreading her vernal tissue, violet-gemm'd,
And pearl'd with dews.
She bade bright Summer bring
Gifts of frankincense, with sweet song of birds,
And Autumn cast his reaper's coronet
Down at thy feet, and stormy Winter speak
Sternly of man's neglect. But now we come
To do thee homage—Mother of our chief!—
Fit homage, such as honoreth him who pays.
Methinks we see thee, as in olden time—
Simple in garb, majestic, and serene;
Unmoved by pomp or circumstances; in truth
Inflexible; and, with a Spartan zeal,
Repressing vice and making folly grave.
Thou didst not deem it woman's part to waste
Life in inglorious sloth—to sport a while
Amid the flowers, or on the summer wave,
Then, fleet like the Ephemeron, away,
Building no temple in her children's hearts,
Save to the vanity and pride of life
Which she had worship'd.

For the might that clothed
The "Pater Patria"—for the glorious deeds
That make Mount Vernon's tomb a Mecca shrine
For all the earth, what thanks to thee are due,
Who, mid his elements of being wrought,
We know not—Heaven can tell."

Almost twenty years have passed away since the imposing pageant at the laying of the corner-stone was displayed, and yet the monument is unfinished. Still may Spring, and Summer, and



THE OBELISK.¹

"Stormy Winter speak
Sternly of man's neglect;"

for the huge marble obelisk, as it came from the quarry, lies there yet, defaced and mutilated by rude hands, and silently appealing to local pride and general patriotism to sculpture its ornaments, and place it where it was designed to be. Year after year the dust of the plain has lodged upon the top of the half-finished pile, and the seeds of wild flowers have been borne thither upon the wings of the zephyrs; and where the base of the noble obelisk should rest, Nature, as if rebuking insensate man, hath woven green garlands, and hung flowery festoons. Upon the broad tablet whereon was to be inscribed the beautiful memorial, "*MARY, THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON,*" dark green fungi have made *their* humiliating record instead.

I left Fredericksburg² at two o'clock, with the intention of lodging at Bowling Green, in Caroline county, twenty-two miles distant. The post-road is one of the finest I ever traveled; broad, and in good condition. It passes through a gently rolling, fertile country, and apparently well cultivated. When within about twelve miles of my destination. I passed a farm-house, from which two men, with a span of horses and a rickety market wagon,

¹ This is a sketch, from the original design of the monument, of the obelisk and its surmountings, intended to be placed upon the present structure. Why half-hewn marble has been allowed to remain so long unfinished that Vandal relic-seekers have ruined it, I can not comprehend. Is there not public spirit enough in Virginia to complete this memorial of her most honored daughter? Independent of the reflected glory of her son, she was a noble woman, because truly excellent in all her relations in life; a sincere Christian; kind and benevolent; and a mother who, like Cornelia, regarded her children as her jewels, and cherished them accordingly.

² It is to me a matter of sincere regret, that when I was at Fredericksburg, I was not aware that Colonel Hugh Mercer, the son of the lamented General Mercer, who was killed at Princeton, was a resident of that city. Educated at the public expense, by order of Congress, his name and character belong to history. A portrait of this "foster-child of the Republic" will be found in another part of this work.

The Wrong Road.

Pamunkey River.

Hanover Court House.

The old Tavern.

Anecdote.

were just departing for Richmond, whither I was making my way. They, too, intended to lodge at Bowling Green, and offered to pilot me. Their fresh horses tried Charley's speed and bottom to the utmost. We crossed the Mattapony River, a tributary of the Pamunkey, at twilight, over two high bridges. Night came on with sudden and intense darkness; so dark that I could not see my pilots. At a fork I "lost my reckoning;" they taking one branch and I the other. Charley neighed, and tried to follow them. "I was wise in my own conceit," and reined him into the other fork. I rode on for nearly an hour without passing a habitation, and entirely unconscious of the nature or direction of the road I was traveling. A heavy mist shrouded the country. At length the rays of a candle came feebly from a window at the road-side. I hailed, and asked for and obtained lodgings for the night. It was the hospitable mansion of Mr. Burke, a planter, some seven miles from Bowling Green. I had wandered four miles from the direct road to that village, but was not far from the nearest highway to Hanover Court House, my next point of destination.

I resumed my journey at daybreak, leaving Bowling Green on the left; breakfasted at a small tavern, after a ride of six miles, and soon overtook my pilots, who, in attempting to reach a point beyond Bowling Green the night before, had broken an axle while crossing a swamp. We journeyed on together to Hanover Court House, within nineteen miles of Richmond. The appearance of the country changed materially after crossing the Mattapony. It became more hilly, sandy, and sterile, producing dwarf pines in abundance. We crossed the Pamunkey a little below the confluence of its branches (the North and South Anna), and, at a mile distant, reached Hanover Court House in time for a late dinner. The village now consists of the ancient court-house and tavern, one brick house, several negro huts, and a jail. The latter was in process of reconstruction ^{1851.} when I was there, having been burned a few months previously. Here was a flourishing town before Richmond, now containing thirty thousand inhabitants, was an incorporated village. The Pamunkey was then navigable for sloops and schooners; now the channel is filled with sand. Hanover was a place of considerable business. Sixteen hundred hogsheads of tobacco were annually exported from it, and it was regarded as an eligible site for the state capital. When the House of Burgesses were deliberating upon the subject of removing the Capitol from Williamsburg, they came within a few votes of deciding upon Hanover instead of Richmond. Where the populous village once stood I saw traces of a recent corn crop, but not a vestige of former habitation.

The old tavern where I lodged, and the court-house, are objects of much interest, from the circumstance that in the former Patrick Henry was a temporary *bar-tender*,¹ and in the latter he made those first efforts at oratory which burst forth like meteors from the gloom of his obscurity. He had passed his youth-

HANOVER COURT-HOUSE.²

¹ The Marquis de Chastellux, who visited Hanover in 1781, mentions this tavern as "a tolerably handsome inn, with a very large saloon, and a covered portico, and destined to receive the company who assemble every three months at the court-house, either on private or public affairs."

I slept in the "large saloon;" and under shelter of the "covered portico" mentioned by the marquis, I sketched the court-house. The general external appearance of the house, I was informed, has been changed. The marquis relates the following anecdote respecting the passage of the English through that county: "Mr. Tilghman, our landlord, though he lamented his misfortune in having lodged and boarded Cornwallis and his retinue, without his lordship having made the least recompense, could not help laughing at the fright which the unexpected arrival of Tarleton spread among a considerable number of gentlemen who came to hear the news, and were assembled in the court-house. A negro, on horseback, came full gallop to let them know that Tarleton was not above three miles off. The resolution of retreating was soon taken; but the alarm was so sudden, and the confusion so great, that every one mounted the first horse he could find, so that few of those curious gentlemen returned upon their own horses."—*Travels*, ii., 13, 14.

² This view is from the front, looking east-northeast. The building is of imported brick, with an arcade in front. It was erected about 1740. An addition has been made to the rear, wherein is the judge's bench.

Early Years of Patrick Henry.

The "Parsons's Cause."

His *Début* as an Orator, described by Wirt.

ful days in apparent idleness, and, lacking business tact and energy, he failed to succeed in mercantile pursuits, in which he was engaged. He became bankrupt, and no one was willing to aid him. He had married at eighteen, and yet, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, he had done little toward supporting a wife. They lived most of the time with his father-in-law (Mr. Shelton), who kept the tavern at Hanover, and when the proprietor was absent, young Henry took his place behind the bar. As a last resort, he studied law. He applied himself diligently for six weeks, when he obtained a license, but for nearly three years he was "briefless;" indeed, he hardly knew how to draw a *brief* correctly. At the age of twenty-seven, he was employed in the celebrated *Parsons's Cause*; and in Hanover court-house, on that occasion, his genius was first developed. The case was a controversy between the clergy and the Legislature of the state, relating to the stipend claimed by the former. A decision of the court in favor of the clergy had left nothing undetermined but the amount of damages in the cause which was pending. Young Henry took part against the clergy, and in his plea his wonderful oratory beamed out, for the first time, in great splendor. Wirt has vividly described the scene in his life of the "American Demosthenes."

¹ "The array before Mr. Henry's eyes was now most fearful. On the bench sat more than twenty clergymen, the most learned men in the colony, and the most capable, as well as the severest critics before whom it was possible for him to have made his *début*. The court-house was crowded with an overwhelming multitude, and surrounded with an immense and anxious throng, who, not finding room to enter, were endeavoring to listen without in the deepest attention. But there was something still more awfully disconcerting than all this; for in the chair of the presiding magistrate sat no other person than his own father. Mr. Lyons opened the cause very briefly; in the way of argument he did nothing more than explain to the jury that the decision on the demurrer had put the act of 1758 entirely out of the way, and left the law of 1748 as the only standard of their damages. He then concluded with a highly-wrought eulogium on the benevolence of the clergy. And now came on the first trial of Patrick Henry's strength. No one had ever heard him speak, and curiosity was on tiptoe. He rose very awkwardly, and faltered much in his exordium. The people hung their heads at so unpromising a commencement; the clergy were observed to exchange sly looks with each other; and his father is described as having almost sunk with confusion from his seat. But these feelings were of short duration, and soon gave place to others of a very different character; for now were those wonderful faculties which he possessed for the first time developed, and now was first witnessed that mysterious and almost supernatural transformation of appearance, which the fire of his own eloquence never failed to work in him; for, as his mind rolled along, and began to glow from its own action, all the *exuviae* of the clown seemed to shed themselves spontaneously. His attitude, by degrees, became erect and lofty. The spirit of his genius awakened all his features. His countenance shone with a nobleness and grandeur which it had never before exhibited. There was a lightning in his eye which seemed to rivet the spectator. His action became graceful, bold, and commanding; and in the tones of his voice, but more especially in his emphasis, there was a peculiar charm, a magic, of which any one who ever heard him will speak as soon as ever he is named, but of which no one can give any adequate description. They can only say that it struck upon the ear and upon the heart in a manner which language can not tell. Add to all these his wonder-working fancy, and the peculiar phraseology in which he clothed its images, for he painted to the heart with a force that almost petrified it. In the language of those who heard him on this occasion, 'he made their blood run cold, and their hair to rise on end.'

"It will not be difficult for any one who ever heard this most extraordinary man to believe the whole account of this transaction, which is given by his surviving hearers; and from their account, the court-house of Hanover county must have exhibited, on this occasion, a scene as picturesque as has been ever witnessed in real life. They say that the people, whose countenances had fallen as he arose, had heard but a very few sentences before they began to look up, then to look at each other with surprise, as if doubting the evidence of their own senses; then, attracted by some strong gesture, struck by some majestic attitude, fascinated by the spell of his eye, the charm of his emphasis, and the varied and commanding expression of his countenance, they could look away no more. In less than twenty minutes they might be seen, in every part of the house, on every bench, in every window, stooping forward from their stands, in death-like silence, their features fixed in amazement and awe, all their senses listening and riveted upon the speaker, as if to catch the last strain of some heavenly visitant. The mockery of the clergy was soon turned into alarm, their triumph into confusion and despair; and at one burst of his rapid and overwhelming invective, they fled from the bench in precipitation and terror. As for the father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting where he was, and the character which he was filling, tears of ecstasy streamed down his cheeks, without the power or inclination to repress them.

"The jury seem to have been so completely bewildered that they lost sight not only of the act of 1748, but that of 1758 also; for, thoughtless even of the admitted right of the plaintiff, they had scarcely left the bar when they returned with a verdict of *one penny damages*. A motion was made for a new trial; but the court, too, had now lost the equipoise of their judgment, and overruled the motion by a unanimous

New Castle.

Road from Hanover to Richmond.

Birth-place of Henry Clay.

Virginia Market-wagons.

We shall meet Patrick Henry again presently in more important scenes.

Upon the Pamunkey, a few miles below Hanover Court House, is New Castle, once a flourishing village, but now a desolation, only one house remaining upon its site. That is the place where Patrick Henry assembled the volunteers and marched to Williamsburg, for the purpose of demanding a restoration of the powder which Lord Dunmore had removed from the public magazine, or its equivalent in money. Of this I shall hereafter write.

I lodged at Hanover, and, after an early breakfast, departed for Richmond, the rain yet falling. Between three and four miles from Hanover Court House, I passed the birth-place of Henry Clay. It stands upon the right of the turnpike to Richmond, in the midst of the flat piny region called the slashes of *Hanover*.¹ It is a frame building, one story high, with dormer windows, and two large chimneys on the outside of each gable. Here the great statesman was born in 1777. The roads through this desolate region are wretched, abounding in those causeways of logs known as *corduroy roads*. Within ten miles of Richmond the scenery becomes diversified, and the vicinage of a large town is denoted by the numerous vehicles upon the broad road, consisting chiefly of uncouth market-wagons, drawn by mules, frequently six or eight in a team, as pictured in the sketch below. The negro driver is usually seated upon one of the wheel mules, and, without guiding lines, conducts them by the vocal direction of *haw* and *gee*. To the eyes of a Northern man looking upon these caravans for the first time, they appear quite picturesque.



HENRY CLAY'S BIRTH-PLACE

I reached Richmond at meridian,^a where I tarried with esteemed friends for several days. • Dec. 14, 1848.

vote. The verdict, and judgment overruling the motion, were followed by redoubled acclamation from within and without the house. The people, who had with difficulty kept their hands off their champion from the moment of closing his harangue, no sooner saw the fate of the cause finally sealed, than they seized him at the bar, and, in spite of his own exertions and the continued cry of 'order' from the sheriffs and the court, they bore him out of the court-house, and, raising him on their shoulders, carried him about the yard in a kind of electioneering triumph."

¹ The word *slashes* is applied to tracts of flat clay soil, covered with pine woods, and always wet. The clay is almost impervious to water, and as evaporation goes on slowly in the shadow of the pines, the ground is seldom dry. "The mill-boy of the slashes" was an electioneering phrase applied to Henry Clay some years ago, when he was a candidate for the presidency of the United States. Mr. Clay, who is now (1852) a representative of Kentucky in the Senate of the United States, is the last survivor of the Commissioners who negotiated the treaty at Ghent in 1815, with the representatives of the British government.



VIRGINIA MARKET-WAGON.

CHAPTER XVII.

"Virginia, hail! Thou venerable state
 In arms and council still acknowledged great!
 When lost Britannia, in an evil hour,
 First tried the steps of arbitrary power,
 Thy foresight then the Continent alarm'd;
 Thy gallant temper ev'ry bosom warm'd.
 And now, when Britain's mercenary bands
 Bombard our cities, desolate our lands
 (Our prayers unanswer'd, and our tears in vain),
 While foreign cut-throats crowd the ensanguined plain,
 Thy glowing virtue caught the glorious flame,
 And first renounced the cruel tyrant's name!
 With just disdain, and most becoming pride,
 Further dependence on the crown denied!
 While Freedom's voice can in these wilds be heard,
 Virginia's patriots shall be still revered."

HOLT'S NEW YORK JOURNAL, *June, 1776.*



ICHMOND, the metropolis of Virginia, is situated at the Falls of the James River, a locality known and mentioned as early as 1609, two years after the commencement of a settlement at Jamestown, and the same year that Henry Hudson first entered and explored New York Bay and the North River. In that year, Captain West was sent, with one hundred and twenty men, to make a settlement at the Falls. They pitched their tents at the head of navigation, at a place now known as Rockett's, just below Richmond. It was near one of the imperial residences of Powhatan when the foundations of Jamestown were first laid. Captain John Smith, then president of the colony, visited West's settlement toward the close of 1609. He disliked the situation, on account of the overflowing of the river, and, purchasing from Powhatan a tract now known by that name, two miles below Richmond, where the Indians had a palisade fort, he directed the settlers to remove thither. They refused compliance, while Smith strenuously insisted upon obedience. An open rupture ensued. Smith committed some of the ringleaders to confinement; but this so exasperated the remainder, that, with menaces of death, they drove him to his vessel in the river. The Indians espoused the cause of Smith, and the settlers and the natives became bitter enemies. Smith, greatly chagrined, sailed down the river for Jamestown. As soon as he was gone, the Indians fell upon West's people, and slew several of them. The remainder were glad to recall Smith, who had not proceeded far down the river, and receive his aid. He again imprisoned some of the leaders, and established the settlement at Powhatan. There they had a strong fort with dry wigwams, and about two hundred acres of land ready to be planted. On account of the beauty and fertility of the place, they called it "Nonesuch." As Smith was about to depart, West, who had been at Jamestown, returned, and, by his influence, stirred up a mutiny, which ended in the settlers abandoning "Nonesuch" and returning to the Falls.

A fortification, called Fort Charles, was erected at the Falls in 1645. Thirty-four years afterward, Captain William Byrd, having been granted certain privileges contingent upon his making a settlement at the Falls of fifty able-bodied men, well armed, as a protection against the Indians, built a trading-house and mill upon the present site of Richmond, about three fourths of a mile above Rockett's. The place was called *Byrd's Warehouse*. The building from which the name was derived stood near the present Exchange Hotel.

Founding of Richmond.

Scenery on the James River at Richmond.

Expedition of Arnold to Virginia.

A town was established there with the name of Richmond (so called because of its similarity in situation to Richmond on the Thames, near London), in May, 1742, on land belonging to Colonel William Byrd, of Westover. It is situated upon the north side of the James River, upon the high hills of Shockoe and Richmond, and the margin of Shockoe Creek, which flows between them to the river.

The scenery from almost every point of view around Richmond is exceedingly picturesque. The river is almost half a mile wide, dotted with beautiful wooded islands, and broken into numerous cascades, which extend to Westham, six miles up the stream. The Capitol stands in the center of a large square, upon the brow of Shockoe Hill, in the western division of the city. From its southern colonnade there is an extensive view of the best portion of the town, of the river, with its islands and cascades, and the flourishing manufacturing village of Manchester, on the opposite shore, with a back-ground of fertile slopes. From this point the eye takes in almost the whole area of Richmond, made memorable by Revolutionary events. Let us consider them.

SCENE ON THE JAMES RIVER, AT RICHMOND.¹

When noticing the adventures of Sergeant Champe, while endeavoring to abduct Arnold from New York (see page 206), I mentioned the fact that the traitor sailed, in command of an expedition, to Virginia, taking Champe with him. Arnold left New York with nearly fifty small vessels, and six hundred troops, principally Loyalists, for the purpose of carrying on a predatory warfare in Virginia. Co-^a Dec. 16, 1780. trary winds detained them at Sandy Hook, and they did not leave their anchorage there until five days had elapsed.^b Arnold entered Hampton Roads on the 30th of December. His fleet had become dispersed, and several ships were missing. Anxious to distinguish himself in the service of his royal purchaser, and favored by the capture of some small American vessels by his advance frigate, he pushed up the James River to seize or destroy the public stores at Richmond and Petersburg. Williamsburg, situated about half-way between the James and York Rivers, was the Capitol of the state when the Revolution broke out. It was peculiarly exposed to the depredations of the enemy, and was an unsafe place for the public records and stores. Richmond, though quite an insignificant town of about eighteen hundred inhabitants, one half of whom were slaves, offered a more secure place for public stores, and the quiet deliberations of the Virginia Legislature; and thither, in the summer of 1779, the troops, arms, and ammunition, together with the public records, were sent, by order of the Assembly. Finally, the Burgesses, by an act passed in May, 1779, made Richmond the permanent seat of government, and there all

¹ This view is from a long shaded island extending up the river from Mayo's Bridge, one of the three structures which span the stream at Richmond. Down the river from our point of view is seen Mayo's Bridge, and, in the extreme distance, the lower portion of Richmond, upon Richmond or Church Hill. Several fish-traps are seen among the rapids in the river. On the left are observed two or three smaller islands. Since the above sketch was made, a bridge, for the accommodation of the Danville railway, has been constructed from the Richmond end of Mayo's Bridge, diagonally, to the southern end of the Petersburg railway bridge, crossing very nearly our point of view. Not content with thus marring the beauty of one of the finest series of islands and cascades in the country, the company have covered the bridge, so as to shut out from the eyes of passengers the surrounding attractions. Wherefore?

Arnold, with his Fleet, in the James River.

Approach to Richmond.

Activity of Jefferson.

The Militia.

the state offices were located at the period in question. Thomas Jefferson was then Governor of Virginia.¹

On the 3d of January,^a Arnold, with his fleet, anchored near Jamestown,² and the next day proceeded as far as Westover, the seat of the widow of Colonel Byrd, about twenty-five miles below Richmond, where he landed almost a thousand troops,³ and led them toward the metropolis. Governor Jefferson had been apprised of the approach of the fleet, but was not certain whether Richmond or Petersburg was the point of the intended attack, until advised of the debarkation of the British troops. The whole country was speedily alarmed. Jefferson called out all of the militia from the adjacent counties; but so sudden was the invasion, and so great was the panic, that only a handful could be collected. The white population were few, and scattered over plantations, with their habitations widely separated; and private interest, in many cases, made the planters more intent upon securing their slaves and horses from capture than defending public property. Only about two hundred armed men could be collected for the defense of Richmond.⁴

The enemy encamped on the night of the 4th at Four Mile Creek, twelve miles below Richmond. Governor Jefferson, perceiving that resistance with his handful of raw militia would be useless, turned his attention to the salvation of the public stores. By his activity a large quantity was secured. Much of the portable property was carried across the river to Manchester, and also the stores which had been sent to Westham, six miles above Richmond, were ordered to be conveyed to the south side.

One object which Arnold had in view was the capture of Governor Jefferson. That officer left Richmond on the evening of the 4th, tarried a while at Westham to hasten the removal of the stores, and then rode on to join his family at Tuckahoe, eight miles further. Early the next morning he took them across the river to a place of safety, and then rode to Britton's, opposite Westham, and gave further orders respecting the disposition of the stores.

Hastening to Manchester, he arrived there in time to see the invading troops march, unopposed, into Richmond, at one o'clock.^b

When within a few miles of Richmond, Arnold so disposed his troops as to have the appearance of twice their actual number. A patrol of the militia who were assembled at Richmond, met them when within four miles of the town, and, hastening back with the intelligence that fifteen hundred British troops were within an hour's march of the place, produced the greatest alarm and confusion. Many of the inhabitants fled into the country, and were afterward followed by the militia themselves, when the enemy entered the town.

Arnold, advised of the weakness of the place, halted at Rockett's, and sent Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers, to drive the military from their position

¹ The public buildings were only temporary. The old Capitol in which the Legislature held its sessions was private property, and stood upon the site of the present custom-house.

² The Americans had a battery on Hood's Point, and when, late in the evening, the enemy anchored, a fire was opened upon them. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe landed with one hundred and thirty of the Queen's Rangers and the light infantry and grenadiers of the 80th regiment, and made a circuit of about a mile in the dark to surprise the garrison. On approaching the battery it was found to be abandoned, and the fleet suffered no further inconvenience. See *Simcoe's Journal*, page 161.

³ Simcoe, who accompanied Arnold, says, "General Arnold's force did not amount to 800 men." American writers generally agree that the number was at least 900.

⁴ "The bare communication of the fact," says Tucker, in his *Life of Jefferson*, "that a force of one thousand, or, at most, fifteen hundred men, was able to invade a country containing at that time a population of more than half a million, and fifty thousand enrolled militia, march to its metropolis, destroy all the public, and much private property found there and in its neighborhood, and to leave the country with impunity, is a fact calculated to excite our surprise, and to involve both the people, and those who administered its affairs, in one indiscriminate reproach. But there seems to be little ground for either wonder or censure, when it is recollected that these fifty thousand militia were scattered over a surface of more than as many square miles; that the metropolis which was thus insulted was but a village, containing scarcely eighteen hundred inhabitants, half of whom were slaves; and that the country itself, intersected by several navigable rivers, could not be defended against the sudden incursion of an enemy, whose naval power gave it the entire command of the water, and enabled it to approach within a day's march of the point of attack."

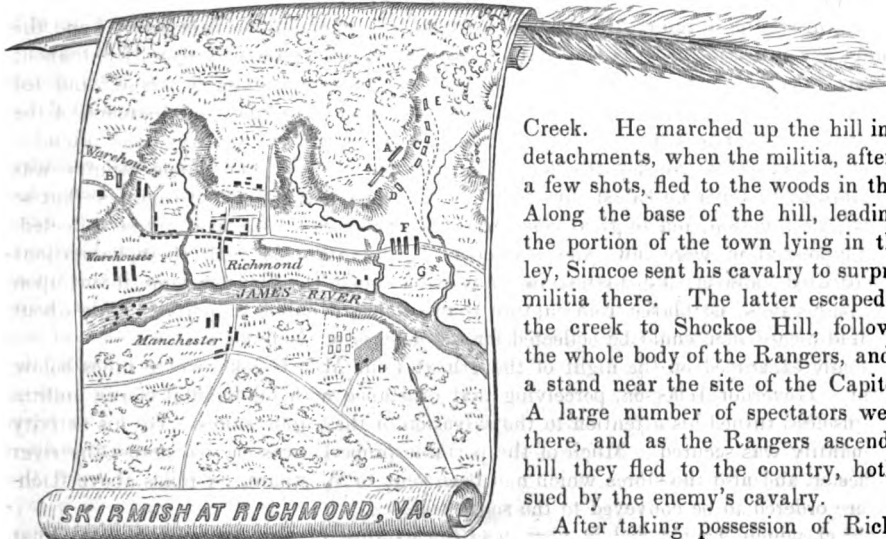
The British at Richmond.

Old City Tavern.

Baron Steuben.

Depredations by British Frigates.

(A A) upon Richmond Hill, near St. John's Church, on the south side of the Shockoe



Creek. He marched up the hill in small detachments, when the militia, after firing a few shots, fled to the woods in the rear. Along the base of the hill, leading into the portion of the town lying in the valley, Simcoe sent his cavalry to surprise the militia there. The latter escaped across the creek to Shockoe Hill, followed by the whole body of the Rangers, and made a stand near the site of the Capitol (B). A large number of spectators were also there, and as the Rangers ascended the hill, they fled to the country, hotly pursued by the enemy's cavalry.

After taking possession of Richmond, Arnold ordered Simcoe to proceed to West-

ham, and destroy the cannon-foundry and the magazine there. The trunnions of most of the cannons were broken off; the powder in the magazine which they could not carry away was thrown into the river, and, before night, the foundry was a desolation. The Rangers returned to Richmond, and the whole hostile force quartered in the town during the night.^a Arnold and Simcoe made their quarters at the Old City Tavern, yet Jan. 5
standing on Main Street, but partially in ruins, when I visited Richmond. Many 1781.
houses were entered and plundered by the invaders. They obtained a considerable quantity of rum, and a large portion of them spent the night in drunken revelry.

Baron Steuben, who was then collecting the Virginia levies for General Greene's army at the South, was at Colonel Fleming's, in Powhatan county, a few miles from Manchester. Thither Governor Jefferson went to solicit aid. While there, some of the citizens waited on him to tender an offer from Arnold to spare the town, provided British vessels were permitted to come up unmolested, and carry off tobacco from the warehouses. The governor promptly rejected the proposal, and the enemy applied the torch.^b

OLD CITY TAVERN.¹

NOTE.—This plan represents the invasion of Richmond on the 5th of January, 1781. A A is the first position of the American militia on Richmond Hill; B, the second position of the military and people on Shockoe Hill; C, the Queen's Rangers marching to the attack; D, the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers; E, Yagers; F, the main body of the British with General Arnold; G, two cannons in battery; H, a fine plantation, opposite the present Rockett's.

¹ This is a frame building, and stands on the northwest corner of Main and Nineteenth streets. A portion of the lower part is yet inhabited (1852). The glass and some of the sashes in the upper story are gone, and the roof is partly decayed and fallen in on the west end. Here Cornwallis and other British officers were quartered at a later period, and beneath its roof the good Washington was once sheltered.

² British frigates ascended the rivers of Virginia, and levied contributions upon all the tide-water counties. On one of these occasions the Mount Vernon estate was menaced with destruction by Captain Graves, of the Acteon. The manager, Mr. Lund Washington, to save the buildings, complied with the terms, and consented to furnish a supply of provisions. Washington highly disapproved of this proceeding, and, in a letter to his nephew, declared that he would rather have had the buildings destroyed, than saved by such "a pernicious example."

Departure of Arnold from Richmond.

French Fleet in Hampton-Roads.

Houdon's Statue of Washington.

Quite a number of public and private buildings, together with a great quantity of tobacco, were burned. The public records had been saved through the vigilance of Jefferson ; and Arnold, finding no more plunder or objects on which to pour out his wrath—the ire of a most vindictive heart toward those whom he had foully wronged—withdrew to Westover, and re-embarked^a to proceed to commit other depredations upon the river shores and the coasts of the Virginia bays. On the same day Jefferson returned to Richmond, and quiet was restored.

A large body of militia rapidly rallied around Steuben ; and General Nelson also collected another large force lower down on the James River. Arnold was pursued, but succeeded in reaching Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk, where he established his head-quarters. Soon afterward a French sixty-four gun ship (the *Eveille*), and two large frigates, from Newport, entered the Chesapeake.¹ Thus menaced by land and water, Arnold resolved to remain at Portsmouth, whither the large French vessels could not follow.² The little fleet, after making a few captures, and efforts to ascend the Elizabeth River, returned to New-

port,^b having been absent only fifteen days. We shall meet Arnold again presently.

I passed the day after my arrival at Richmond in visiting and sketching some localities and objects of note within the city. I first went up to the Capitol, where, after loitering an hour in the state library, I copied the fine statue of Washington, by Houdon, a celebrated French sculptor, which stands within an iron railing in the center of the rotunda. It was made in Paris, five years after the close of the Revolution, by order of the Virginia Assembly, under the direction of Mr. Jefferson, who was then minister at the court of Ver-



STATUE OF WASHINGTON.

sailles. The statue is of fine white marble, of life size ; the costume, the military dress of the Revolution. The right hand of the patriot rests upon a staff, the left is upon the folds of a military cloak covering one end of the fasces, with which is connected the plowshare, the emblem of agriculture, the chief pursuit of the Virginians. The inscription upon the pedestal was written by James Madison, afterward President of the United States.³ In a small niche near is a marble bust of La Fayette, and in the gallery of the rotunda is a fine full length portrait of Chief-justice Marshall.

From the Capitol I walked to the Monumental Church, a neat edifice of octagon form, belonging to the Protestant Episcopalians. It derives its

¹ At the solicitation of Governor Jefferson and of Congress, Luzerne, the French minister, had requested that, if possible, a ship of the line and some frigates might be sent up the Chesapeake to oppose Arnold. It was determined to use every effort to capture the traitor ; and, while Steuben was narrowly watching his movements from a nearer point of view, Washington detached La Fayette with twelve hundred men, drawn from the New England and New Jersey lines, to march to Virginia, and co-operate in the double enterprise of defending that state and capturing the renegade. M. de Tilley was detached from Newport, on the 9th of February, with a sixty-four and two frigates, for the Chesapeake. The little squadron of De Tilley captured the *Romulus*, a British frigate of forty-four guns, and also two privateers, one of eighteen and the other of fourteen guns ; sent four prizes to Yorktown, and burned four others. They also captured about five hundred prisoners. Fortunately for Arnold, Admiral Arbuthnot gave him timely warning of the approach of the French vessels, and, as I have mentioned in the text, he escaped up the Elizabeth River. The events at Portsmouth and vicinity will be detailed presently.

² The *Eveille* did not attempt to follow him from Hampton Roads. One of the frigates, the *Surveillante*, ran aground in endeavoring to ascend the Elizabeth River, and was got off only by taking out her guns and casks of water.

³ The following is a copy of the inscription :

Moumental Church. Destruction of the Richmond Theater. St. John's Church. Virginia Washington Monument.

name from the circumstance that under its portico is a monumental urn, erected to the memory of those who lost their lives when the Richmond theater was burned, on the night of the 26th of December, 1811.¹ This church was erected upon the site of the destroyed theater. There the late venerable Bishop Moore preached during the whole time of his residence in Richmond; and there I heard the voice of his successor, Bishop Mead, on whom the mantle of his goodness hath fallen.

Crossing the deep valley of the Shockoe upon the broad and lofty causeway just completed, I visited and sketched old St. John's Church (see engraving on next page), upon Richmond Hill, and lingered long among its venerable graves. It is the oldest church in Richmond, and one of the most ancient in the state. The burial-ground which surrounds it is embowered in trees and shrubbery, and from its southern slope there is a noble view of the city and surrounding country. The main portion of the building is the same as it was in the Revolution, the tower alone being modern. On Sunday I sat within its hallowed walls, and, while the voice of the preacher was uttering the eloquence of persuasive piety, predicated upon the apostolic annunciation, "We are ambassadors for Christ,"² and urged his hearers to heed his voice of warning, and join the standard of those who sought the *freedom of the Gospel*, my thoughts involuntarily glanced back over a period of seventy-three years, to the hour when, within that same temple,³ the voice of Patrick Henry enunciated those burning words which aroused the Continent to action, • March, 1775.

"GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH!" There the people of Virginia assembled in rep-

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected, as a monument of affection and gratitude to GEORGE WASHINGTON, who, uniting to the endowments of a HERO the virtues of the PATRIOT, and exerting both in establishing the liberties of his country, has rendered his name dear to his fellow-citizens, and given the world an immortal example of true glory. Done in the year of CHRIST, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and in the year of the Commonwealth, the twelfth."

On the 22d of February, 1850, the corner-stone of a new and elegant monument, to be erected upon Capitol Square, by order of the Virginia Legislature, was laid with imposing ceremonies. The appropriation made by the Legislature for the purpose was first suggested by the Virginia Historical Society. Crawford, the eminent American sculptor, is now engaged upon the work in Italy. The monument will be composed of a broad base, with flights of steps between pedestals at proper intervals. These pedestals, six in number, will support each a colossal eagle. From this base will arise another for the lofty and elegantly wrought pedestal in the center, designed to support a colossal equestrian statue of Washington. Upon the second base are to be eight small pedestals, supporting the statues of Virginia and Liberty, and of several of the Revolutionary patriots of that state. The grand pedestal will contain, in different parts, appropriate inscriptions, civic wreaths, stars, &c. This is but a meager description of the beautiful design before me. It will be an honor not only to Virginia, but to the Republic.

The grand master of the Masonic fraternity laid the corner-stone of the monument, in the presence of President Taylor and his cabinet, the Governor of Virginia, and a large concourse of people. On that occasion, he wore the apron beautifully wrought by the hand of La Fayette's wife, and presented to Washington by the Grand Lodge of France. Both generals were members of the order. The apron is in the possession of Mount Nebo Lodge, No. 91, located at Shepherdstown.* The oration delivered on the occasion was by Robert G. Scott, Esq. It is expected that the monument will be completed in 1855.

¹ The audience on that night was uncommonly large, and composed chiefly of the first class of citizens, among whom was the governor of the state, George W. Smith. Some of the scenery was ignited by a chandelier at the back part of the stage, while the most of it was concealed by a drop-curtain. The combustible materials of all the stage arrangements made the flames spread with wonderful rapidity, and before the audience could make their escape by the only door of egress, in the front of the building, the whole wooden edifice was in flames. Some leaped from the windows and were saved; others were thus severely injured; and a large number perished in the flames, or were suffocated by the smoke in the burning building. Sixty-six white persons, and six colored ones, were destroyed. The governor was one of the victims. It was a night of woe in Richmond, and months and even years were required to elapse, before the gloom was entirely dissipated. The funeral obsequies of the dead were performed on the 28th of the month, in the presence of almost the entire population. ² Gal., v., 20.

* Miled by careless historians and current tradition, I have stated on page 307, of the first volume of this work, that Washington was initiated into the secrets of the order at Morristown, in New Jersey. The records exhibited by the orator on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the Virginia Monument, show that he was initiated on the 4th of November, 1752, in Lodge No. 4, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, when he was not quite twenty-one years of age. He was raised to the degree of Master Mason on the 4th of August, 1753. It is asserted that all of the major generals of the Revolutionary army were master masons, except one; that one was the "lost Pleiad"—BENEDICT ARNOLD.

The Constitutional Convention.	Its Members and their Vote.	Mayo's Bridge.	The "Old Stone House."
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1788. representative convention to ratify or reject the Federal Constitution, the glorious guaranty of our civil freedom. Patrick Henry was then there, and, filled with ap-



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.¹

prehension lest the new Constitution should destroy state sovereignty and concentrate a fearful power in the hands of the chief magistrate, he lifted up his eloquent voice against it. There, too, were Madison and Monroe, who both subsequently filled the chair of the chief magistracy of the republic. There was Chancellor Wythe, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Marshall, the eminent chief justice, and the biographer of Washington; Pendleton, one of Virginia's noblest sons, and president of the Constitutional Convention;



THE STONE HOUSE.

the City Tavern, printed on page 435, and the Old Stone House near it, which was the first

Mason, the sage, and personal friend of Washington; Grayson, the accomplished scholar and soldier; Nicholas, an officer of Washington's *Life Guard*; Edmund Randolph, then governor of the state; Bushrod Washington, a nephew of the general; Innes, the attorney general of the state; the brave Theodoric Bland of the Continental army; Harrison, another signer of the great Declaration, and many other luminaries of less brilliancy. Of the 168 members who voted on the measure in that convention, there was a majority of only two in favor of the Federal Constitution.

Leaving St. John's and its interesting associations, I strolled into the town, and crossed the James River to Manchester, over Mayo's Bridge.² On my way I sketched

¹ This view is from the burial-ground, looking southwest. The willow seen on the left, leaning by the side of a monument, is a venerable tree. It appears to have been planted by the hand of affection when the monument was reared. In the progress of its growth the trunk has moved the slab at least six inches from its original position. How imperceptible was that daily motion when the sap was flowing, and yet how certain and powerful!

² This bridge is nearly four hundred yards in length, and spans the James River near the foot of the great rapids. It was built, soon after the close of the Revolution, by Colonel John Mayo, who received a large revenue from the tolls.

Reminiscences of the "Old Stone House."

Anecdote of Monroe.

Patrick Henry.

dwelling erected in Richmond. It stands upon the northwest corner of Main and Twentieth streets, and was among the houses in Richmond which was spared by the incendiary in 1781. It was occupied, when I visited it, by Mrs. Elizabeth Welsh, whose great-grandfather, Jacob Ege, from Germany, built it before Byrd's warehouse was erected. It was owned by Mrs. Welsh's father, Samuel Ege, who was a commissary in the American army during a part of the Revolution. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe (four of the presidents of the United States) have all been beneath its roof. Mrs. Welsh informed me that she well remembers the fact that Monroe boarded with her mother, while attending the Virginia Convention in 1788, just alluded to.¹ She was then ten years of age.



Patrick Henry

I passed a portion of the afternoon among the tobacco factories in Richmond, and the cotton and iron factories at Manchester, and then lingered until almost sunset upon the beautiful island above Mayo's Bridge,² from which I

¹ Mrs. Welsh related a circumstance which she well remembered. While Monroe was boarding with her mother, Samuel Hardy, another member of the convention, was also there. Hardy was a very modest, retiring man. One morning at breakfast, Monroe remarked to Hardy, in a jocular manner, "I have no doubt you will be governor of the state yet." "Yes," rejoined Hardy, "and you will have your hair cut and be sent to Congress." Hardy was afterward lieutenant governor of the state, and Monroe was not only "sent to Congress" as a senator, but became a foreign minister, and chief magistrate of the nation.

² Another noble bridge spans the James River a short distance above, which was constructed for the passage of the Richmond and Petersburg rail-way. A third bridge has been erected since my visit there, which is referred to on page 433.

³ Patrick Henry was born at the family seat of his father, called Studley, in Hanover county, Virginia, on the 29th of May, 1736. At the age of ten years he was taken from school, and placed under the tuition of his father, in his own house, to learn Latin. He acquired some proficiency in mathematics; but it now became evident that he had a greater taste for hunting and fishing than for study. We have already considered the character of his youth and early manhood, on page 430, until his powers of eloquence were first developed in a speech in Hanover court-house. From that period Mr. Henry rose rapidly to the head of his profession. He removed to Louisa county in 1764, and in the autumn of that year he was employed to argue a case before a committee on elections of the House of Burgesses. He made an eloquent speech on the right of suffrage, and his uncouth appearance was entirely lost sight of by the wondering burgesses. He was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1765. During that session he made his memorable speech in opposition to the Stamp Act, which I shall notice more particularly hereafter. Mr. Henry was admitted to the bar of the General Court in 1769. At that time he was again a resident of his native county; and from that period until the close of the Revolution he was connected with the House of Burgesses as a member, and as governor of the state. He was elected a delegate to the first Congress in 1774, and there, as we have seen, gave the first impulse to its business. In 1775, when Lord Dunmore seized and conveyed on board a British vessel of war a part of the powder in the provincial magazine at Williamsburg, Mr. Henry assembled the independent companies of Hanover and King William counties, and, boldly demanding its restoration or its equivalent in money, forced a compliance. He was chosen the first republican governor of Virginia, after the departure of Dunmore, in 1776, which office he held for several successive years. In the Virginia Convention of 1788, assembled to consider the Federal Constitution, Mr. Henry opposed its adoption with all his eloquence. In 1795, Washington nominated him as Secretary of State, but he declined the honor and trust. President Adams appointed him an envoy to France, with Ellsworth and Murray, in 1799, but his indisposition and advanced age caused him to decline

Departure from Richmond.	Aspect of the Scene.	Effect of Patrick Henry's Eloquence.	His Residence.
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made the sketch printed on page 433, contemplating the beauty and grandeur of the scenery, charming even in December, when the trees were leafless and the sward of a russet hue. The storm had subsided, the clouds had dispersed, and the sun and air were as genial to the feelings as a day in mid-May. Bright and beautiful, also, was the Sabbath; but when I left Richmond for Charles City and old Jamestown on Monday morning, every thing was draped in a thick vapor which had arisen from the river during the night. I had scarcely left the suburban village of Powhatan, and turned my horse's head toward the open country, when

"That sea of vapor
Parted away, and, melting into air,
Rose round me, and I stood involved in light,
As if a flame had kindled up, and wrapp'd me
In its innocuous blaze."—PERCIVAL.

The sun came forth brilliant and warm, and for an hour I could trace the sinuous course



SEAT OF PATRICK HENRY.*

that honor also. He died soon afterward at his seat at Red Hill, Charlotte county, on the 6th of June, 1799, aged nearly sixty-three. He had six children by his first wife, and nine by his second. He left his family rich. His widow married the late Judge Winston, and died in Halifax county in February, 1831.

In private life Mr. Henry was amiable and virtuous, and in public and private strictly temperate. He was never known to utter a profane expression, dishonoring the name of God. He was not a member of any church, yet he was a practical Christian, and a lover of the Bible.

Wirt, in his brilliant biography of the great orator, has given several illustrations of the power of his eloquence. I give one in conclusion. A Scotchman, named Hook, living in Campbell county, was suspected of being a Tory. On the occasion of the joint in-

vasion of Cornwallis and Phillips, the American army was greatly distressed. A commissary, named Venable, took two of Mr. Hook's steers, without his consent, to feed the starving soldiers. At the conclusion of the war, a lawyer, named Cowan, advised Hook to prosecute Venable for trespass, in the District Court of New London. Venable employed Patrick Henry. The case was tried in the old court-house in New London. Mr. Henry depicted the distress of the American soldiers in the most glowing colors, and then asked, where was the man, "who had an American heart, who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to have received with open arms the meanest soldier in that little band of famished patriots? Where is the man? There he stands; but whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom you, gentlemen, are to judge." "He then," says Wirt, "carried the jury, by the powers of his imagination, to the plains around York, the surrender of which had followed shortly after the act complained of. He depicted the surrender in the most glowing and noble colors of his eloquence. The audience saw before their eyes the humiliation and dejection of the British as they marched out of the trenches—they saw the triumph which lighted up every patriotic face, and heard the shouts of victory, and the cry of 'Washington and Liberty,' as it rung and echoed through the American ranks, and was reverberated from the hills and shores of the neighboring river—but hark! what notes of discord are these which disturb the general joy, and silence the acclamations of victory? They are the notes of John Hook, hoarsely bawling through the American camp, *beef! beef!*"



OLD COURT-HOUSE.

"The whole audience were convulsed. The clerk of the court, unable to contain himself, and unwilling to commit any breach of decorum in his place, rushed out of the court-house, and threw himself upon the grass, in the most violent paroxysm of laughter, where he was rolling when Hook, with very different feelings, came out for relief into the yard also. 'Jemmy Steptoe,' he said to the clerk, 'what the devil ails ye, mon?' Mr. Steptoe was only able to say that he could not help it. 'Never mind ye,' said Hook, 'wait till Billy Cowan gets up; he'll show him the la'!' Mr. Cowan was so overwhelmed that he could scarcely utter a word. The jury instantly returned a verdict against Hook. The people were highly excited, and Hook was obliged to leave the county to avoid a coat of tar and feathers."—*Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.*

* This is from a picture in Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*, p. 220. The house is upon a ridge, the dividing line of Campbell and Charlotte counties. "From the brow of the hill, west of the house," says Howe, "the Blue Ridge, with the lofty peaks of Otter, appear in the horizon at the distance of nearly sixty miles." In a grove of locusts and other trees at the foot of the garden, are the graves of Governor Henry and his first wife. In the parlor of the house hangs the portrait, by Sully, of which the one given on the preceding page is a copy. The dress is black, cravat white, and a red velvet mantle is thrown over the shoulders. The sketch of the old court-house in New London is also from Howe's valuable book, p. 212.

Appearance of the Country below Richmond.

Westover.

Colonel Byrd.

Birth-place of President Harrison.

of the James River by the line of the white vapor which stretched away, far southward, like a huge serpent measuring its mighty length over the land.

Before leaving Richmond, I endeavored to ascertain the exact location of Westover, the famous estate of Colonel Byrd, and memorable as the landing-place of Arnold's troops. I could not learn its relative position in distance from the direct road to Charles City courthouse, the goal of my first day's journey, and I thought I should pass it by unvisited. After leaving Richmond a few miles, the hilly country disappeared, and there spread out a level or gently rolling region, bearing extensive pine forests, which inclose quite large plantations. I dined in my wagon upon cold turkey and biscuit, furnished by my kind friend, Mrs. G., of Richmond, after giving Charley a lunch of meal and water, by the side of a small stream in the way. The day was very warm^a—too warm to ride comfortably with an overcoat. Not suspecting that I might diverge into a wrong road by one of the numerous forks which characterize the highway, I allowed Charley to jog on leisurely, and with a loose rein, while I gave myself up to contemplation, which was occasionally interrupted by a passing regret that I was obliged to forego the pleasure of visiting Westover. Suddenly, on emerging from a pine forest into an open cultivated region, the bright waters of a broad river, dotted with an occasional sail, were before me. On the bank of the river was a spacious brick mansion, approached from the country by a broad lane, in which a large number of servants, men and women, were engaged *shucking* or *husking* corn. The gleaming water was the James River, and the spacious mansion was that of John A. Selden, Esq., once the residence of Colonel Byrd. I was at Westover, scarcely conscious how I had reached it; for I supposed myself to be upon the direct road to Charles City courthouse, and probably a dozen miles from the spot I desired to see. I was between two and three miles from the main road, led thither by a deceptive by-way, and was obliged to retrace the journey, after passing half an hour in viewing the location. The family of the proprietor was absent, and not a white person was upon the plantation. It must be a delightful place in summer, and, when it was occupied by the accomplished family of the widow of Colonel Byrd,¹ doubtless justified the Marquis de Chastellux in giving his glowing account of the beauty of its location and the charms of society there. "That of Mrs. Byrd," he says, "to which I was going, surpasses, them all [fine mansions on the James River] in the magnificence of the buildings, the beauty of its situation, and the pleasures of society." Mrs. Byrd was a cousin of Benedict Arnold, and this relationship, and the fact that Westover was made the place of landing for the British troops three times under Arnold and Cornwallis, so excited the suspicions of the vigilant Whigs, that the government once took possession of her papers. She was wrongfully suspected, and the landings of the enemy were great misfortunes to her in various ways. I made a sketch of the fine old mansion before leaving Westover, but lost it that very evening.

A short distance above Westover, and in sight of its gardens, upon the river shore, is Berkeley (called Barclay in the old books), the residence of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the birth-place of his son, the ninth president of the United States. It is a brick edifice, with gambrel-roof, and stands about an eighth of a mile from the bank of the river. Around it are tall Lombardy poplars, rising in stately beauty above shrubbery and lesser trees. I made this sketch from the deck of a steam-boat, while ascending the James River a few days afterward, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, aided in my view of the details by the captain's spy-glass.



BERKELEY.

¹ Colonel William Byrd, whose widow owned Westover when Arnold landed there, was the son of Colonel William Byrd, once president of the Virginia Council, and one of the wealthiest and most accomplished gentlemen in the province. Like his father, he was an active public man. He was a commissioner to treat with the Indians in 1756, and accompanied Forbes in his expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. Being a gay spendthrift and a gambler, his immense wealth was much lessened at his death, and his affairs were left in great confusion.

² *Travels*, ii., 16.

Anecdote of Harrison's Father.

Charles City Court House.

Birth-place of President Tyler.

Jefferson's Marriage.

For many years Berkeley was the seat of elegant taste and refinement, for its distinguished owner as a legislator, and as governor of the state, drew around him the wealthy and honorable of the commonwealth. His portrait, and a sketch of his life, will be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence in another part of this work.¹

Leaving Westover, I returned to the highway, and after traversing a beautiful level country, garnished with fertile plantations and handsome mansions, for about six miles, I reached Charles City Court House.

CHARLES CITY COURT-HOUSE.²

It was just at sunset, and there I passed the night with Mr. Christian, who was the clerk of the county, the jailer, and innkeeper. His house of entertainment, the old court-house and jail, and a few out-houses and servants' quarters, compose the village. The county is the smallest in Virginia, yet bears the honor of having given birth to two presidents of the United States, and of being the place of marriage of a third.³ I passed the birth-place of President Tyler just before reaching Mr. Christian's inn. It is the last dwelling upon the Richmond road, when leaving the Court House. His father,

John Tyler, was one of the leading revolutionary men in Virginia. He succeeded Benjamin Harrison as speaker of the Virginia Assembly, and in 1808 he was chosen governor of the state. While Judge of the District Court of the United States, he died, at his seat, in January, 1813.

SIGNATURE OF PRESIDENT TYLER'S FATHER.

Mr. Christian allowed me to pass the evening searching among the dusty records in the old court-house. I found nothing there relating to Revolutionary events; but in a bundle of papers, wrapped up and laid away probably for more than half a century, I discovered the marriage license-bond of Thomas Jefferson, in his own handwriting. I made a fac simile copy of it, which is printed on the opposite page. Mr. Jefferson was married to Martha Skelton, of Charles City county, in January, 1772. She was the widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, an eminent lawyer of Virginia. She brought her husband a considerable fortune, and was only twenty-three years of age when she was married to Mr. Jefferson. Through the stormy period of the Revolution she shared his joys and sorrows, and died in 1782, leaving two daughters. It will be perceived that in writing the bond, which is countersigned by Francis Eppes (the father of Mr. Eppes, who afterward married Mr. Jefferson's daughter), the usual word *spinster* was introduced, but erased, and the word *widow* substituted by another hand.

¹ The Marquis de Chastellux gives an interesting account of his visit to Mr. Harrison, at his residence in Richmond, while he was governor of the state. He relates an anecdote of Mr. Harrison, which illustrates the confidence of the people in their delegates to the first Congress at Philadelphia. When he was on the point of leaving home, with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Lee, a large number of the country people waited upon him, and said, "You assert that there is a fixed intention to invade our rights and privileges. We own that we do not see this clearly; but since you assure us it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step, but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt." Shortly afterward appeared Lord North's speech, clearly avowing his intentions toward the colonies. When Mr. Harrison returned home, at the close of the session, the same people came to him, with the assurance that they were now convinced that he had not deceived them, that their confidence was not misplaced, and that henceforth they were determined on war.—*Travels*, ii., 159.

² William Henry Harrison and John Tyler were both born in that county, and there Thomas Jefferson was married.

³ The style of this building is similar to that of Hanover court-house. It is constructed of imported brick, and was erected previous to that at Hanover. I could not discover the exact period when it was built. Among its records I found notices of courts held at Charles City as early as 1639.

⁴ I copied this signature from a letter written to the lady of General Gates in August, 1780.

Jefferson's Marriage License-bond.

Historical Associations of Charles City Court House

Know all men by these presents that we, Thomas Jefferson and Francis
 Pyper are held and firmly bound to our sovereign lord the king his heirs
 and successors in the sum of fifty pounds current money of Virginia, to the
 payment of which well and truly to be made we bind ourselves jointly and sever-
 ally, our joint and several heirs executors and administrators in witness
 whereof we have hereto set our hands and seals this twenty third day of
 December in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy one
 The condition of the above obligation is such that if there be no lawful
 cause to obstruct a marriage intended to be had and solemnized between
 the above bound Thomas Jefferson and Martha Skelton of the county
 of Charles city, ^{widow} ~~widow~~, for which a license is desired, then this obligation
 is to be null and void; otherwise to remain in full force.

Francis Pyper
 Th. Jefferson

FAC SIMILE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON'S MARRIAGE LICENSE-BOND, IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING.

Charles City Court House was a scene of mortal strife between the Queen's Rangers, under Simcoe, and a party of American militia, on the evening of the day after Arnold's return from Richmond.* Arnold had directed a patrol on that evening toward Long Bridge, in order to obtain intelligence. The patrol consisted of about forty cavalry, under Simcoe. Falling in with some American videttes, they captured two or three, and from them Simcoe learned that a party of militia, under General Nelson, lay at and near Charles City Court-house. The night was clear and frosty, and the moon at its full.¹ The enemy had no knowledge of the way. A negro prisoner was made to act

¹ Simcoe, in his journal, says "the night was very dark." Mr. Tyler informed me that his father, who

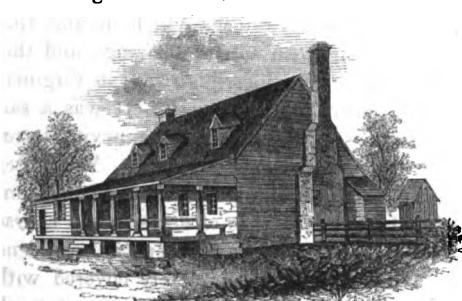
Attack upon the American Militia.

Carelessness of Dudley.

"Sherwood Forest."

Ex-president Tyler.

as guide. The party at the Court House, consisting of one hundred and fifty militia, under the command of Colonel Dudley, were completely surprised, for they had no intimation of the immediate approach of a foe until their sentries were fired upon, and two bugles sounded the signal of attack, upon the frosty air of that winter's night. A confused and scattering fire ensued, when the American detachment fled and joined the main body, which



OLD TAVERN AT CHARLES CITY COURT HOUSE.²

lay a few miles distant, toward the Chickahominy River. A part of Simcoe's dragoons dismounted, rushed into the tavern, and seized several of the Americans. Two of the militiamen (Deane and Ballard) were killed. One of them was slain upon the landing at the head of the stairs, while fleeing to the chamber for safety. The spot was pointed out to me, where, until within a few years, the stains of the victim's blood might be seen. The attack was so sudden and furious, that those who escaped and communicated the fact to the

militia under Nelson, so alarmed that body, that a large number of them broke from the camp, and fled to Williamsburg. Simcoe collected his prisoners and a few captured horses as speedily as possible, and before dawn he joined Arnold at Westover.

Mr. Tyler (the late President of the United States), on whom I called while on my way from Charles City Court House to Jamestown, informed me that his father, who was then a member of the Virginia Assembly, but at his residence at the time, aware of the force of the enemy at Westover and Berkeley, earnestly advised Colonel Dudley, the commander of the county militia, to place his men in a position for defense; offering, at the same time, to join them, and act in any capacity. He advised him to remove his party from the tavern, for, if left there drinking and carousing as usual, they would surely be surprised. The haughty colonel would not heed his warning, and the result was defeat and disgrace.³

It was another glorious morning when I left Charles City Court House. Warm and brilliant as May, I anticipated a delightful day's journey. Nor was I disappointed. A heavy fog during the night had hung each bough and spray with liquid jewels, and these, glittering in the early sun, fell in radiant showers as the light breezes touched their resting-places. Traversing a rough road for nearly four miles, I crossed a rapid stream at a mill, and ascending to a plain half a mile beyond, I reined up at the entrance-gate to Sherwood Forest, the estate of ex-President Tyler. His mansion is very spacious, and stands upon the brow of a gentle slope, half a mile from the highway. It is sheltered in the rear by a thick forest of oaks, pines, and chestnuts, while from the front the eye overlooks almost the whole of his plantation of fourteen hundred acres, with occasional glimpses of the James River. The distinguished proprietor was at home, and received me with that courteous hospitality so common in the South, which makes the traveler feel at ease, as if at the house of a friend. Mr. Tyler is tall and slender in person, his locks long, thin, and slightly grizzled, and he was dressed in the plain garb of a Virginia planter. After giving warm expressions of interest in my enterprise, and an invitation to remain longer at Sherwood Forest,

was then at home, and witnessed a part of the affray, always declared that the sky was cloudless, and the moon in full orb.

² This tavern, in which I lodged, was built about ten years before the skirmish which occurred within and around it. It is now occupied by Edmund F. Christian, Esq., the clerk of Charles City county when I visited it in 1848.

³ A man named Royston, whom Mr. Tyler well knew, was badly wounded in the affray. A pistol was discharged so near his head, that grains of powder sprinkled his face, and disfigured him for life. He was then struck down by a saber blow, and the troopers cruelly tried to make their horses trample him to death. The animals, more humane in action than their riders, leaped over him, and he was saved. He crawled to the residence of Mr. Tyler, where a colored nurse, the only inmate of the house, dressed his wounds and gave him food and drink. Mr. Tyler had moved his family to a place of safety, beyond the Chickahominy River.

The *Slashes* of the Chickahominy.

Difficulties at the Ferry.

The Chickahominy and its Associations.

he sketched a map of my route to Jamestown, as a guide among the diverging ways. Time was precious, and I passed only an hour at the hospitable mansion of the ex-president, and then departed for the Chickahominy.

Soon after leaving Sherwood Forest, I entered a low, wet region, covered with pines, called the *slashes*. These extended to the banks of the Chickahominy, a distance of seven miles; and in all that journey, without a clearing to cheer the eye, I saw no living thing, except an occasional "wild boar of the wood," a dwarf breed of hogs which inhabit this dreary region. Here, where once broad fields were smiling with culture-blessings, and this road, now almost a quagmire, but fifty years ago was one of the finest highways in Virginia, wild deers and turkeys abound, as if the land was a primeval wilderness. It was a sad commentary upon the past husbandry of Virginia, and a sadder picture of the inevitable result of the present bad husbandry which prevails in many regions of the South. Year after year the tillers make constant drafts upon the vitality of the soil without an ounce of compensating manure, until all fertility is exhausted. I saw thousands of acres in the course of my journey, where tillage had levied its withering taxes until the generous soil could no longer yield its tithe, nor even its hundredth. The earth was completely covered with "poverty grass," dwarf pines, or stately forests of the same tree, patiently renewing its strength during a long Sabbath-rest of abandonment by man.

It was at meridian when I emerged from the wilderness and halted upon the high sand-bank of the Chickahominy, a few miles above its confluence with the James River. Above, all appeared bright and beautiful; below, all was gloomy and desolate. Silence reigned here, where once the busy ferryman plied his oars from morning until night. No voice was to be heard; no human habitation was to be seen. The broad and turbid river moved sluggishly on without a ripple, and on the beach a scow, half filled with water, told only of desolation. There appeared no way for me to cross the stream. If denied that privilege, I must make a circuit of thirty miles' travel to a public crossing above! I looked for the smoke of a dwelling, but saw none. I shouted; there was no response but that of echo. Remembering that, just before reaching the clearing upon the Chickahominy, I saw a road, covered with leaves, diverging toward the James River, I returned, reined into it, and followed it with hope. Presently I saw a log hut upon the shore, and heard the voices of men. They were negroes, busily preparing a canoe for a fishing excursion. I inquired for a ferryman, and was informed that nobody crossed now, and the scow would not float. Two of the men speedily changed their opinion when I offered a bright half dollar to each if they would "bail out" the craft and "pole" me across. They worked faithfully, and within half an hour I was embarked upon the stream, with my horse and vehicle, in a shell just long enough and broad enough to contain us. To keep Charley quiet, so as to "trim the boat," I allowed him to dine upon some oats which I procured at Charles City Court House. The Chickahominy is here about a quarter of a mile wide. The current was quite strong, and so deep, that the poles, by which the bateau was impelled, were sometimes too short for use. We drifted some distance down the stream, and, at one time, I anticipated an evening voyage upon the James River, but by the great exertions of the motive-power we reached the landing-place in safety, after rather a dangerous voyage of nearly three quarters of an hour. The bateau was again almost half filled with water, and the ferrymen were obliged to empty it before returning. I was too much occupied while crossing with apprehensions of an involuntary bath to reflect upon the perils which Captain John Smith encountered upon this very stream, before the empire of the white men had commenced; but when safely seated in my wagon upon the Jamestown side of the river, I looked with intense interest upon the wooded shores of those waters, up which that adventurer paddled. More than sixty miles above the place where I crossed he was captured by Opechancanough, the king of Pamunkee, and carried in triumph to Powhatan, at Werowocomoco, where he was saved from death by the gentle Pocahontas. These events we shall consider presently.

I was now eight miles from old Jamestown, the goal of my day's journey. Hungry and thirsty, I was about entering another dreary region of *slashes*, five miles in extent, when I

Green Spring and its Associations.

Distant View of Jamestown Island.

Changes in the River Banks.

Tradition.

saw a log hut on the verge of the woods. I hailed, but no person appeared, except a little child of six years, black as ebony, and having nothing on but its birth-day suit and a tattered shirt. It brought me a draught of cool water in a gourd from a spring near by. Dropping half a dime into the emptied shell, I pursued my way. Emerging from the *slashes*, I passed through a portion of the celebrated *Green Spring* plantation, its mansion appearing among the trees on my left, half a mile distant.¹ It is now in possession of two brothers, named Ward, formerly of New Jersey, who, for many years, as skippers upon the James River, bartered for the products of this plantation, until they were able to purchase it. *Green Spring* was the theater of an interesting episode in our Revolutionary history, for there the American army, under La Fayette, Wayne, and Steuben, were encamped for a few days in the summer of 1781, while watching the movements and foiling the designs of Cornwallis in Virginia.

It was almost sunset when I passed the morass in front of *Green Spring*, over which the Americans crossed to the attack of Cornwallis at Jamestown Ford. I crossed the plantation of John Coke, Esq., and halted upon the shore of an estuary of the James River, at the cottage of Mr. Bacon, opposite Jamestown island. It was too late to visit the consecrated spot that evening. I sketched this distant view of the portion of the island where-



¹ This was the residence of Sir William Berkeley, one of the early governors of Virginia. It afterward belonged to Philip Ludwell, one of the king's council, from whom it descended to William Lee, sheriff of London under the celebrated John Wilkes.

² This view is from the north side of what was once a marsh, but now a deep bay, four hundred yards wide. On the left is seen the remains of a bridge, destroyed by a gale and high tide a few years ago; and beyond is the James River. Near the point of the island, toward the end of the bridge, are the remains of an ancient church, a near view of which is given upon the opposite page. Mr. Coke resided upon the island when the tempest occurred which destroyed the bridge. The island was submerged, and for three days himself and family were prisoners. It was in winter, and he was obliged to cut the branches of ornamental trees that were close to his house, for fuel.

I was gravely informed by a man on the beach, while making the sketch, that Pocahontas crossed at that very spot "*in her skiff*," when she went to warn the Jamestown settlers of threatened danger. The dear child had no need of a skiff, had such a thing existed in America, for I was told by Mr. Coke that his father-in-law well remembered when a marsh, so narrow and firm that a person might cross it upon a fence rail, was where the deep water at the ruined bridge now is. Every year the current of James River is changing its margins in this region, and within a few years Jamestown Island, made so only by a marsh on the land side, will have a navigable channel around it. Already a large portion of it, whereon the ancient town was erected, has been washed away; and I was informed that a cypress-tree, now many yards from the shore, stood at the end of a carriage-way to the wharf, sixty yards from the water's edge, only sixteen years ago. The destructive flood is gradually approaching the old church tower, and if the hand of man shall not arrest its sure progress, that too will be swept away, and not a vestige of Jamestown will remain. Virginians, look to it, and let a wall of masonry along the river margin attest your reverence for the

Mr. Coke's Plantation.

The Council Tree.

Remains of Old Jamestown Church and Grave-yard.

on the ancient city stood, and then returned to the mansion of Mr. Coke, (who is brother of the late Richard Coke, member of Congress from Accomac district), to pass the night under his roof, where I experienced true Virginia hospitality. Mr. Coke was for many years sheriff of the county, is an influential man, and an excellent practical agriculturist. He owns a plantation of nineteen hundred acres, nearly one thousand of which is under cultivation. Unlike too many agriculturists of the South, he is his own general overseer, and his family of seventy persons (only eleven of whom are white), receive his daily personal care. He owns all the soil that is left unsubmerged on which the English built their first town in America. His house has many bullet-marks, made there during the battle at Jamestown Ford, on the 6th of July, 1781; and in the broad level field in front of his mansion, the French army was encamped when on its way to Yorktown the same year. Within that field a venerable chestnut-oak, riven, but not destroyed, by lightning, was yet standing, under which a court-martial was held by Cornwallis, and upon its branches a culprit was hanged. It is called the "Council Tree." Mr. Coke's plantation is truly classic ground, for upon it occurred events connected with those widely-separated incidents, the opening and the closing of the heroic age of America. Over it the lordly Powhatan once walked, and the feet of his gentle daughter pressed its soil when speeding on her mission of mercy to the doomed settlement of Jamestown. Over it the royal and republican armies marched, and there fought desperately for victory.

I was at Mr. Bacon's cottage soon after an early breakfast, and before nine o'clock had crossed the estuary in a punt, and sat within the shadow of the old church tower, which stands like a sentinel, watching the city of the dead at its feet. This crumbling pile, surrounded by shrubbery, brambles, and tangled vines; and the old church-yard wall, of English brick, inclosing a few broken monuments, half buried in earth or covered with a pall of ivy and long grass, are all the tangible records that remain of the first planting of an English colony in America. As I sat upon the hollow trunk of a half-reclining and decayed old sycamore, and sketched the broken tower, the questionings of the eloquent Wirt came up from the depth of feeling: "Whence, my dear S, arises this irrepressible reverence and tender affection with which I look at this broken steeple?"



RUINS AT JAMESTOWN.

most interesting historical relic within your borders! Some remains of the old fort may be seen at low water, several yards from the shore.

This view is from the old church-yard, looking toward James River, a glimpse of which may be seen through the arches. The stream is here about three miles wide. It is uncertain at what precise time the church, of which now only a portion of the tower remains, was erected. It was probably built sometime between 1617 and 1620. According to Smith, a fire consumed a large portion of the town, with the palisades, at about the close of 1607, the first year of the settlement. Captain Smith and Mr. Scrivener were appointed commissioners to superintend the rebuilding of the town and church. Afterward, in speaking of the arrival of Governor Argall in 1617, he says, "In James towne he found but five or six houses, the church downe, the pallizados broken, the bridge in pieces, the well of fresh water spoiled, the store-house used for the church," &c. The tower here represented was doubtless that of the third church built, and is now (1852) about 234 years old. The tower is now about thirty feet high, the walls three feet thick, all of imported brick.

Wirt's Musing at the Church at Jamestown. The Ancient Monuments. Paulding's Ode. Efforts at Early Settlement.

Is it that my soul, by a secret, subtle process, invests the moldering ruins with her own powers; imagines it a fellow-being—a venerable old man, a Nestor or an Ossian, who has witnessed and survived the ravages of successive generations, the companions of his youth and of his maturity, and now mourns his own solitary and desolate condition, and hails their spirits in every passing cloud? Whatever may be the cause, as I look at it, I feel my soul drawn forward as by the cords of gentlest sympathy, and involuntarily open my lips to offer consolation to the drooping pile.”¹

Around this

“Old cradle of our infant world,
In which a nestling empire lay,”

the Spirit of Romance and the Muse of Poetry delight to linger, and the bosom of the American glows with increased patriotism as he contemplates this small *beginning* of the mighty *progression* around him.

“What solemn recollections throng,
What touching visions rise,
As, wandering these old stones among,
I backward turn my eyes,
And see the shadows of the dead flit round,
Like spirits when the last dread trump shall sound!

The wonders of an age combined,
In one short moment memory supplies;
They throng upon my 'waken'd mind,
As Time's dark curtains rise.
The volume of a hundred buried years,
Condensed in one bright sheet appears.

* * * * *

Jamestown and Plymouth's hallow'd rock
To me shall ever sacred be;
I care not who my themes may mock,
Or sneer at them and me.
I envy not the brute who here can stand
Without a thrill for his own native land.

And if the recreant crawl *her* earth,
Or breathe Virginia's air,
Or in New England claim his birth,
From the old pilgrims there,
He is a bastard, if he dare to mock [rock.]
Old Jamestown's shrine, or Plymouth's famous

JAMES KIRKE PAULDING.

Although it was late in December,^a the sun was shining almost as warm as at the close of May. While finishing my sketch, I was glad to take shelter from its beams in the shadow of the sycamore. Here, upon this curiously-wrought slab, clasped by the roots of the forest *anak*, let us sit a while and ponder the early chronicles of Virginia.³

I have mentioned, in the Introduction to this work, the efforts made by the English, Spanish, and French adventurers to plant colonies in the New World, and their failures. The idea was not abandoned; and the public mind, particularly in England, was much occupied with the visions of new and opulent empires beyond the ocean, of which a few glimpses had appeared. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a step-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, published a hypothetical treatise on a northwest passage to the East Indies, which attracted great attention, and exerted much influence favorable to colonizing expeditions. He obtained

a patent from Queen Elizabeth^b to colonize such parts of North America as were not already possessed by any of her allies. Raleigh, a young, ardent, and ambitious student at Oxford, had just completed his studies, and was about to engage in a military life in France. He was induced by his step-brother to join with him in an expedition to America. They sailed early in 1579, but never reached our Continent, because, as was alleged, their little squadron was broken up in a conflict with a Spanish fleet, when they returned to England. Gilbert's patent was limited, and he made great efforts to plant a colony before it should expire. He and Raleigh equipped a new squadron in 1583.³

¹ Wirt's *Letters of a British Spy*, page 128.

² The slab referred to was a blue stone about four inches thick. The roots of the sycamore were so firmly entwined around it that no church-yard thief could take it away. It bore the date of 1608. The remainder of the inscription was so broken and defaced that I could not decipher a name. This is probably the oldest tomb-stone extant in the United States. Vandalism has been at work in that old grave-yard as elsewhere. Almost every monument has a fragment broken from it. A small piece, with some letters upon it, had been recently broken from one, and was left lying in the grass. This I brought away with me, not, however, without a sense of being an “accessory after the fact” in an act of sacrilege.

³ The names of the vessels were *Raleigh*, *Swallow*, *Hind*, *Delight*, and *Squirrel*. The Raleigh went but a few leagues from Portsmouth, and returned.

Loss of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Raleigh's *Perseverance*. Amidas and Barlow. Native Hospitality abused. Grenville and Lane.

Raleigh did not sail with the expedition. Gilbert reached Newfoundland, and at St. John's he performed the feudal ceremonies of taking formal possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, in the presence of the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers who were located there.^a Soon afterward the expedition sailed southward. The flag-ship of Gilbert was the *Squirrel*. Tempests arose. One night, "about twelve o'clock, the lights of the *Squirrel* suddenly disappeared, and neither the vessel nor any of its crew was ever again seen."¹ The survivors of the expedition reached England in the *Hind*, on the 22d of September following.



FORM OF RALEIGH'S SHIPS.²

Raleigh was not disheartened. He resolved to plant a colony in a more southern region, and readily obtained a patent from Elizabeth as ample as that of his lost step-brother. He was constituted a lord proprietary, with civil and political privileges in his prospective domain almost monarchical. He equipped two vessels, with an ample supply of men and provisions, and gave the command to Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, two experienced mariners. They sailed for America on the 27th of April, 1584, and reached Cuba, in the West Indies, in July. Departing northward, they landed upon Wocoken Island, the southernmost of the group which form Ocracoke Inlet, on the shores of North Carolina. The natives, ignorant of the character and designs of the English, received them with friendly greetings after the first emotions of fear and wonder had subsided. Amidas and Barlow explored Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, enjoyed the hospitality of Granganimeo, the father of King Wingina, upon the beautiful island of Roanoke (now belonging to Tyrrel county, N. C.), and then returned to England, accompanied by Wanchese and Manteo, two natives of the forest. The glowing accounts of his captains of the beauty and fertility of the land, and the gentleness of the natives, filled Raleigh's heart with joy. The captains were presented at court, and their tales of the enchanting region which they had discovered made Elizabeth feel that the most glorious event of her reign had just been accomplished. She named the new-found region in the Western world VIRGINIA, as a memorial of her unmarried state.

Raleigh was elected a member of Parliament for Devonshire, obtained a confirmation of his patent,^b was knighted, and became one of the most popular men in England. In 1585, he fitted out another fleet. The command was given to Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most gallant men of the age. The fleet consisted of seven vessels, and bore one hundred and eight emigrants, designed to colonize Virginia. Ralph Lane (afterward knighted by Elizabeth) accompanied them as governor of the colony, and several men of learning were his companions. Among them was With, a meritorious painter, whose sketches of the people and scenery in the New World were made with remarkable faithfulness. This expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and reached Florida on the 20th of June. Coasting northward, they arrived at the beautiful Roanoke Island, lying between Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. They went to the Main, and explored the beautiful county of Secotan, around Albemarle Sound and the Chowan, in various directions. Ignorant of the power of kindness, they foolishly quarreled with the simple natives; and because they supposed a lost silver cup had been stolen by one of them, a whole village was burned, and fields of standing corn were destroyed. From the ashes arose the spirit of discord which ever afterward separated the Indian and the white man.

Grenville returned with the fleet to England, leaving Lane and his colony to perfect a settlement. Instead of cultivating the soil for the production of maize and the potato, which were indigenous, they sought gold. A wily savage, intent on revenge, told them wondrous tales of a land of gold at the head waters of the Roanoke River. Up that broad and rapid stream, Lane and a portion of his people went, for the two-fold purpose of exploring the

¹ Bancroft, i., 91.

² This sketch is from a picture published in a Treatise on Navigation in 1595.

Hostilities with the Indians. Colonists Return to England. Another Expedition. "City of Raleigh." Virginia Dare.

country and seeking gold. They ascended no further than the present village of Williams-town, when a flight of arrows from the wooded shore revealed the enmity of the natives. Lane hastened back to Roanoke, and summoned Wingina, the most powerful of the chiefs, to an audience. The sachem and his followers appeared. Their secret plans for the destruction of the English were suspected, indeed, quite certainly known, and the white men were on the alert. With apparent friendliness Wingina appeared at the council. At a given signal the English fell upon the chief and his handful of warriors, and put them to death. The calumet was now buried forever; the hatchet was brightened and made sharp by intensest hatred. The English felt the danger of their situation, and were desponding, when the fleet of Sir Francis Drake anchored outside of Roanoke Inlet. He came from the West Indies to visit the domain of Raleigh, and generously offered to furnish the colony with means to pursue their discoveries; but fear gained the mastery of their avaricious desires, and the colonists sailed with Drake for England.^a A few days after their departure a ship arrived, laden with stores for the colony; and, within a fortnight, Grenville also arrived with three well-furnished ships. The commander sought in vain for the colony, and, leaving fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke to maintain English dominion, he returned to England with the sad intelligence for Raleigh.¹

Raleigh, undismayed by misfortunes, fitted out another expedition. He changed his policy, and sent a colony of men, women, and children to establish an agricultural state. John White was appointed their governor. They sailed on the 26th of April, 1587, and arrived on the coast of North Carolina in July. When they reached Roanoke, they found no vestige of the fifteen men left by Grenville, except a few scattered bones. The Indians had slain them all. Wild deers were in the untenanted habitations, and rank grass covered their gardens. They proceeded to lay the foundation of "the city of Raleigh," pursuant to the instructions of the proprietor, but it was an idle show.² White endeavored to make treaties of amity with the natives, but failed, though aided by the friendly Manteo, who accompanied Amidas and Barlow to England.³ The neighboring tribes exhibited implacable hatred and jealousy. Winter approached, and the vessel which brought them was prepared for departure for England. White was urged strongly to go with it, and use his endeavors to send them immediate relief, for they had neither planted nor reaped, and to England alone they looked for supply. He was unwilling to appear as a deserter of his colony, and refused. He had another tie. His daughter, Eleanor Dare, had given birth to a child, the first offspring of English parents in the New World. Little *Virginia Dare* twined the tendrils of affection close around the heart of her grand-parent, and he lingered.⁴ He at length consented to go, leaving his daughter and child as pledges that he would return. Very long the poor colonists waited for relief. Three years passed away before White returned, and then he found the settlement a desolation. There was evidence upon the bark of a tree that the people had departed for Croatan,⁵ the residence of Manteo; but

¹ It is believed that these returning colonists first carried the tobacco plant to England, as prepared by the natives for smoking. Raleigh first used it privately. It is related that when his servant entered his room with a tankard of ale, and for the first time saw the smoke issuing from his master's mouth and nostrils, he cast the liquor in his face. Terribly frightened, he alarmed the household with the intelligence that Sir Walter was on fire.

² The Island of Roanoke is now uninhabited, except by a few wreckers and pilots. Slight traces of Lane's fort may be seen near the north end.

³ By command of Raleigh, Manteo was baptized, and invested by White with the rank of feudal Baron, as the *Lord of Roanoke*. It was the first creation of an American peer of the realm.

⁴ It is a coincidence worth noticing, that White was the name of the progenitors of the first two children born of English parents in America. One on the Island of Roanoke, in August, 1587; the other in the May Flower, in Plymouth harbor, more than thirty-three years afterward.

⁵ It was agreed, on the departure of White, that if the colony should go to Croatan, they would signify the fact by inscribing the letters C R O upon the bark of a tree. This inscription, and also the full name of *Croatan*, was found. White has been censured for heartlessness in not prosecuting his search with more perseverance, particularly as his own relatives were among the settlers. The colony was composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children. What was their fate is left to conjecture. Lawson, in his *Travels among the Indians, with a Description of North Carolina*, published in 1700, hazards the

Loss of a Colony.	Other Expeditions.	London and Plymouth Companies.	Death of Raleigh.	Newport.
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the season was far advanced, and search was abandoned. White put to sea without intelligence of the fate of his daughter and child, and returned to England. Five several times Raleigh sent a vessel with trusty men to search for his colony, when hope fading, his fortune almost exhausted, and his health and heart broken by domestic griefs, he abandoned all ideas of settlement in America, and assigned his proprietary rights to a company.¹ Virginia, then including in its indefinite boundaries all of North Carolina, remained untouched by the English for twenty years, except by an occasional adventurer who voluntarily searched for Raleigh's colony. These attempts at settlement on the coasts of our Middle States, form a wonderful chapter of adventure and moral heroism in the history of the world.

We will now consider the modern settlement of Virginia. The efforts of Raleigh awakened intense interest in the public mind. Other expeditions were fitted out, but all failed to make permanent settlements. Gosnold, Weymouth, Pring, Smith, and others, who visited America, gave such glowing accounts of the country, that men of rank, capital, and influence were induced to embark in colonizing schemes. They were made acquainted with the general character of a fertile region, extending over eleven degrees of latitude, from Cape Fear to Halifax, all in the temperate climates, diversified with noble rivers and harbors, and displaying the most luxuriant vegetation. An association was formed,² of men eminent as merchants, and wealthy titled commoners, of London and Bristol.³ King James encouraged the scheme, and gave them a charter.^b They formed two companies; the men of London for colonizing the south portion of the territory, and called the *London Company*; those of Bristol for settling the more northern region, and called the *Plymouth Company*. A line of three degrees between both was allowed, upon which settlements in common might be made, it being stipulated that whenever one should first become permanently seated, the other should settle at least one hundred miles distant. Each of the colonies was to be governed by a council of thirteen persons. The companies were to have full property in all lands, fisheries, &c., except a fifth of the gold, and a fifteenth of the copper ore that might be found, which was to be paid to the king. James, with his usual pedantry, prepared a code of laws for them, written with his own hand. The colonists and their posterity were declared English subjects, but were vested with no political rights, not even trial by jury, unless in capital charges. Minor offenses were punished arbitrarily by the council. That body was to be appointed by the home government, the former choosing its own president. The property of the colonists was to continue in joint stock for five years. The English Church was exclusively established, and strict injunctions were given for the mild and just treatment of the natives.⁹

Three small vessels, whose joint tonnage amounted to only one hundred and sixty, under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, with a colony of one hundred and five men, sailed for Virginia on the 19th of December, 1606. The king had placed the names of the future council of Virginia in a sealed box, which was not to be opened until their arrival in

opinion that the colonists intermarried with the Hatteras Indians, and cites the physical character of that tribe in support of his hypothesis. Such, too, was the tradition of the Indians at a late day.

¹ Sir Walter Raleigh experienced the folly of "putting his trust in princes." For years after abandoning his schemes for colonization, he served his country nobly against its enemies. He also was sent by Queen Elizabeth on an expedition in search of gold, up the Orinoco, in South America. Once, because he married without the queen's consent, she committed him to the Tower for a brief season. Finally, on the death of his royal mistress in 1602, and the accession of James I., he became the victim of a conspiracy. He was tried, and condemned for treason; and for fifteen years he remained in the Tower a prisoner, first under sentence of death, afterward under the merciful provision of a reprieve. During that long imprisonment he wrote his *History of the World*. On being released, he went on another expedition to Guiana; but it being unsuccessful, he was cast into prison on his return, and the royal scoundrel who occupied the throne of England allowed the decrepit old man, who had given more true luster to the crown than any living mortal, to be beheaded. He was then in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

² Among these were Sir Thomas Gates; Sir George Summers; Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England; Edward Maria Wingfield, a wealthy, sordid, and unprincipled merchant; Richard Hakluyt, one of the assignees of Raleigh, who wrote an interesting collection of voyages, in three volumes; Robert Hunt, a clergyman; and Captain John Smith.

³ Chalmers, pages 15, 16.

Captain John Smith.	Founding of Jamestown.	Visit to Powhatan.	Energy of Smith.	Bartholomew Gosnold.
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America. Only twelve laborers and a few mechanics were among the voyagers; the remainder of the one hundred and five persons were adventurers, with hands unused to labor. Dissensions arose on the voyage, and, as there was no acknowledged head, in consequence of the folly of the king, much confusion ensued. Captain Smith possessed more genius than any man among them, and, consequently, great jealousy of him was felt. Under the absurd accusation of an intention to murder the council, and make himself King of Virginia, he was put in confinement. After a voyage of four months, the expedition entered the Chesapeake,^a having been driven by a storm northward of their point of destination. The capes of the noble bay they named in honor of the two sons of the king, Henry and Charles. They landed upon Cape Henry, made peace with the natives, opened the sealed paper of the king, discovered the names of the council, and chose the unscrupulous and narrow-minded Wingfield to be president. Smith was named one of the council, but was excluded from that body. His accusers thought it prudent, however, to withdraw their charges, and he was released from confinement.

A few days after their arrival in the Chesapeake, the little fleet entered the mouth of the noble River Powhatan, which they named *James*, in honor of their sovereign. Up its broad channel they sailed about fifty miles, and there, upon a charming peninsula, an island at high tide, they determined to build a town and plant a permanent settlement. The natives received them kindly; and in the beautiful month of May, 1607, the first sound of an ax was heard, the first tree was felled, and the first rafter was laid in Virginia. A village was planned, and, in honor of the king, was called Jamestown. While the carpenters and laborers were rearing the city, Smith and Newport, with twenty others, ascended the river to the Falls, and at his imperial residence of twelve wigwams, just below Richmond, they visited Powhatan, the "Emperor of the Country." The events connected with that visit have been noticed on page 432.

Newport returned to England with his vessels in June, leaving one hundred men, and a pinnace with stores, at Jamestown. The colonists, wanting habits of industry, soon perceived the helplessness of their situation. Many of them were of dissolute habits; and before autumn, the dampness of the climate, and the malaria arising from the decay of luxuriant vegetation, produced diseases which swept away fifty of their number, among whom was Bartholomew Gosnold,¹ the eminent navigator and projector of the settlement.

The survivors relied chiefly upon sturgeons and crabs, and scanty supplies of maize, for their subsistence, while Wingfield and a part of his council were appropriating the stores to their own use. Wingfield, and Kendall (one of the council), were detected in a conspiracy to abandon the colony, and escape with the pinnace and stores to the West Indies. They were deposed, and Ratcliffe, an irresolute and indolent man, was appointed president. Fortunately for the colony, he was quite willing to bear the empty honors of his office without exercising its functions, and he allowed Captain Smith, by far the ablest man among them, to have the principal management of affairs. The colony at once assumed a new and better aspect under the direction of Smith. As far as possible, he infused his own energetic spirit into his companions; but they were generally too indolent and dissolute to profit much by his example. Smith quelled the spirit of anarchy and rebellion; restored order in the midst of confusion; visited the chiefs of the neighboring tribes, and inspired them with respect for the English; and, by his consummate skill, he procured from the natives an ample stock of corn and wild fowl when winter approached.

We are now at a point in the history of the New World full of the most romantic interest, and the pen is tempted from its present line of duty by a thousand seductive influences. The exploits of Smith—his exploring voyages—his discoveries—his indomitable perseverance

¹ Gosnold crossed the Atlantic in 1602, and, after a voyage of six weeks, saw land at the northern extremity of Massachusetts Bay. He sailed southward, and landed upon a promontory, which he called Cape Cod, on account of the great quantity of cod fish which abounded there. Pursuing his voyage along the coast, he discovered and named Elizabeth Islands, thirteen in number, Martha's Vineyard, and others in the neighborhood of Buzzard's Bay. After an absence of only four months, Gosnold returned to England.

Progress of Jamestown Colony. Smith's Voyage up the Chickahominy. His Capture. His Adventures in Europe.

and courage—his hardships, sufferings, escapes, and forbearance with his ungrateful companions, all plead eloquently for the services of pen and pencil. These must be briefly sketched in faint outline, for it is foreign to my plan to detail colonial history, except so much as is necessary to illustrate the main subject of these volumes—The War for Independence.

The Jamestown colony was placed beyond the effects of want in the autumn of 1607, and Smith, with a few companions, set out to explore the country. He went up the Chickahominy, in an open boat, fifty miles from its mouth.¹ There he left his boat, the water being shallow, and, with two companions and two Indian guides, pushed into the interior. He ordered those in the boat not to leave it. Disobeying his instructions, they wandered on shore and were slain. Smith was surprised by a party of Indians, under Opechancanough, the "King of Pamunkee;" his two companions were killed, and he, after slaying several Indians, was made a prisoner. His life was spared, and he was conducted in triumph through the several Indian villages, from the Chickahominy to the banks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and was finally brought back to the seat of Opechancanough, at Pamunkee, on the York River. There, for three days, the priests performed incantations to discover the character of their prisoner, and



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.²

¹ Among the positive instructions of the London Company, was an injunction for the colonists to endeavor to find a passage to the South Sea, or, in other words, to the East Indies, by a northwest passage, the object of the polar expeditions of the present day. For this purpose, they were instructed to explore every considerable stream that came from the northward; and hence we find Smith (who did not share in the geographical ignorance of his employers, but was willing to engage in discoveries) exploring the James, Chickahominy, York, and Potomac Rivers. The wily Indian mentioned on page 449 as having invented the wonderful story of a gold region at the head of the Roanoke, informed Lane that the source of that river was among high rocks so near the ocean on the west, that the salt water would sometimes dash over into the clear fountains of the stream!

² John Smith was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, England, in 1559. He was early distinguished for his daring spirit and love of adventure. At the age of thirteen, he sold his school-books and satchel to procure money to pay his way to the sea-board, for the purpose of going to sea. He was prevented, and was apprenticed to a merchant. He left home when he was fifteen years old, and went to France and the Low Countries. For two years he studied military tactics; and, at the age of seventeen, having procured a portion of an estate left by his father, went abroad seeking adventures. On a voyage from Marseilles to Naples, a storm arose, and the Roman Catholic crew believing the *heretic*, as they called Smith, to be a Jonah, they cast him into the sea to quiet the waters. He was a good swimmer, and reached the shore of a small island in the Mediterranean, called St. Mary's. From St. Mary's he went in a French vessel to Alexandria, in Egypt. He soon went from thence to Italy, and then to Austria, where he entered the imperial army, and, by his daring exploits at the siege of Olympach, was rewarded by the command of a troop of horse. These obtained the name of the "Fiery Dragoons," in the war against the Turks. At the siege of Regall, a Turkish officer, the Lord Turbishaw, "to amuse the ladies," offered to engage in single combat with any Christian soldier. The lot fell upon Smith; and, in the sight of both armies, he cut off the head of Turbishaw, and carried it in triumph to the Austrian camp. He fought two other champions, Grualgo and Mulgro, with the same result. In a subsequent battle Smith was wounded, captured, and sold to a pacha. This dignitary sent him to Constantinople, as a present to a damsel whom he loved. She, in turn, loved Smith, and to place him in safety, sent him to her brother. There, however, Smith was cruelly treated. He beat out the brains of the tyrant, and escaped to Muscovy, and finally reached Austria. He went with a French captain to Morocco and the Canaries, encountered a sea-fight with the Spaniards, and returned to his native country. His restless spirit made him yearn for adventures in the New World. Here, after many great exploits, and the endurance of many hardships, he planted the Virginia colony on a firm basis, and returned to England. He died in London in 1631, at the age of 72.

The Indians outwitted by Smith.

His Trial and Sentence.

Pocahontas—her Marriage, Death, and Descendants.

the most expedient disposition of him, for they considered him a superior being.¹ They finally carried him to Werowocomoco,² the lower seat of Powhatan, and referred the decision to that powerful chief.

Seated upon a raised platform, the trunk and branches of the towering pine for a palace, the lordly Powhatan, with his two favorite daughters beside him, and his "grim courtiers" and women around him, received the prisoner. In solemn state he was tried; with solemn words he was adjudged to die. On the right of the Indian emperor sat Pocahontas, his youngest and best loved daughter. Her heart beat quick with sympathy the moment she saw the manly form of Smith, and in her young bosom glowed intense desire to save his life.

POCAHONTAS.³

"How trembled then the maid, as rose
That captive warrior, calm and stern,
Thus girded by his wolfish foes
His fearless spirit still would spurn.
How bright his glance, how fair his face,
And with what proud, enfranchised grace
His footsteps free advance, as still
He follow'd firm the bloody mace
That guided to the gloomy place
Where stood the savage sent to kill."

W. GILLMORE SIMMS

¹ Smith showed them a pocket compass, and explained its properties, and the shape of the earth; how "the sun, and the moon, and the stars chased each other." They were astonished, and regarded him with awe. They made him offers of "life, liberty, land, and women," if he would tell them how to obtain possession of Jamestown. They also obtained some of his powder. Smith made them waste it (for they had been made acquainted with its use) by letting them sow it as seed and raise a crop for themselves. In various ways he outwitted them, and so perfectly retained his self-possession that they regarded him with great respect.

² Werowocomoco, the scene of Smith's salvation by Pocahontas, was upon the north side of the York River, in Gloucester county, about twenty-five miles below the junction of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, which form the broad and navigable York. According to Charles Campbell, Esq., of Petersburg, Virginia, who has carefully examined the matter, Shelly, the seat of Mrs. Mann Page, nearly opposite the mouth of Queen's Creek, is the site of Werowocomoco. Carter's Creek, emptying into the York at Shelly, afforded a safe harbor for canoes. Such was also the opinion of Governor Page, whose plantation (Rosewell) adjoined that of Shelly. The enormous beds of oyster shell (on account of which Governor Page named the place Shelly) at this point indicate that it was once a place of great resort by the natives.

³ Pocahontas was a girl "of ten or twelve" years of age when she saved the life of Captain Smith. Two years afterward, when not over fourteen years old, she went from her father's camp, on a dark and stormy night, to Jamestown, and informed Smith of a conspiracy among the Indians to destroy the settlers. This timely interposition saved them. While Smith remained in the colony, she was a welcome visitor at Jamestown, and often bore messages between the white men and her kindred. In 1612, after Smith had returned to England, she was treacherously betrayed, for the bribe of a copper kettle, into the hands of Captain Argall, and by him kept as a prisoner, in order to secure advantageous terms of peace with Powhatan. The Indian king offered five hundred bushels of corn for her ransom; but, before her release was effected, a mutual attachment had sprung up between her and John Rolfe, a young Englishman of good family. With the consent of her father she received Christian baptism, and was married to Rolfe. The former ceremony is the subject of a beautiful painting by John G. Chapman, Esq., which graces one of the panels of the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

Pocahontas accompanied her husband to England in 1616, where she was received at court with the distinction of a princess. The bigoted King James was highly indignant because one of his subjects had dared to marry into a royal family, and absurdly apprehended that, because Rolfe had married an Indian princess, he might lay claim to the crown of Virginia! It is said that Pocahontas was much afflicted because Smith, fearing the royal displeasure, would not allow a king's daughter to call him father, her usual endearing name when addressing him. She remained in England about a year; and when on the point of returning to America, with her husband, in 1617, she sickened and died at Gravesend. The Lady Rebecca (for so she was called in England) had many and sincere mourners. She left one son, Thomas Rolfe, who afterward became a distinguished man in Virginia. He left an only daughter, and from her some of the leading families of Virginia trace their descent. Among these were the Bollings, Hemmings, Murrays, Guys,

Smith's Life saved by Pocahontas.

Condition of Jamestown.

Newport's Folly.

Smith's Exploring Expedition.

With his arms pinioned, Smith was laid upon the ground, with his head upon a stone, and the executioner had lifted the huge club to dash out his brains. With a bound like that of a frightened fawn, Pocahontas leaped from the side of her father to that of the prisoner, and interposed her delicate form between his head and the warrior's mace ;

"Then turns—with eye grown tearless now,
But full of speech, as eye alone
Can speak to eye, and heart in prayer—
For mercy to her father's throne !

How could that stern old king deny
The angel pleading in her eye ?
How mock the sweet, imploring grace,
That breathed in beauty from her face,
And to her kneeling action gave
A power to soothe, and still subdue,

Until, though humble as a slave,
To more than queenly sway she grew ?
Oh ! brief the doubt—oh ! short the strife ;
She wins the captive's forfeit life ;
She breaks his bands, she bids him go,
Her idol, but her country's foe,
And dreams not, in that parting hour,
The gyves that from his limbs she tears
Are light in weight, and frail in power,
To those that round her heart she wears." SIMMS.

Smith's life was spared: The enmity of the natives was changed to friendship, and, with a guard of twelve men, he was sent to Jamestown, a wiser man ; for, during his seven weeks of captivity, he had traversed a large extent of country, observed its resources, and the habits and condition of the Indians, and made himself quite familiar with their language. He established a friendly intercourse with Powhatan and his confederates, and often the "dearest daughter of the king," with her companions, brought baskets of corn for the garrison.

Disorder prevailed at Jamestown on Smith's return. Only forty men remained, and these were on the point of abandoning the country where they had suffered so much, and escape with the pinnacle. The courage and energy of Smith compelled them to remain. Newport soon afterward arrived with supplies, and one hundred and twenty emigrants, chiefly idle gentlemen, "packed hither," as Smith says, "by their friends, to escape ill destinies," and goldsmiths, the very men least needed in the colony. GOLD was the chief incentive of the Company and the adventurers to risk capital and life. Discovering something resembling grains of the metal near the site of Richmond, "there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." Newport loaded his vessel with worthless earth, and returned to England with the idea that he was exceedingly rich, but to have science and skill pronounce him miserably poor in useful knowledge and well-earned reputation.

Smith remonstrated against idleness, and pleaded for industry, but in vain. He implored the settlers to plow and sow, that they might reap and be happy. They refused to listen, and he turned from Jamestown with disgust, and, with a few sensible men, explored the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. He went up the Potomac to the Falls above Washington City. He also entered the Patapsco, and ate maize upon the site of Baltimore. These long voyages were made in an open boat, propelled by oars and paddles. It was one of the most wonderful of exploring expeditions, considered in all its aspects, recorded by the pen of history. Smith constructed a map of his discoveries, and every subsequent survey of the region attests its remarkable accuracy.

Three days after Smith's return to Jamestown he was made president of the colony.^a Newport soon afterward arrived from England with a supply of food. With him came two females, the first English women seen upon the James River. ^a Sept. 10, 1608. Smith again exerted his energies to turn the little industry of the settlers to agriculture, and succeeded in a degree. The colony was beginning to thrive under his management, when the features of its political character were modified. A new charter was given to the London Company,^b with provisions for a more powerful government.¹ ^b May 23, 1609.

Eldridges, and Randolphs. The late John Randolph, of Roanoke, was a descendant of the Indian princess. Her portrait here given is from a painting made in England, while she was there. Her costume shows the style of a fashionable dress of that day.

¹ The new charter extended the limits of the colony, and transferred to the Company the power which

Lord De la Ware.

Commissioners.

Anarchy at Jamestown.

Famine.

Timely Relief

The colonists had no voice in the matter ; neither their rights nor wishes were consulted or respected. While extraordinary powers were given to the governor, not one new civil privilege was conceded to them.

Under the new charter, Lord De la Ware, or Delaware, a virtuous and upright nobleman, was appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia for life. Before his departure for America, nine ships, under the command of Newport, with more than five hundred emigrants, were sent to the James River. Sir Thomas Gates (the governor's deputy), Newport, and Sir George Somers, were sent as commissioners to administer the government until the arrival of Lord Delaware. A hurricane drove the fleet toward the West Indies. The vessel in which were the three commissioners was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas, and only seven vessels of the squadron reached Virginia. The commissioners were not lost ; but their arrival in the colony with the emigrants was prevented, and great confusion followed. A large portion of the new comers were idle and dissolute scions of wealthy families, without energy or good principles. They regarded the colony as without a head until the arrival of the commissioners or the governor, and were disposed to set at naught the authority of President Smith. That energetic man was equal to the exigency of the case, and he boldly and successfully maintained his authority until an accident prostrated his body, and he was obliged to go to England for surgical aid.¹ He delegated his authority to George Percy, brother of the Duke of Northumberland, and sailed for England in the summer of 1608.

The colonists, released from the control of Smith, now gave themselves up to every irregularity of life. The Indians lost their respect for, and dread of Englishmen ; and when the ample stock of provisions of the latter was consumed, the former refused assistance. Famine ensued ; thirty escaped in a vessel to become pirates ; and within six months, hunger, sickness, and Indian hatchets had reduced the colony of more than five hundred left by Smith, to sixty persons, and these were perishing with hunger. "It was not the will of God that the new state should be formed of these materials ; that such men should be the fathers of a progeny, born on the American soil, who were one day to assert American liberty by their eloquence, and defend it by their valor."² This period of distress was long remembered with a shudder as "the starving time."

At the moment when the destitution was greatest, the commissioners and their wrecked companions arrived. Upon the uninhabited island where they stranded they had constructed two rude vessels, loaded them with the stores of their ship, which laid among the rocks, and

sailed for the James River. They arrived in June ;³ but, instead of finding a large

and flourishing colony, they were greeted by a handful of emaciated men, on the point of dying. Death by famine awaited all, and Gates resolved to sail for Newfoundland, and disperse the company among the English fishing vessels there. Jamestown was utterly abandoned, and toward Hampton Roads the dejected settlers sailed in the four pinnaces which remained in the river. As they approached that broad harbor on the following morning, a vision of white sails cheered their hearts ; and as the sun came up, the long-boat of Lord Delaware was seen approaching. He came with emigrants and supplies ; and that night, Jamestown, abandoned to the rude natives in the morning, was made vocal

with hymns and thanksgivings from truly grateful lips.⁴ The next day solemn religious exercises were held ; the commission of Lord Delaware was read, and the foundation stone of the Virginia Commonwealth was permanently laid. Delaware ad-

had before been reserved to the king. The council in England, formerly appointed by the king, was now to have its vacancies filled by the votes of a majority of the corporation. This council was authorized to appoint a governor, and to delegate to him almost absolute power, even in cases capital and criminal, as well as civil. They could give him power to declare martial law at his discretion ; and thus the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the colonists were placed at the will of a single man.

¹ I have noticed the efforts of Smith to establish a permanent settlement at Powhatan, near Richmond. While returning from that place down the James River, his powder-bag accidentally exploded and almost killed him. He was dreadfully lacerated, and so acute was the pain, that he threw himself into the river for alleviation. He was recovered when nearly drowned.

² Bancroft, i. 138.

Arrival of new Emigrants and Supplies. Prosperity of the Colony. Implantation of Republicanism. New Constitution.

ministered the government with equity until the failure of his health required him to return to England.^a Percy was left in charge of affairs until Delaware's successor should arrive. In the mean while, Sir Thomas Dale, an "experienced soldier of the Low Countries," arrived with supplies,^b and assumed the government, which he administered upon the basis of martial law. In less than four months afterward, Sir Thomas Gates arrived with supplies, and three hundred emigrants, in six ships, and assumed the functions of governor. Under Dale and Gates, the colony, now numbering nearly a thousand souls, thrived wonderfully. There were but few drones; industry and sobriety prevailed, and a bright future dawned upon Jamestown. • 1611.
b May 10.

A new charter was granted to the London Company in 1612. The supreme council in England was abolished, and its powers were transferred to the whole Company, who were to meet as a democratic assembly, elect their own officers for the colony, and establish the laws therefor. This was the republican seed which found its way to Virginia, and took deep root there. Another important concession was made; the Bermudas, and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore, were included in the grant, and opened a commercial field. The colony continued to flourish; and the marriage of John Rolfe with Pocahontas, with the consent of her father, and the concurrence of Opechancanough, her uncle (who "gave her away" at the marriage altar), cemented the friendship which had been gradually forming between the white men and natives.

In 1614, Gates went to England, and left affairs in the hands of Dale, who ruled with energy for five years, when he appointed George Yeardly deputy governor, and returned to England. Yearly encouraged agriculture, and, during his administration, the tobacco plant began to be cultivated. It soon became not only the staple, but the *currency* of the colony. He was succeeded in office^c by Samuel Argall, an unprincipled man, and sort of buccancer,¹ who ruled with tyranny for two years, and was then displaced. Yearly • 1617. was made governor; the planters were released from further tribute-service to the colony; martial law was abolished; and on the 29th of June, 1619, the first colonial assembly ever held in America was convened at Jamestown. The domain of the English had been divided into eleven boroughs. Two representatives from each were present at the assembly, and were called burgesses. This was the kernel of the Virginia government which prevailed until the Revolution—a governor, his council, and a house of Burgesses. It was the beginning of the American constitutions.

Twelve years had elapsed since planting Jamestown, and now the settlement first assumed the character of permanency. Ninety respectable young women were sent over in 1620,² and the following year sixty more came to be wives for the planters. The settlers "fell to building houses and planting corn," with a determination to make Virginia their home. The gold mania had passed away, and the wealth of the rich mold was delved for with success. A written constitution was granted to the colony by the Company in 1621,^d which ratified the form of government introduced by Yearly. It was brought over by Sir Francis Wyatt, who succeeded Yearly, and was received d August,
1621. with joy by the colonists. General prosperity prevailed, and glad dreams of happiness filled

¹ Argall, as we have noticed, obtained possession of Pocahontas, and made her his prisoner, in 1613. The same year he sailed with his fleet to the coast of Maine, to protect the English fisheries. He broke up a French colony near the Penobscot, and sent some of the people to France and some to Virginia. He also broke up a French settlement at Port Royal, and made the conquest of Acadia. On his return voyage to Virginia, he entered the Bay of New York, and compelled the little Dutch trading settlement there to acknowledge the supremacy of England.

² On the 20th of August, in this year, a Dutch man-of-war entered the James River, and landed twenty negroes for sale. Almost simultaneously with the birth of civil liberty in Virginia, by the concession of the representative system, and the tacit acknowledgment of the universal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the system of human bondage, which has ever weighed upon our national energies, and tarnished our national character, was introduced. Englishmen have attempted to cast off the stain from themselves by alleging that the traffickers from a foreign country first brought the negroes here. Had not Englishmen become the *willing purchasers*, the slave-trade and its system would never have been known in this country.

Massacre by the Indians.	Retaliation.	The Patents canceled.	Policy of Charles I.	Governor Harvey.
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the minds of the settlers. They were now four thousand strong, and fast increasing; but a cloud was gathering.

Powhatan, the firm friend of the English since the marriage of his daughter, was now dead.¹ The restraints of his influence were lifted from his people, and they, apprehending their own annihilation by the white men, resolved to strike a blow of extermination. At

^a March 22, 1622, mid-day,^a the hatchet fell upon the more remote settlements around Jamestown, and more than seventeen scores of men, women, and children perished in an hour.¹

A friendly Indian, a Christian convert, warned his white friend (Paca) in Jamestown of the plot the night before. The people prepared for defense, and were, with the nearest settlements, to whom they sent notice, saved. General alarm prevailed. The remote planters fled to Jamestown, and the number of plantations was reduced from eighty to eight. A terrible reaction ensued. The English arose, and, moved with a spirit of hatred and revenge, they smote the Indians with great slaughter, and drove them far back into the wilderness.

We have seen the government of Virginia gradually changed from a royal tenure, under the first charter, to a proprietary and representative government under the second and third charters. The king now began to look upon it with suspicion, as inimical to royalty, and a breeder of disloyal men. The holders of the stock of the London Company had become very numerous, and their election of officers assumed a political character, presenting two parties—the advocates of liberty, and the upholders of the royal prerogative. The king, disliking the freedom of debate which prevailed at their meetings, attempted to control their elections; but failing in this, he determined to recover, by a dissolution of their Company, the influence in the affairs of the New World of which he had deprived himself by his own charter. He appointed a commission, composed of his own pliant instruments, to examine the affairs of the Company. They, of course, reported favorable to a dissolution of the association, and an equally pliant judiciary effected a consummation of the measure. A quo warranto was issued; it was feebly defended, and in June, 1624, a decision was given against the Company, and the patents were canceled. The enterprise had, thus far, been an unprofitable speculation for the Company, and there was not much opposition. The king took the political affairs of the colony into his own hands, and it became a royal government; yet no material changes were made in the domestic policy of the settlers, and they were allowed to retain their popular legislative assemblies as a branch of their government.

James died in 1625,^b and his son, the unfortunate Charles I., succeeded him.

^a April 6. The policy of the new monarch toward the colonists was governed entirely by selfish motives, and he allowed them liberty under which to prosper, that gain to himself might accrue. He imposed some restrictions, and attempted, but in vain, to gain for himself a monopoly of the trade in tobacco, by becoming the sole factor of the planters.² Governor Yearly died in November, 1627, and the king appointed John Harvey, one of his warm-

^c 1628. est supporters, and a member of the commission appointed by James, governor;^c but his unpopularity in the colony lost to the king all the advantages his selfishness coveted. The Virginians deprived Harvey of his government in 1635; summoned an assembly to receive complaints against him, and appointed commissioners to proceed to England

¹ Powhatan died in 1618, and his younger brother, Opechancanough, heired his power, but not his friendly influence favorable to the English. He always harbored a secret aversion to the white men. Only a few days before the massacre, he declared "that sooner the skies would fall than his friendship with the English be dissolved."

² Exaggerated reports went to England. Smith, in his *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, stated the number of killed at 5000. Berkeley rated it at 2000. Edward Waterhouse transmitted to the Company a statement containing the names of every victim. The number was 347.—*Declaration of the State of the Colony, &c.*, pages 14–21.

³ In his efforts to obtain the control of the tobacco trade, by becoming himself the sole purchaser of the crop, the king unconsciously recognized the legality of the Virginia Assembly. In a letter to the governor and council, written in June, 1628, he offered to contract for the whole crop of tobacco, and expressed a desire that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. "This is the first recognition," says Bancroft (i., 196), "on the part of a Stuart of a representative assembly in America." James permitted it, but did not expressly sanction it.

Wyatt and Berkeley.	The Commonwealth.	Intolerance in Virginia.	Indian Wars.	Berkely and Loyalty.
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with an impeachment. Harvey accompanied the commissioners. The king would not even admit the accusers to a hearing, and the accused was sent back, clothed with full authority from Charles to administer the government. He remained in office until 1639, when he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt.^a Sir William Berkeley succeeded Wyatt in ^{a Nov.} 1641.^b During his first administration of ten years, the civil condition of the Vir- ^{b Aug.} ginians was much improved. The rights of property, and the rewards of industry, were secured, and the people were prosperous and happy.¹

The democratic revolution in England, which brought Charles to the block and placed Cromwell in power, now began, and religious sects in England and America assumed a political importance. Puritans had hitherto been tolerated in Virginia; and Puritan ministers were even invited by the council to come to that province from Massachusetts Bay. Now, as the monarch and the Church were united in interest, and the Virginians were loyal to Church and king, it was decided that no minister should preach or teach except in conformity to the constitution of the Church of England, and Non-conformists were banished from the colony. This was a cloud upon the otherwise clear skies of the settlement. But a darker cloud was gathering. The Indians prepared for another massacre of the white men. The war-whoop sounded along the frontier settlements, and a general border contest ensued.^c The ^{c April, 1646.} Indians were generally defeated, and old Opechancanough, the chief instigator, was made a prisoner, and died in captivity.^d Peace was speedily effected by the In- ^{d 1644.} dians making large concessions to the white men.²

The Virginians remained loyal during the civil war in England; and when the king was beheaded, and the Republicans bore rule, they recognized Charles, the son of their murdered sovereign, though then a fugitive in a foreign country. The Parliament was incensed at the audacity of a colony resisting the will of the supreme government, and took measures to enforce submission.³ A powerful fleet, under Sir George Ayscue, entered the Chesapeake, and cast anchor at the mouth of the James River. Sir William Berkeley,⁴ with the cavaliers

¹ In 1648, the number of colonists was twenty thousand. "The cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants." Ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England, were trading in Virginia at Christmas of that year.—*Mam. Hist. Coll.*, ix., 118.

² Neotowance, the successor of Opechancanough, was forced to acknowledge that he held his kingdom of the crown of England. It was agreed that the Indians should remove to the north side of the York and Pamunkey Rivers; and they ceded to the white men all the lands from the Falls of the James River, at Richmond, between the two rivers, to the Bay forever. Thus were the natives driven from their beautiful land—the most beautiful in all Virginia—leaving few traces of their existence behind.

³ An ordinance was passed on the 3d of October, 1650, empowering the Council of State to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, establish it as a law, that foreign ships should not trade in any of the ports in Barbadoes, Antiguas, Bermudas, and Virginia.

⁴ Sir William Berkeley was of an ancient family near London. He was educated at Oxford, and admitted Master of Arts in 1629. The next year he traveled extensively in Europe, and became a model of an elegant courtier and cavalier. He succeeded Sir Francis Wyatt as governor of Virginia in 1641, and held that post most of the time during the civil wars in England, and until the restoration of monarchy in 1660. He exhibited shrewdness as well as courage when the fleet of Parliament, sent to subdue the loyal colony of Virginia, appeared in the James River; and, by good management, both parties were satisfied. Cromwell appointed "worthy Samuel Mathews" governor, and, at his death, Berkeley was elected governor by the people. His obsequious deference to royalty offended the independent Virginians, and his popularity declined. His obstinacy in refusing compliance with the expressed wishes of the inhabitants that Nathaniel Bacon might lead an expedition against the Indians, further alienated the affections of his people. He became irritable and revengeful; and when juries refused to aid his projects of vengeance against those who followed Bacon, he resorted to martial law, and fines, confiscations, and executions ensued. In view of this conduct Charles II. remarked, "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I have taken for the murder of my father."

Berkeley returned to England, after an administration of nearly forty years, and died soon after his arrival. He was buried at Twickenham, July 13, 1677. He was possessed of quite liberal views in respect to government, but these were often hidden or perverted by his cringing loyalty. In his reply to commissioners sent in 1671 to inquire into the state of the colony, he said, "Thank God, there are no free schools

William Berkeley

Opposition to parliamentary Commissions. Concession to the Colonists. Commercial Restrictions. King of Virginia.

who had fled to Virginia, on the death of Charles, for safety, were prepared for their reoception. Armed Dutch vessels, lying in the river, were pressed into service; and, although the Virginians had resolved to submit as soon as they perceived the arrival of the fleet, they, like Falstaff, declared they would not do it "on compulsion." This unexpected show of resistance made the commissioners of Parliament, who were sent out to negotiate, hesitate; and, instead of opening their cannon upon the colonists, they courteously proposed submission to the authority of the Protector, upon terms quite satisfactory to the Virginians. The liberties of the colonists were more fully secured than they had ever been; indeed, they were allowed nearly all those rights which the Declaration of Independence a century and a quarter later charged the King of Great Britain with violating. Until the restoration of monarchy in 1660, Virginia was virtually an independent state; for Cromwell made no appointments for the state, except a governor. On the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, the Virginians were not disposed to acknowledge the authority of Richard, his successor, and they elected Matthews, and afterward Berkeley, to fill the office of governor. Universal suffrage prevailed; all freemen, without exception, were allowed to vote; and servants, when the terms of their bondage ended, became electors, and might be made burgesses.

When the news of the probable restoration of Charles the Second reached Virginia, Berkeley disclaimed the popular sovereignty, proclaimed the exiled monarch, issued writs for an assembly in the name of the king, and the friends of royalty came into power.¹ High hopes of great favor from the new king were entertained. They were speedily blasted. Commercial restrictions, grafted upon the existing colonial system of the commonwealth, were rigorously enforced.² The people murmured, and finally remonstrated, but in vain. The profligate monarch, who seems never to have had a clear perception of right and wrong, but was always guided by the dictates of caprice and passion, gave away to special favorites large tracts of land, some of it cultivated and valuable.³ The Royalist party in Virginia soon began to have an evil influence. The Assembly abridged the liberties of the people; the members, elected for only two years, assumed to themselves the right of an indefinite continuance of power, and the representative system was virtually abolished. Intolerance began to grow again, and heavy fines were imposed upon Baptists and Quakers. Taxes were made unequal and oppressive. Loyalty waned; the people learned to despise the very name of king, and open discontent ensued. The common people formed a Republican party, opposed to the aristocracy and the Royalists.

The menaces of the hostile Susquehannas, a fierce tribe on the northern frontier, who had been driven southward by the Five Nations, and were then desolating the remote set-

nor printing-press, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged these and libels against the best government." In this last sentence the old bigot courtier uttered one of the most glorious truths which the march of progress has practically developed. Tyranny always fears enlightenment. Napoleon said he was in more dread of one free printing-press than a hundred thousand Austrian bayonets.

¹ Berkeley proclaimed Charles the Second king of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia. Charles was therefore made king in Virginia, by the supreme authorities of the colony, before he actually became so in England. Already, when they were informed that Cromwell was about to send a fleet to reduce them to submission, the Virginians sent, in a small ship, a messenger to Charles, at Breda, in Flanders, to invite him to come over and be King of Virginia. He was on the point of sailing, when he was called to the throne of his father. In gratitude to Virginia, he caused the arms of that province to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as an independent member of the empire. From this circumstance Virginia received the name of *The Old Dominion*. Coins with these quarterings were made as late as 1773.

² The colonial system of all kingdoms has uniformly been to make the industry of colonists tributary to the aggrandizement of the parent country. The Navigation Act, which, down to the time of our Revolution, was a fruitful source of complaint, was now rigorously applied, and new and more stringent provisions added to it. Under it, no commodities could be imported into any British settlement, nor exported from them, except in English vessels; and tobacco, turpentine, and other principal commodities of the colonies, could be shipped to no country except England. The trade between the colonies was also taxed for the benefit of the imperial treasury, and in various other ways the colonies were made dependent on the mother country.

³ He gave away to Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, two of his favorites, "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia," for the space of thirty-one years. Culpepper became governor in 1680.

Indian Hostilities.

"Bacon's Rebellion."

Republican Triumphs.

English Troops.

Burning of Jamestown.

tlements of Maryland, offered the people an excuse for arming. The Indians hovered nearer and nearer, and committed murders on Virginia soil. The planters, with Nathaniel Bacon, a popular, bold, and talented man, for their leader, demanded of Governor Berkeley the privilege of protecting themselves. Berkeley refused; for he doubtless had sagacity to perceive how the people would thus discover their strength. At length, some people on Bacon's plantation having been killed by the Indians, that gentleman yielded to popular clamor, placed himself at the head of five hundred men, and marched against the invaders. Berkeley, who was jealous of Bacon's popularity, immediately proclaimed him a traitor,^a and ordered a body of troops to pursue and arrest him.¹ Bacon was successful against the Indians, while Berkeley was obliged to recall his troops to put down a rising rebellion in the lower counties. The people generally sympathized with the "traitor." They arose in open insurrection; Berkeley was compelled to yield; the Long Assembly was dissolved, and a new one elected; new laws were granted; universal suffrage was restored; arbitrary taxation was abolished, and Bacon was appointed commander-in-chief. Berkeley, compelled by the popular will, promised to sign Bacon's commission, but this promise was never fulfilled. Fearing treachery, the latter withdrew to Williamsburg, then called the Middle Plantation, where he assembled five hundred men, and marched to Jamestown, to demand his commission from the governor. It was reluctantly granted; and Berkeley and the Assembly, overawed, attested the bravery and loyalty of Bacon, and on the 4th of July, 1676, just one hundred years before the birth-day of our republic, a more liberal and enlightened legislation commenced in Virginia. "The eighteenth century in Virginia was the child of the seventeenth; and Bacon's rebellion, with the corresponding scenes in Maryland, Carolina, and New England, was the earlier harbinger of American independence and American nationality."²

The moment Bacon left Jamestown to confront the invading Indians, Berkeley treacherously and rashly published a proclamation, reversing all the proceedings of the burgesses; again declaring Bacon a traitor, and calling upon the loyal aristocracy to join him. The indignation of Bacon was fiercely kindled, and, marching back to the capital, he lighted up a civil war. The property of Berkeley's adherents was confiscated; their wives were seized as hostages; and a general destruction of the plantations of the Royalists ensued. Berkeley and his followers were driven from Jamestown, and sought shelter on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake. Bacon became supreme ruler, and, having proclaimed the abdication of Berkeley, he summoned an Assembly in his own name, and prepared to cast off all allegiance to the English crown. When troops came from England to support Berkeley, Bacon and his followers resolved to oppose them.³ A rumor reached the capital that a strong party of Royalists, with the imperial troops, were approaching, and, in a council of war, Bacon and his followers resolved to burn Jamestown. The torch was applied just as the night shadows came over the village, and the sun rose the next morning upon the smoking ruins of the first English town built in America. Naught remained standing but a few chimneys and the church tower, that solitary monument which now attracts the eye and heart of the traveler.

¹ Nathaniel Bacon was a native of Suffolk. He was educated for the legal profession in London. He went to Virginia, where his high character for virtue and integrity soon procured him a seat in the council. He purchased a plantation not far from the present city of Richmond. Handsome in person, eloquent in speech, and thoroughly accomplished, he acquired great popularity; and when he proposed to lead the young men of the settlement against the murderous Indians, he had many adherents. In defiance of the wrath of the jealous Berkeley, he headed an expedition. The governor proclaimed him a traitor, and his followers rebels. Bacon was successfully beating back the Indians on one side, and the governor's adherents on the other, when death, from a severe disease, closed his career. Had he lived to complete what he had begun, his memory would have been cherished as a patriot, instead of being clouded with the stigma of the *insurgent*. He died at the house of Dr. Green, in Gloucester county, October 1, 1676.

² Bancroft, ii., 222.

³ This was the first time that English troops were sent to America to suppress republicanism. The same determined spirit prevailed which, a century later, made all the Anglo-American colonies lift the arm of defiance against the armies and navies of Great Britain, when sent here "to burn our towns, ravage our coasts, and eat out the substance of the people."

Death of Bacon.

Vengeance of Berkeley.

His Recall and Death.

Jamestown and its Associations.

Leaving the smoking ruins behind, Bacon pushed forward with his little army to drive the Royalists from Virginia; but the malaria from the low lands infused its poison into his veins, and on the north bank of the York River that brave patriot died.¹ His death was a blow of unutterable evil to his followers, for no other man could wear the mantle of his influence. The fugitive governor returned to the Middle Plantation in triumph, and began to wreak his vengeance upon the principal insurgents. Twenty were hanged,² and others were on their way to the gallows, when the Assembly implored that "he would spill no more blood." Berkeley yielded; but the fines, confiscations, and other punishments continued. He ruled with an iron hand, which rule begot him many enemies at home.³ He was soon recalled, and went to England, but died before he obtained an audience with his king.⁴

As briefly as perspicuity would allow, I have sketched the early history of Virginia, in order to illustrate the gradual development of that spirit of liberty which spoke out so boldly, and acted with so much decision and power there, in the incipient and progressive stages of the War for Independence. We have seen the republican tree spring up and flourish on the banks of the James River, until its branches overspread a wide region, and sheltered thousands of freemen who, a hundred years before our Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, were ready to forswear allegiance to the British monarch, unless he should virtually recognize their sovereignty as a people. In the struggle between monarchy and republicanism, represented by Berkeley and Bacon, we have seen the capital of the new state, after an existence of seventy years, reduced to ashes, never to be restored. For a century and three quarters it has been a desolation. The green grass, the waving corn, and the golden wheat now cover the earth where streets and lanes were trodden by Smith and Gosnold, Newport, Gates and Berkeley, Powhatan and Pocahontas, and a host of Englishmen, whose spirits seem to have taken root in the soil, and multiplied a thousand-fold—whose scattered bones, like dragons teeth sown upon the land, seem to have germinated and sent up full-armed heroes. Nothing remains of the past but this old tower and these broken tombs, among which we have sat while pondering the antecedents of the present. We will close the chronicle for a while, and, taking a glance at later Revolutionary events here, hasten away to Williamsburg—the "Middle Plantation"—the second capital of Virginia.

¹ Among those who suffered were Colonel Hansford; Captains Carver, Farlow, and Wilford; Major Cheeseman; William Drummond (former governor of Carolina), and Colonel Richard Lawrence. Colonel Hansford was the first native of Virginia who died on the gallows, and he has been justly termed the first martyr to American liberty. This civil war cost the colony a quarter of a million of dollars.

² Afraid of popular enlightenment, Berkeley would not allow a printing-press in Virginia. To speak ill of him, or any of his friends, was punished as a crime by whipping, or a fine; to speak, write, or publish any thing in mitigation or favor of the rebellion or rebels, was made a misdemeanor, and, if thrice repeated, was evidence of treason.—Henning's *Statutes of Virginia*, ii., 385.

³ Berkeley was much censured in England, and those censures affected him greatly. His brother, Lord Berkeley, declared that the unfavorable report of the commissioners caused the death of Sir William.

Departure from Jamestown.

Remains of Fortifications.

"Spencer's Ordinary."

Retreat of Cornwallis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"I look'd, and thought the quiet of the scene
 An emblem of the peace that yet shall be,
 When, o'er earth's continents and isles between,
 The noise of war shall cease from sea to sea,
 And married nations dwell in harmony;
 When millions, crouching in the dust to one,
 No more shall beg their lives on bended knee,
 Nor the black stake be dress'd, nor in the sun
 The o'er-labor'd captive toil, and wish his life were done."

BRYANT.



N hour before meridian I left the old church-yard at Jamestown, and sauntered along the pebbly shore back to the little punt in which I was to reach the main land. I picked up two or three *Jamestown diamonds*, and a small brass key of antique form, which lay among the pebbles, and then left that interesting spot, perhaps forever. The day was very warm, and I was glad to get within the shadow of the pine forests which skirt the road almost the whole way from Jamestown to Williamsburg, a distance of four miles and a half. Not a leaf stirred upon the trees, and the silence of solitude prevailed, for the insects had gone to their winter repose, and the birds had finished their summer carols.

A mile and a half from Jamestown, I crossed the Powhatan Creek, a sluggish stream which finds its way into the James River through a fen in the rear of Jamestown Island. On its northern bank, a few yards from the road, are the remains of a fortification, which was thrown up by Cornwallis in the summer of 1781. The embankments and ditches are very prominent. Neighborhood tradition calls them the remnant of Powhatan's fort. In this vicinity two engagements took place between the Royalists and Republicans in June and July, 1781. The first occurred at the forks of the road, one of which makes a circuit to the Chickahominy, the other leads to Williamsburg. The place is known in history as *Spencer's Ordinary*, from the circumstance that a man named Spencer kept a tavern at the forks. Let us see what the pen of history has recorded.

In the spring of 1781, Cornwallis left Wilmington, in North Carolina, and marched into Virginia, to join the invading forces under Phillips and Arnold at Petersburg. After attempts to capture stores in the heart of Virginia, and finding the forces of La Fayette, Wayne, and Steuben rapidly increasing, the earl thought it prudent to return toward the sea-shore. He accordingly retreated to Richmond, and from thence across the Chickahominy to Williamsburg and Jamestown, and then down the James River to Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk. From the stables and pastures of the planters he took the fine horses which they had refused to Greene,¹ and well mounted his cavalry. In his retreat he was closely pursued, and greatly annoyed by La Fayette and Wayne, with about four thousand men.²

Cornwallis reached Williamsburg on the 25th of June.³ Informed that the Americans had some boats and stores on the Chickahominy River, he sent Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with his Rangers, and a company of Yagers, under Major Armstrong and Captain Ewald, to destroy them, and to collect all the cattle they could find.⁴ La Fayette,

¹ Greene, then in command of the Southern army, had left Steuben in Virginia to collect troops, horses, and stores, and send them to him at the South.

² There were 2100 regulars, of which number 1500 were veteran troops, who had experienced service at the North.

³ Simcoe found but little to destroy on the Chickahominy, and returning, halted at Dandridge's, within three miles of the Diöckung Creek, a branch of the Chickahominy. The next morning they marched to

Simcoe's Expedition.

Engagement between the advanced Guards of the Belligerents.

Battle at *Spencer's Ordinary*.

with great circumspection, had kept about a score of miles in the rear of the royal army while pursuing Cornwallis. He was at Tyre's plantation, about twenty miles from Williamsburg, when informed of Simcoe's expedition, and immediately detached Lieutenant-colonel Percival Butler, a brave officer of the Pennsylvania line, to intercept that partisan on his return.¹ Butler's detachment consisted of a corps of Continental troops, two rifle corps, under Majors Call and Willis, and about one hundred and twenty horsemen, under Major M'Pherson. Simcoe accomplished his purpose without opposition, and was hastening back to Williamsburg with a quantity of cattle procured from the planters, when he was overtaken at *Spencer's Ordinary* by M'Pherson and his dragoons, and a very severe skirmish ensued. Both parties were ignorant of the real strength of each other, and maneuvered with caution. Simcoe believed the whole force of La Fayette to be near, and Butler supposed his detachment was fighting with the advanced guard of Cornwallis's army.

The approach of the Americans was first discovered by trumpeter Barney, of the Queen's



Rangers, who was stationed as a vidette on an eminence about half way between Lee's farm and the road along which the patriots were approaching. A body of cavalry, under Captain Shank, were then dismounted at Lee's farm, where they were foraging. Barney galloped toward Spencer's, and this averted the blow which might have fallen fatally upon the dismounted cavalry at Lee's, if they had been seen by the Americans. The latter, perceiving the direction of the vidette's flight, and concluding he was retreating to his corps, pushed on toward Spencer's. The dragoons at Lee's immediately mounted, and, dashing through the wood, made a furious charge upon the right flank of the Americans. In this onset Major M'Pherson was thrown from his horse by Sergeant Wright of the Rangers, and so severely hurt that he did not again engage in the conflict. The belligerents swept on beyond him, too intent upon battle to stop for prisoners, and his life and liberty were spared.

The infantry and rifle corps under Simcoe were now brought into action. Butler's riflemen had also reached the scene of conflict. The fence on each side of the road had been thrown down by Simcoe early in the morning, to allow greater freedom for his troops. The action became general and fierce within an eighth of a mile of Spencer's. Simcoe soon perceived that he could not win a victory by fair fighting, and turned his attention to stratagem. While Captain Althouse with the

the creek, repaired the bridge sufficiently to pass over, and then utterly destroyed it. They then marched to Cooper's Mills, nearly twenty miles from Williamsburg. Simcoe was anxious concerning his safety, for he could not gain a word of reliable information respecting La Fayette's movements. He promised a great reward to a Whig to go to the marquis's camp and return with information by the next morning, when his detachment should march. The Whig went; but instead of returning with information for Simcoe, he piloted Wayne, with a considerable force, to the place of the Rangers' encampment. The fires were yet burning, but the coveted prize had departed an hour before.—See Simcoe's *Military Journal*.

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Butler was Morgan's second in command at Saratoga.

NOTE.—The letters in the above map have reference as follows: A, American infantry; B, American cavalry; C, the Queen's Rangers halting at the forks of the road; D, the Rangers in line, prepared for attack; E, the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers, foraging at Lee's farm; F, the British cavalry, and B, the American cavalry, contending at the beginning of the battle; G, the Rangers after the battle; and H, I, the line of retreat back to the road near Spencer's; K, trumpeter Barney, when he first discovered the Americans and gave the alarm; L, the Yagers, commanded chiefly by Ewald; M, a three-pounder near Spencer's; N, Captain Althouse with British riflemen.

Simcoe's Strategem. A drawn Battle. The Loss. Burial with the Honors of War. March of Cornwallis from Williamsburg.

riflemen, and Captain Ewald with the Yagers, were engaged in fierce conflict with the corps of Call and Willis, he moved the whole body of his mounted Rangers to an eminence near Lee's, displayed them imposingly in full view of the Americans for a few moments, and then withdrew them. This maneuver, as was intended, deceived the patriots. The march of Simcoe was concealed from them by intervening hills and woods, and they did not suspect the party thus displayed to be that partisan's Rangers. They believed them to be the front of a more formidable force deploying in the rear, preparatory to a general charge. At the same moment a three-pounder, which had been stationed upon the hill (M, in the plan), near Spencer's, was discharged; and, while its echoes were booming over the country, Shank, with his cavalry, made another furious attack upon the main body of the Republicans, now gathered more compactly in the road and the adjacent fields, a short distance from Spencer's.¹

The idea that Cornwallis was advancing with artillery alarmed the Americans, and, when Shank made his charge, they fell back in confusion upon the reserve corps of Continentals in the rear, and the battle ended. Simcoe was quite as much afraid of the advance of La Fayette and his force to the support of Butler, as was the latter of the appearance of Cornwallis. He immediately formed his corps in retreating order, and pushed on toward Williamsburg. Butler thought it imprudent to follow them; for he was informed that Cornwallis, on hearing the first fire, commenced a march, with a strong force, to the support of Simcoe. Neither party could fairly claim a victory, though both parties did so. It was a sort of drawn battle. The Americans returned to Tyre's plantation.

So widely different are the official accounts of the numbers lost in this engagement that it is difficult to ascertain the truth. La Fayette states the loss of the British at sixty killed and one hundred wounded, while Cornwallis says that only three officers and thirty privates were killed and wounded. The latter also states that three American officers and twenty-eight privates were taken prisoners. The number of the Americans killed has never been named by our writers. Simcoe says, "It is certain they had a great many killed and wounded, exclusive of prisoners;" but this was merely conjecture. He also says that his own groom was the only prisoner secured by the Americans, the bat-men at Lee's, who were captured at the commencement of the action, having been rescued, except the groom. Cornet Jones, a promising young officer of the Rangers, who was killed, was greatly beloved, and was buried at Williamsburg, the next day, with military honors.²

At this time, Sir Henry Clinton, having received some intercepted letters written by Washington, in which a plan for attacking New York was divulged,³ became alarmed for his safety. He accordingly made a requisition upon Cornwallis for a portion of his troops to be sent immediately to New York. The earl, supposing himself too weak, after complying with this requisition, to remain at Williamsburg, resolved to retire to Portsmouth, near Norfolk. He broke up his encampment at Williamsburg on the 4th of July,^a and marched for Jamestown Island. He disposed of his troops in such a manner as

^a 1781.

¹ Simcoe's *Journal*, p. 226-236. Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, p. 298-301.

² The expression "buried with military honors" is often used, but, I apprehend, often without a clear understanding of its purport. The general reader may be interested in knowing in what consist "military honors" in the sense here used. The rules generally adopted are as follows: The funeral of a *commander-in-chief* is saluted with three rounds of 11 pieces of cannon, 4 battalions, and 6 squadrons; that of a *lieutenant general* with three rounds of 9 pieces of cannon, 3 battalions, and 4 squadrons; that of a *major general* with three rounds of 7 pieces of cannon, 1 battalion, and 2 squadrons; that of *colonel* by his own battalion (or an equal number by detachment), with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *lieutenant colonel* by 300 men and officers, with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *major* by 200 men and officers, with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *captain* by his own company, or 70 rank and file, with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *lieutenant* by a lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, and 36 rank and file, with three rounds of small-arms; that of an *ensign* by 1 ensign, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 27 rank and file, with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *sergeant* by 1 sergeant and 10 rank and file, with three rounds of small-arms; that of a *corporal, musician, private man, drummer, or fifer* by 1 sergeant and 13 rank and file, with three rounds of small-arms. The pall is supported by officers of the same rank as that of the deceased; if that number can not be had, officers next in seniority are to supply their place.

³ These letters, written by Washington for the express purpose of deceiving Sir Henry Clinton, have been noticed on page 213.

Movements of La Fayette.

Cornwallis's Stratagem.

March from Green Spring.

Colonel Armand

to cover the ford, and the Queen's Rangers crossed over to the island the same evening. The two succeeding days were employed in passing over the baggage of the army.

La Fayette was exceedingly active and vigilant. As soon as he was informed by Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, who had been sent to reconnoiter, that Cornwallis had left Williamsburg, he moved forward and encamped within nine miles of Jamestown. Upon the activity and skill of Wayne the marquis relied with confidence. America had no truer or braver officers in the field than the "French game-cock" and "Mad Anthony." The marquis, who had steadily pursued the earl from Richmond, but always avoiding a general engagement, now resolved to fall upon his rear, when the main body should have passed over to Jamestown Island. Cornwallis suspected this design, and prepared for the emergency. He encamped the greater portion of his army on the main land, as compactly as possible, and sheltered from view by a dense pine forest. He also cast up a fortification on the right bank of Powhatan Creek, by the Williamsburg road, the remains of which, I have just mentioned, are still very prominent. He allowed but a few soldiers to make their appearance on the edge of the wood; deployed those on the island to the best advantage; drew in his light outguards; suffered his pickets to be insulted; and, by every means in his power, gave the impression that only his rear-guard was upon the main. These maneuvers of Cornwallis, and abounding false intelligence, completely deceived La Fayette, and caused him to make an attack upon the British, a step which involved his whole army in imminent peril.

La Fayette and his troops were at Green Spring plantation¹ on the morning of the 6th of July.^a At sunrise, the whole country was enveloped in a fog; at noon, an unclouded sun poured down its almost vertical rays with fierce intensity. Assured that only the rear-guard of Cornwallis's army remained off the island, the marquis moved from Green Spring, at three o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of attacking them. This late hour was judiciously chosen; the heat was less oppressive, and, if deceived concerning the numbers of the enemy on the main land, the night-shadows would favor a retreat. In front of Green Spring mansion, and extending to the Williamsburg road from the lower ford of the Chickahominy, where I crossed, was low, sunken ground, and a morass bridged by a causeway of logs. Over this, in narrow files, the Americans were obliged to make their way, and it was almost five o'clock before they arrived in sight of the British outposts. La Fayette detached Wayne, with about eight hundred men, to make the attack. His advanced guard consisted of the rifle corps of Call and Willis, and a patrol of dragoons. These were followed by the cavalry of Armand's² and Mercer's troops, led by Major M'Pherson,

¹ See page 446.

² Charles Armand, marquis de la Rouarie, was a French officer in the Continental army, who had been ten years in military service before he came to this country. On the 10th of May, 1777, Congress gave him the commission of colonel, and authorized him to raise a corps of Frenchmen, in number not exceeding two hundred men. He was a zealous and spirited officer, and did good service throughout the war. He was with La Fayette in New

Jersey, after the battle of Red Bank, in the fall of 1777, and the next year was actively engaged in Westchester county, New York, in opposition to the corps of Simcoe and Emerick, and the Loyalists under Baremore. The latter was captured by Armand, who, at one time, had his quarters at a house which stood on the site of the present St. John's College, at Fordham. He was stationed at Ridgefield, in Connecticut, under General Robert Howe, in the summer of 1779. Belonging to his corps was a company of cavalry called *Maréchaussée*,* whose duties appertained chiefly to the police of the army. Armand's corps, exclusive of this company, was incorporated with Pulaski's in February, 1780. Armand was with the army under Gates at Clermont, near Camden, in South Carolina, and was directed by that general to form an advance attacking party in the night-march against Cornwallis at Camden. He censured the conduct of his general on that occasion very much. "I will not say," he remarked, "that the general contemplated treason; but I will say, that if he had desired to betray his army, he could not have chosen a more judi-

* The *Maréchaussée* was a useful corps. In an encampment, it was its business to patrol the camp and its vicinity, for the purpose of apprehending deserters, thieves, rioters, &c., and soldiers who should be found violating the rules of the army. Strangers without passes were to be apprehended by them, and the sutlers in the army were under the control of the commander of the corps. In the time of action they were to patrol the roads on both flanks of the army to arrest fugitives, and apprehend those who might be skulking away.

The Battle Order.	Attack upon the Outpost.	The Enemy in full Force.	Retreat of the Americans.
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who had recovered from the effects of his unhorsing at Spencer's. The Continental infantry, chiefly Pennsylvania troops, under Wayne, supported the whole. La Fayette, with nine hundred Continentals and some militia, halted after crossing the morass, to be in readiness to support Wayne, if necessary. Steuben, with the main body of the militia, remained as a reserve at Green Spring.

After moving about a mile, the van patrol were attacked by some of the enemy's Yagers, and the riflemen and militia commenced the attack upon the British pickets at about five o'clock. A desultory fire was kept up for a few minutes, when the cavalry made a furious charge, and the pickets were driven within their lines in great confusion and with considerable loss. The British outpost, which covered and concealed the main body of the royal army, was now assailed by the riflemen, who were stationed in a ditch, near a rail fence. They were under the immediate direction of M^r Pherson and Mercer, and terribly galled the Yagers who garrisoned the point assailed, yet without driving them from their position. The assailants were speedily joined by two battalions of Continental infantry, one under Major Galvan, and another under Major Willis, of Connecticut, supported by two pieces of artillery, under the direction of Captain Savage. The Americans felt certain of victory, and were about to leave the ditch and engage hand to hand with the enemy, when more than two thousand of the royal troops were led from their concealment into action by Lieutenant-colonel Yorke on the right, and Lieutenant-colonel Dundas on the left. The brigade of the latter consisted of the forty-third, seventy-sixth, and eightieth regiments, the flower of Cornwallis's army. Yorke soon put to flight the American militia on the right; but, on the left, the riflemen, cavalry, and the Pennsylvania infantry sustained the unequal conflict with great bravery. Superior numbers, however, overmatched skill and courage, and the Americans, after a sanguinary battle of ten minutes, gave way; first the riflemen, then the cavalry, and finally the whole body of infantry retreated in confusion upon Wayne's line, which was drawn up in compact order in the field in front of the present residence of Mr. Coke.

Wayne now perceived the whole breadth of Cornwallis's stratagem, and the imminence of the danger which surrounded his troops. Already strong detachments were rapidly outflanking him and gaining his rear, while a solid body of veterans were confronting him. It was a moment of great peril. To retreat would be certain destruction to his troops; a false movement would involve the whole in ruin. Wayne's presence of mind never forsook him, and, in moments of greatest danger, his judgment seemed the most acute and faithful. He now instantly conceived a bold movement, but one full of peril. He ordered the trumpeters to

cious course." Armand was dissatisfied with the promotions in the army, for he perceived no chance for himself to advance, yet he continued in faithful service. He went to France in February, 1781, to procure clothing and accoutrements, but came back again in time to join the army before Yorktown in October of that year. On the earnest recommendation of Washington, who knew his worth, Congress gave Colonel Armand the commission of brigadier general in the spring of 1783. He returned to France in 1784. In a letter to Rochambeau, written in May of that year, Washington strongly recommended General Armand as worthy of promotion in his own country. He was married, in 1786, to a wealthy lady, belonging to an ancient family, and on that occasion wrote a letter to Washington, inviting him to come to Europe and partake of the hospitalities of his home. In his reply, Washington remarked, "I must confess I was a little pleased, if not surprised, to find you think quite like an American on the subject of matrimony and domestic felicity; for, in my estimation, more permanent and genuine happiness is to be found in the sequestered walks of connubial life than in the giddy rounds of promiscuous pleasure, or the more tumultuous and imposing scenes of successful ambition. This sentiment will account in a degree for my not making a visit to Europe."

General Armand took an active part in the revolutionary movements in his own country, and became a prisoner in the Bastille, for a time, in 1789. He participated in the sanguinary scenes in La Vendée, during the first year of the French Revolution. Sick when the news of the execution of Louis XVI. reached him, it produced a powerful effect upon his weakened system. A crisis in his malady was induced, and, on the 30th of January, 1793, he expired. He was buried privately, by moonlight; but his remains were disinterred by the Revolutionists within a month afterward, and the papers inhumed with him revealed the names of associates, some of whom were afterward guillotined. General Armand was of middle size, dark complexion, urbane in deportment, polished in manners, an eloquent and persuasive speaker, and a practiced marksman. He was greatly beloved by his friends, and his opponents were not his enemies.

Wayne's Charge upon the British Line. Retreat of Cornwallis to Portsmouth. Tarleton's Expedition. Williamsburg.

sound a charge, and, with a full-voiced shout, his whole force, cavalry, riflemen, and infantry, dashed forward in the face of a terrible storm of lead and iron, and smote the British line with ball, bayonet, and cutlass so fiercely, that it recoiled in amazement. La Fayette, who had personally reconnoitered the British camp from a tongue of land near the present Jamestown landing, perceived the peril of Wayne, and immediately drew up a line of Continentals half a mile in the rear of the scene of conflict, to cover a retreat if Wayne should attempt it. When the latter saw this, and perceived the flanking parties of the enemy halting or retrograding, he sounded a retreat, and in good order his brave band fell back upon La Fayette's line. Never was a desperate maneuver better planned or more successfully executed. Upon that single cast of the die depended the safety of his corps. It was a winning one for the moment, and the night-shadows coming on, the advantage gained was made secure.

Cornwallis was astonished and perplexed by the charge and retreat. The lateness of the hour, and the whole movement, made him view the maneuver as a lure to draw him into an ambuscade; and, instead of pursuing the Republicans, he called in his detachments, ^{a July 9, 1781.} crossed over to Jamestown Island during the evening, and three days afterward^a crossed the James River with the largest portion of his troops, and proceeded by easy marches to Portsmouth.¹ The other portion of his army, pursuant to General Clinton's requisition, embarked in transports for New York.² In this action, according to La Fayette, the Americans lost one hundred and eighteen men³ (including ten officers), in killed, wounded, and prisoners; also the two pieces of cannon, which they were obliged to leave on the field, the horses attached to them having been killed. The British loss was five officers wounded, and seventy-five privates killed and wounded.⁴

The Americans, under La Fayette, remained in the vicinity of Williamsburg until the arrival of the combined armies, nearly two months afterward, on their way to besiege Cornwallis at Yorktown.

^{b Dec. 20, 1848.} I arrived at Williamsburg at noon,^b and proceeded immediately to search out the interesting localities of that ancient and earliest incorporated town in Virginia. They are chiefly upon the main street, a broad avenue pleasantly shaded, and almost as quiet as a rural lane. I first took a hasty stroll upon the spacious green in front of William and Mary College, the oldest literary institution in America except Harvard University.⁵ The entrance to the green is flanked by stately live oaks, cheering the visitor in winter with their evergreen foliage. In the center of the green stands the mutilated statue of Lord Botetourt, the best beloved of the colonial governors. This statue was erected in the old capital in 1774, and in 1797 it was removed to its present position. I did not make a sketch of it, because a student at the college promised to hand me one made by his own

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton and his legion were dispatched on the 9th to New London, in Bedford county, nearly two hundred miles distant, to destroy some stores destined for Greene's army at the South, said to be in that district. Tarleton, with his usual celerity, passed through Petersburg the same evening, and pushed forward toward the Blue Ridge. He was disappointed, for he could find no magazines of stores. He was also informed that Greene was besieging Ninety-Six, and successfully reconquering the districts over which the British had marched victoriously. He returned toward the sea-board, and rejoined Cornwallis at Suffolk on the 24th. The whole army then proceeded to Portsmouth.

² Before they left Hampton Roads, Cornwallis received orders to retain these troops, and occupy some defensible position in Virginia.

³ Stedman says (ii., 395) the American loss "amounted to about three hundred." That officer (who belonged to the surgeon's staff) was with Cornwallis at Jamestown. He gives the whole number of the British loss at seventy-five.

⁴ Marshall, i., 439, 440; Stedman, ii., 394, 395; Girardin; Simcoe's *Journal*; Howison.

⁵ William and Mary College was founded in 1692, and the sovereigns whose name it bears granted the corporation twenty thousand acres of land as an endowment. In 1693 the building was erected. It is of brick, and large enough to accommodate one hundred students. For its support a penny a pound duty on certain tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland was allowed, also a small duty on liquors imported, and furs and skins exported. From these resources it received ample support. It was formerly allowed a representation in the House of Burgesses. There is now a law school connected with the institution.

Remains of Dunmore's Palace.

Brenton Church.

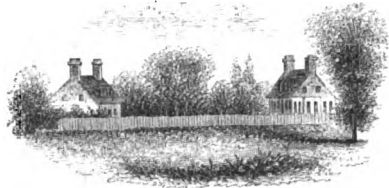
Lord Botetourt.

His Reception in Virginia.

Ode.

pencil before I left the place. He neglected to do so, and therefore I can give nothing pictorially of "the good Governor Botetourt," the predecessor of Dunmore.

I next visited the remains of the palace of Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia. It is situated at the head of a broad and beautiful court, extending northward from the main street, in front of the City Hotel. The palace was constructed of brick. The center building was accidentally destroyed by fire, while occupied by the French troops immediately after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. It was seventy-four feet long and sixty-eight feet wide, and occupied the site of the old palace of Governor Spotswood, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Attached to the palace were three hundred and sixty acres of land, beautifully



REMAINS OF DUNMORE'S PALACE.

laid out in gardens, parks, carriage-ways, and a bowling-green. Dunmore imported some fine linden-trees from Scotland, one of which, still in existence, is one of the finest specimens of that tree I have ever seen. In vice-regal pomp and pageantry Dunmore attempted to reign among the plain republicans of Virginia; but his day of grandeur and power soon passed away, and the sun of his official glory set amid darkest clouds. All that remains of this spacious edifice are the two wings seen in the engraving above; the one on the right was the office, the one on the left was the guard-house.



BRENTON CHURCH.

A little eastward of Palace Street or Court, is the public square, on which area are two relics of the olden time, *Brenton Church*, a cruciform structure with a steeple,² and the old *Magazine*, an octagon building, erected during the administration of Governor Spotswood.³ The sides of the latter are each twelve feet in hori-

1716.

¹ Norborne Berkeley (Baron de Botetourt) obtained his peerage in 1764. He was appointed Governor of Virginia in July, 1768, to succeed General Amherst. He arrived at Williamsburg in October, and was received with every demonstration of respect. After taking the oath of office, and swearing in the members of his majesty's council, he supped with the government dignitaries at the Raleigh Tavern. The city was illuminated during the evening, and balls and festivities succeeded.* His administration was mild and judicious. He died at Williamsburg October 15, 1770, and was succeeded by John Murray, earl of Dunmore. The following year the Assembly resolved to erect a statue to his memory, which was accordingly done in 1774.

² This church was built at about the commencement of the last century, and was the finest one in America at that time. Hugh Jones, who wrote "The present State of Virginia," &c., and who was one of the earliest lecturers in that church, speaks of it as "nicely regular and convenient, and adorned as the best churches in London." I was informed that the pew of Governor Spotswood remained in the church in its original character until within a few years. It was raised from the floor and covered with a canopy; and upon the interior was his name in gilt letters.

* In an ode sung on the occasion, the following *air*, *recitative*, and *duet* occur. It is copied from the "Virginia Gazette," the first independent paper published in Virginia.

AIR.

He comes! His EXCELLENCY comes,
To cheer Virginia's plains!
Fill your brisk bowls, ye loyal sons,
And sing your loftiest strains.
Be this your glory, this your boast,
LORD BOTETOURT's the favorite toast!
Triumphant wreaths entwine.
Fill your bumpers swiftly round,
And make your spacious rooms rebound
With music, joy, and wine.

RECITATIVE.

Search every garden, strip the shrubby bowers,
And strew his path with sweet autumnal flowers!
Ye virgins, haste, prepare the fragrant rose,
And with triumphant laurels crown his brows.

DUET.

Enter virgins with flowers, laurels, &c.
See, we've stripp'd each flowery bed;
Here's laurels for his LORDLY HEAD;
And while Virginia is his care,
May he protect the virtuous fair!

zontal extent. Surrounding it, also in octagon form, is a massive brick wall, which was constructed when the building was erected. This wall is somewhat dilapidated, as seen in the engraving. The building was occupied as a Baptist meeting-house when I visited Williamsburg, and I trust it may never fall before the hand of improvement, for it has an historical value in the minds of all Americans. The events which hallow it will be noticed presently.

THE OLD MAGAZINE.¹

present structure was erected over the ashes of the old one, which was burned in 1832. Around it are a few of the old bricks, half buried in the green sward, and these compose the only remains of the *Old Capitol*.² While leaning against the ancient wall of the old magazine, and, in the shadow of its roof, contemplating the events which cluster that locality with glorious associations, I almost lost cognizance of the present, and beheld in reverie the whole pageantry of the past march in review. Here let us consult the oracle of history, and note its teachings.

At the close of the last chapter we considered the destruction of Jamestown, the termination of "Bacon's rebellion," and the departure and death of Governor Berkeley. To make the events connected with the opening scenes of the Revolution in Virginia intelligible, we will briefly note the most prominent links in the chain of circumstances subsequent to the desolation of the ancient capital.

We have noticed the unrighteous gift of Charles the Second, of the fairest portions of

THE OLD CAPITOL.³

¹ This view is from the square, looking southeast. South of it is a neat frame building, which was occupied by President Tyler before his election to the office of Vice-president of the United States.

² Jones describes the capitol which preceded the one in question, and which was destroyed by fire in 1746. He says, "Fronting the college [William and Mary], at near its whole breadth, is extended a street, mathematically straight—for the first design of the town's form is changed to a much better*—just three quarters of a mile in length, at the other end of which stands the capitol, a noble, beautiful, and commodious pile as any of its kind, built at the cost of the late queen [Anne], and by direction of the governor" [Spotswood]. . . . "The building is in the form of an H, nearly; the secretary's office and the general court taking up one side below stairs, the middle being a handsome portico, leading to the clerk of the Assembly's office and the House of Burgesses on the other side; which last is not unlike the House of Commons. In each wing is a good stair-case, one leading to the council-chamber, where the governor and council sit in very great state, in imitation of the king and council, or the lord chancellor and House of Lords. . . . The whole is surrounded with a neat area, encompassed with a good wall, and near it is a strong and sweet prison for criminals; and, on the other side of the open court, another for debtors." On account of other public buildings having been burned, the use of fire, candles, and tobacco in the capitol was forbidden; nevertheless, it was destroyed by fire.

³ This is from an engraving in Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*, page 329. Mr. Howe obtained the drawing from a lady of Williamsburg, to whose patriotic taste our countrymen are indebted for a representation of the edifice which was the focus of rebellion in Virginia.

* The original plan of Williamsburg was in the form of a cipher, made of the letters W and M, the initials of William and Mary. Its site was known as the *Middle Plantation* while Jamestown was the capital. Situated upon a ridge nearly equidistant from the York and James Rivers, it was an eligible place for a town, and there Governor Nicholson established the capital in 1698. It was the residence of the royal governors, and the capital of the colony, until the War of the Revolution, and was, from that circumstance, the center of Virginia refinement. Yet, in its palmy days, the population of Williamsburg did not exceed twenty-five hundred. Many of its present inhabitants are descendants of the old stock of Virginia aristocracy; and an eminent seat of learning being located there, no place South is more distinguished for taste and refinement than Williamsburg, in proportion to its population.

Culpepper. Lord Howard and Nicholson. Federal Union proposed. Orkney and his Deputies. Spotswood.

Virginia to his two favorites, Arlington and Culpepper.^a Two years after this grant, Culpepper, who possessed the whole domain between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, was appointed governor for life. He was proclaimed soon after the departure of Berkeley. Virginia was thus changed into a proprietary government, like Maryland and Pennsylvania. Culpepper came to Virginia in 1680, and was more intent upon enriching himself than advancing the prosperity of the colonists. He was speedily impoverishing Virginia, when the grant was recalled.^b He was deprived of his office, and the province again became a royal demesne. Arlington had already assigned his rights to Culpepper. The name of the latter is ignoble in the annals of that colony, yet it is perpetuated by the name of a county given in his honor, a distinction awarded generally to men whose actions were praiseworthy.

Lord Howard, of Effingham, who succeeded Culpepper as governor, was not more popular; for he, too, was governed by avaricious motives, and practiced meaner acts to accomplish his purposes of gain than his predecessor. Desiring to please his royal master, he put all penal laws in full force, particularly those against printing and the restrictions of the Navigation Act. The bigot, James the Second, the successor of Charles, continued Effingham in office; but when that monarch was driven from the throne,^c the governor returned to England. William the Third reappointed him, but with the stipulation that he should remain in England, and a deputy should exercise his functions in Virginia. His deputy was Francis Nicholson, a man of genius and taste, who came to Virginia in 1690. Two years afterward, Sir Edmund Andross, the infamous tool of James the Second, was made governor, and succeeded Nicholson. He administered the government badly until 1698, when he was recalled, and Nicholson was reinstated. On the return of that officer to Virginia, he moved the seat of government to the Middle Plantations, and Williamsburg was thenceforth the capital of the province for eighty years.

Governor Nicholson, who was a bold and ambitious man, conceived a scheme for uniting all the Anglo-American colonies. His plan was similar in its intended results to that of Andross, attempted twelve years before, when James issued a decree for uniting the New England colonies. Nicholson's ostensible object was the mutual defense of all the colonies against the encroachments of the French on the north, and the Indians made hostile by them along the frontiers. He submitted his plan to the king, who heartily approved of it, and recommended the measure to the colonial assemblies. Virginia refused to listen to any such scheme, and Nicholson's ambitious dream was dissolved in a moment. Greatly chagrined, he vilified the Virginians; impressed William and Mary with an idea that they were disloyal; and represented to the ministers of Queen Anne^d that they were "imbued with republican notions and principles, such as ought to be corrected and lowered in time." He memorialized the queen to reduce all the American colonies under a viceroy, and establish a standing army among them, to be maintained at their own expense, declaring "that those wrong, pernicious notions were improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's other governments." Anne and her ministers did not approve of his scheme, and the Virginians becoming restive under his administration, he was recalled.^e

The Earl of Orkney succeeded Nicholson as governor, but exercised the functions of the office through deputies. He enjoyed the sinecure for thirty-six years. His first deputies were Mott and Jennings; the first remaining in office one year, and the other four years. In 1710, Jennings was succeeded by Sir Alexander Spotswood,^f one of the most acceptable

^a In 1757, a son of Colonel Spotswood, who was with a company scouting for Indians on the frontier, wandered from his companions, and was lost. His remains were found near Fort Duquesne. An elegiac poem, founded on the circumstances, was published in *Martin's Miscellany*, in London. The writer assumes that he was killed by the Indians, and says,

"Courageous youth! were now thine honor'd sire
To breathe again, and rouse his wonted fire,
Nor French nor Shawnee durst his rage provoke,
From great Potomac's spring to Roanoke."

"May Forbes yet live the cruel debt to pay,
And wash the blood of Braddock's field away;
Then fair Ohio's blushing waves may tell
How Briton's fought, and how each hero fell."

* See page 478.

Character of Spottswood. Conflicting Claims of the French and English. Injustice toward the Indians. The Ohio Company.

governors Virginia ever had. He was liberal-minded and generous, and at once reversed the usual practice of royal governors, by making his private interest, if necessary, subservient to the public good.¹ He promoted internal improvements, set an example of elegant hospitality, encouraged learning, revered religion, and if he had been the royal representative when the eloquence of Henry aroused every generous heart in the Old Dominion, he would doubtless have been among the boldest *rebels* of the day. From the close of his administration in 1722, until the commencement of difficulties with the French and Indians, more than twenty years afterward, Virginia continued to increase in wealth, and general happiness and prosperity prevailed within its borders.²

We have already considered the most important events connected with the French empire in America which occurred along our northern frontier, and alluded to the fact that, in the ambitious scheme for gaining the mastery of this continent, the French made strenuous efforts to form a continuous chain of military works from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Upon widely different grounds did the French and English base their claims to the possession of the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. The former claimed a right to the soil because of prior actual occupation; the latter claimed the domain as their own on account of the discovery of the Atlantic coast by the Cabots, before the French had made any settlements. The Pacific coast was considered as the western boundary. Upon the principle of settling claims by drawing a line interiorly at right angles from the coast discovered, the French, from their undisputed province of Acadia, might have claimed almost the whole of New England, and one half of New York, with all the lakes. It was a difficult question, while the argument rested upon a foundation of unrighteousness.³

The French had long occupied Detroit. They had explored the Mississippi Valley, formed settlements at Kaskaskias and Vincennes (the former now in the southern portion of Illinois, and the latter in the south part of Indiana), and along the northern border of the Gulf of Mexico, when the dispute arose. To vindicate their claims to the country they had explored, they commenced building forts. These the English viewed with jealousy, and determined to contravene the evident attempts to supersede them in the empire of the New World.

In 1749, a royal grant of six hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River was made to a number of English merchants and Virginia planters, who, under the name of *The Ohio Company*, had associated for the ostensible purpose of trade. The British ministry, anticipating early hostility with France, had also sent out orders to the governor of Virginia to build two forts near the Ohio River, for the purpose of securing possession. But the order came too late; already the French were planting fortifications in that direction. The establishment of this trading company was the first positive intimation which the French had received of the intention of the English to vindicate their claims. They regarded the movement as the incipient steps toward a destruction of their western trade with the In-

¹ I have in my possession a document, signed by Spottswood, to which is attached the great seal of Virginia, a huge disk of beeswax, four and a half inches in diameter, on one side of which is impressed the English arms, and on the other a figure of Britannia, holding a scepter in one hand and a globe in the other, and receiving the obeisance of an Indian queen, who, bowed upon one knee, is presenting a bunch of the tobacco plant to her.

² In the early part of his administration, Governor Spottswood led, in person, an expedition over the Blue Ridge, beyond which no white man's foot had yet trodden in that direction, and obtained glimpses of those glorious valleys which stretch away along the tributaries of the mighty Mississippi. In commemoration of this event, King George the First conferred upon him the honor of knighthood, and in allusion to the fact that he commanded a troop of mounted men on the occasion, he was presented with a silver miniature horseshoe, on which was inscribed the motto, *Sic juret transcendere montes*, "Thus he swears to cross the mountains."

³ In these discussions the natives, the original proprietors of the soil, were not considered. The intruding Europeans assumed sovereignty and possession without ever pretending to have purchased a rood of the soil from the aboriginal owners. It is related that when Mr. Gist went into the Ohio Valley on a tour of observation for the Ohio Company, a messenger was sent by two Indian sachems to inquire, "Where is the Indian's land? The English claim it all on one side of the river, the French on the other; where does the Indian's land lay?" The true answer to that question would have been, "Every where," and the intruders should have withdrawn from the soil and closed their lips in shame.

Jealousy of the French. Erection of Forts. Dinwiddie's Measures. George Washington sent to the French Commandant.

dians, and to break their communication between New France or Canada, and Louisiana. With such impressions they resolved on defensive measures—aggressive ones too, if necessary. A pretense was not long wanting. While some English traders were engaged in their vocation near the present site of Pittsburgh, they were seized by some French and Indians, and conveyed to Presque Isle, now the town of Erie, on the lake of that name. The object was to learn from them the designs of the English in Virginia. In retaliation for this outrage, the Twightwees,¹ a body of Indians friendly to the English, seized some French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania. Bitter animosity was now engendered, and it was intensified by those national and religious feuds which had so long made the English and French inimical to each other. Finally, the French began the erection of forts on the south side of Lake Erie, sending troops across the lakes with munitions of war, and forwarding bodies of armed men from New Orleans. One fort was built at Presque Isle (now Erie); another at Le Bœuf (now Waterford), on the head waters of the Venango (now French Creek²), and a third at Venango (now Franklin, the capital of Venango county, Pennsylvania, at the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany). The *Ohio Company* complained, and Robert Dinwiddie,³ the lieutenant governor of Virginia, within whose jurisdiction the offensive movement occurred, felt called upon to send a formal remonstrance to the French commandant, M. De St. Pierre, and demand a withdrawal of his troops. The mission was an exceedingly delicate one, and demanded the exercise of great courage, discretion, and judgment. George Washington, then a young man of twenty-one, was chosen, from among the hundreds of the Virginia aristocracy, to execute this commission of trust. At the age of nineteen he had received the appointment of adjutant general of one of the four military districts of Virginia, with the rank of major. The appointment was as creditable to the sagacity of Dinwiddie as it was flattering to the young officer.

On the 31st of October, 1753, Major Washington, bearing a letter from Dinwiddie to the French commandant of the Western posts, left Williamsburg. At Fredericksburg he engaged Jacob Vanbraam, a Dutchman, to accompany him as French interpreter, and John Davidson as Indian interpreter, and then turned his face toward the wilderness. Before him was a journey of more than five hundred miles. At the junction of Will's Creek with the Potomac (now Cumberland, in Maryland), fourteen days journey from Williamsburg, he was joined by Mr. Gist (mentioned in a note on page 472) and four other a Nov. 14,
1753. men, two of them Indian traders.^a This point, at the mouth of Will's Creek on the Potomac, was on the verge of civilization, and near the lofty Alleghanies, then covered with snow. Over these the little party pushed their way, enduring every hardship incident to a dreary wilderness and the rigors of winter. The streams in the valleys were swollen, and upon frail rafts the travelers crossed them; or, when occasion demanded, they entered the chilling flood, and, by wading or swimming, accomplished a passage. At length they reached the forks of the Ohio,^b at the present site of Pittsburgh, and, after resting b Nov. 23 part of a day, they hastened onward twenty miles down the river, to Logstown (now in Beaver county), accompanied by Shingias, a chief sachem of the Delawares. c Nov. 26. There Washington called the surrounding Indian chiefs together in council,^c made

¹ According to Mr. Gist, who visited them in 1751, the Twightwees, or Tuigtuis, as the French wrote it, were a very numerous people, composed of many tribes. At that time they were in amity with the Six Nations, and were considered the most powerful body of Indians westward of the English settlements. While they resided on the Wabash, they were in the interests of the French, but left them, came eastward, and joined the fortunes of the English. Some assert that the Twightwees and the Ottawas were the same, originally.

² This is called Beef River on Bouquet's map.

³ The first successor of Spotswood in the chair of administration was Hugh Drysdale, in 1722, who was succeeded by William Gooch in 1727. In 1749, Thomas Lee, president of the council, was acting governor, and, in 1750, Lewis Burwell held the same responsible office. Robert Dinwiddie was appointed lieutenant governor in 1752. He administered the office for six years, and was succeeded by Francis Fauquier. Ten years later (1768), Lord Botetourt was appointed, and from the period of his death until the arrival of Lord Dunmore, the last of the royal governors, William Nelson, father of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was acting governor.

Friendly Offices of the Indians. St. Pierre. His Letter to Dinwiddie. Washington's Journey. Preparations for War.

known to them the objects of his visit, and solicited a guide to conduct him to the French encampment, one hundred and twenty miles distant. The request was complied with, and Tanacharison¹ (Half King), with two other chiefs,² and a bold hunter, accompanied Washington and his little band. After suffering terrible hardships, they reached the French camp. At Venango, a French outpost, attempts were made to detain the Indians, though

^a Dec. 5, 1753. Joncaire, the commandant, received Washington with civility.^a The headquarters of the French were higher up the stream, at Fort Le Bœuf, and there the Virginia commissioner was received with great politeness by M. De St. Pierre.^b

^b Dec. 12. After a perilous journey of forty-one days, Washington had reached his destination.

St. Pierre was an elderly man, a knight of the order of St. Louis. He entertained Washington and his party for four days with cordial hospitality, and then delivered to him a sealed reply to Governor Dinwiddie's letter.³ In the mean while, Washington and his attendants made full observations respecting the fort and garrison, construction of the works, numbers of cannon, &c.; information of much value. After a journey marked by more perils and hardships than the first,⁴ a large portion of which Major Washington and Mr. Gist performed alone and on foot, the former reached Williamsburg,^c having been absent

^c Jan. 18, 1754. eleven weeks.⁴

Dinwiddie was greatly incensed when he opened the letter of St. Pierre. That officer, writing like a soldier, said it did not belong to him as a subaltern to discuss treaties; that such a message as Washington bore should have been sent to the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, by whose instructions he acted, and whose orders he should obey; and that the summons to retire could not be complied with. There could be no longer a doubt of the hostile designs of the French.⁴ Governor Dinwiddie called his council together, and, without waiting for the Burgesses to convene, took measures for the expulsion of their troublesome neighbors from Virginia soil. The council advised the enlistment of two companies, of one hundred men each, for the service; and the Ohio Company sent out a party of thirty men to erect a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers (Pittsburgh), a spot which Washington strongly recommended as most eligible, and to enlist men among

¹ This chief was a bold and patriotic man. He warned both the English and the French to leave the country. He had felt the encroachments of the French, by their taking actual possession of large tracts of land; but as yet he mistook the character of the English, and believed that they came simply to trade with his race. He and his brethren soon learned, by fearful experience, that the French and English were equally governed by whatever policy was necessary for the accomplishment of those acts of rapacity and injustice which are sanctioned by the law of nations! "Fathers," said Tanacharison to the French, "The Great Being above allowed this land to be a place of residence for us, so I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal shares with us." The French treated him with contempt, and hence he was the friend of the English.

² Jeskakake and White Thunder.

³ Dinwiddie, in his letter, asserted that the lands on the Ohio belonged to the Crown of Great Britain; expressed surprise at the encroachments of the French; demanded by whose authority an armed force had crossed the lakes, and urged their speedy departure.

⁴ On one occasion, an Indian, supposed to have been induced by Joncaire, at Venango, attempted to shoot them. On another occasion, after working a whole day in constructing a frail raft, they attempted to cross the swift current of the Alleghany, then filled with drifting ice. Their raft was destroyed among the ice, and the travelers, drenched in the river, were cast upon a desert island, where they laid upon the snow all night. In the morning the ice over the other channel was sufficiently strong to bear them. They crossed over, and toward evening reached the house of Frazier (who was a lieutenant under captain Trent the following May), near the spot where a year and a half afterward was fought the battle of the Monongahela. The island on which they were cast now bears the name of Washington's Island. It is directly opposite the United States Arsenal, at Lawrenceville, two or three miles above Pittsburgh.

⁵ See Washington's *Journal*. This *journal* was published in the newspapers here, and also in England and France, where it excited great attention.

⁶ Washington says in his *Journal*, in reference to the imprudence of Joncaire and his party, on account of too free indulgence in wine: "They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by God they would do it; for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs."

Expedition against the French. Attack upon the Virginians. Fort Duquesne. Fort Necessity. Surprise of Jumonville.

the traders on the frontier. The command of the two companies was given to Major Washington, one of which was to be raised by himself; the other by Captain Trent, who was to collect his men among the traders in the back settlements. Washington proceeded to Alexandria, while Trent went to the frontier and collected his corps in the neighborhood of the Ohio Fork.

When the Virginia Assembly met, they voted ten thousand pounds toward supporting the expedition to the Ohio. The Carolinas also voted twelve thousand pounds. With this aid, and promises of more, Dinwiddie determined to increase the number of men to be sent to the Ohio to three hundred, to be divided into six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry¹ was appointed to the command of the whole, and Major Washington was made his lieutenant. Ten cannons and other munitions of war were sent to Alexandria for the use of the expedition.

Washington left Alexandria, with two companies of troops, on the 2d of April,^a and arrived at Will's Creek on the 20th. He was joined on the route by Captain Adam Stephen, the general who was cashiered after the battle at Germantown, twenty-three years subsequently. When about to move on, Ensign Ward arrived with the intelligence that Captain Trent's corps, with those sent out by the Ohio Company to construct a fort at the Ohio Fork (now Pittsburgh), had been obliged to surrender the post to a French force of one thousand men, most of them Indians, under Monsieur Contrecoeur.^b This was the first overt act of hostility—this was the beginning of the FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, which lasted seven years. The French completed the fort taken from Trent, and called it *Duquesne*, in honor of the governor general of Canada. ^a 1754.
^b April 7.

Washington pushed forward with one hundred and fifty men,^c to attempt to retrieve this loss, confident that a larger force than his own, under Colonel Fry, would speedily follow. He marched for the junction of the Red Stone Creek and Monongahela River, thirty-seven miles from Fort Duquesne, where he intended to fortify himself, and wait for the arrival of Colonel Fry, with artillery. On the way, he received intelligence from Half King^d that a French force was then marching to attack the English, wherever they might be found. Washington was now a few miles beyond the Great Meadows, an eligible place for a camp, and thither he returned and threw up an intrenchment, which he called Fort Necessity, from the circumstances under which it was erected. On the 27th, he received another message from Half King, informing him that he had discovered the hiding-place of a French detachment of fifty men. With a few Indians, and forty chosen troops, Washington proceeded to attack them. They were found in a well-sheltered place among rocks, and, assaulting them by surprise, he defeated them after a severe skirmish of ten minutes. Ten of the Frenchmen were killed (among whom was M. De Jumonville, the commander), one wounded, and twenty-one made prisoners. Washington had only one man killed, and two or three wounded. The prisoners were conducted to Fort Necessity, and from thence sent over the mountains into Eastern Virginia.^e ^c May 1,
1754.
^d May 24.

¹ Joshua Fry was a native of Somersetshire, England, and was educated at Oxford. He was at one time professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, Williamsburg; was subsequently a member of the House of Burgesses, and served as a commissioner in running the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. With Peter Jefferson, he made a map of Virginia, and by these employments became well acquainted with the frontier regions. In 1752, he was one of the Virginia commissioners for making a treaty with the Indians at Logstown. His integrity, experience, and knowledge of the Indian character qualified him to command the expedition against the French in 1754. He died at Will's Creek, while on his way to the Ohio, on the 31st of May, 1754.

² Ensign Ward was in command of the post when the enemy approached, Captain Trent being then at Will's Creek, and Lieutenant Frazier at his residence, ten miles distant. The whole number of men under Ward was only forty-one.

³ The French made a great clamor about this skirmish, declaring that Jumonville was the bearer of dispatches; and French writers unjustly vilified the character of Washington, by representing the affair as a *massacre*. Contemporary evidence clearly indicates that Jumonville's embassy was a hostile, not a peaceful one; and, as Contrecoeur had commenced hostilities by capturing the fort at the Ohio Fork, Washington was justified in his conduct by the rules of war.

Death of Colonel Fry. Washington in Command. Fort Necessity. Washington's Return home. The Great Meadows.

Two days after Washington wrote his dispatch to Colonel Fry, communicating the facts respecting the attack on the French, that officer died at Will's Creek.^a His troops, intended to re-enforce Washington, were sent forward, and swelled his little army to four hundred men. On the death of Fry, the chief command of the expedition devolved upon Washington, and with his inadequate force he proceeded to attack Fort Duquesne. He held a council of war at Gist's plantation, where information was received that the French at Duquesne were re-enforced, and were preparing to march against the English. Captain Mackay, with his South Carolina company, and Captains Lewis and Polson, with their detachments, were summoned to rendezvous at Gist's plantation, where another council was held, and a retreat was resolved upon. The intrenchments thrown up at Gist's were abandoned, and, with their ammunition and stores, the whole party reached Fort Necessity on the first of July.^b There, on account of great fatigue, and suffering from hunger, they halted, and commenced the construction of a ditch and abatis, and strengthened the stockades.¹

On the third of July, a French force under M. De Villiers, Jumonville's brother, reported to be nine hundred strong, approached to the attack of Fort Necessity. It was about eleven o'clock when they came within six hundred yards of the outworks, and began an ineffectual fire. Colonel Washington had drawn up his little band outside the trenches, and ordered his men to reserve their fire until the enemy were near enough to do execution. But the French were not inclined to leave the woods and make an assault upon the works. At sunrise, rain had begun to fall, and toward noon it came down in torrents, accompanied by vivid lightning. The trenches into which Colonel Washington ordered his men were filled with water, and the arms of the provincials were seriously injured. A desultory fire was kept up the whole day by both parties, without any decisive result, when De Villiers sent proposals to capitulate. Washington at first declined, but on consultation with his officers, and being assured there was no chance of victory over such overwhelming numbers, he consented, and highly honorable terms were conceded. The English were allowed to march out of the fort with all the honors of war, retaining their baggage, and every thing except their artillery, and to return to Will's Creek unmolested. Washington agreed to restore the prisoners taken at the skirmish with Jumonville,² and that the English should not attempt to erect any establishment beyond the mountains for the space of one year. On their march from the fort, a party of one hundred Indians, who came to re-enforce the French, surrounded them, and menaced them with death. They plundered their baggage, and committed other mischief.

The provincials finally arrived at Will's Creek, and Washington, with Captain Mackay, proceeded to Williamsburg, where the former communicated to Dinwiddie, in person, the events of the campaign.³ The House of Burgesses of Virginia approved generally of the conduct of the campaign, and passed a vote of thanks to Washington and his officers.⁴ The

¹ The Great Meadows, where Fort Necessity was built, is a level bottom, cleft by a small creek. Around it are hills of a moderate height and gradual ascent. The bottom is about two hundred and fifty yards wide where the fort was erected. It was a point well chosen, being about one hundred yards from the upland or wooded grounds on one side, and about a hundred and fifty on the other. The creek afforded water for the fort. On the side nearest the wood were three entrances, protected by short breast-works or bastions. The site of this fort is three or four hundred yards south of what is now called the National Road, four miles from the foot of Laurel Hill, and fifty miles from Cumberland, at Will's Creek. When Mr. Sparks visited the site in 1830, the lines of the fort were very visible.—See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, ii., 457.

² This part of the capitulation the governor refused to ratify, because the French, after the surrender, took eight Englishmen prisoners, and sent them to Canada. Vanbraam and Stobo, whom Washington left with De Villiers, as hostages for the fulfillment of the conditions of the capitulation, were sent to Canada. The prisoners on both sides were finally released.

³ It was during this campaign that the colonial convention was held at Albany, noticed on pages 302 and 303, vol. i., of this work, where a plan for a political union of all the colonies, similar in some of its features to that proposed by Governor Nicholson fifty years before, was submitted.

⁴ All the officers were named in the resolution of thanks, except those of the major of the regiment, who was charged with cowardice, and Captain Vanbraam, who was believed to have acted a treacherous part

Loss at Fort Necessity. French Duplicity. General Braddock. Provincial Governors. March toward Fort Duquesne.

exact loss of the provincials in this engagement is not known. There were twelve killed, and forty-three wounded, of the Virginia regiment; the number of killed and wounded belonging to Captain Mackay's Carolinians is not recorded. The number of provincials in the fort was about four hundred; the assailants were nearly one thousand strong, five hundred of whom were Frenchmen. The loss of the latter was supposed to be more than that of the former.

When the British ministry called the attention of the French court to the transactions in America, the latter expressed the most pacific intentions and promises for the future, while its actions were in direct opposition to its professions. The English, therefore, resolved to send to America a sufficient force to co-operate with the provincial troops in driving the French back to Canada. On the twentieth of February, 1755, General Braddock arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, with two regiments of the British army from Ireland, each consisting of five hundred men, with a suitable train of artillery, and with stores and provisions. His colonels were Dunbar and Sir Peter Halket. At a meeting of colonial governors, first called at Annapolis, and afterward convened at Alexandria, three expeditions were planned, one against Fort Duquesne, under Braddock; a second against Niagara and Frontenac (Kingston, U. C.), under General William Shirley; and a third against Crown Point, under General William Johnson. The last two expeditions have been fully considered in the first volume of this work.

General Braddock, with the force destined to act against Fort Duquesne, left Alexandria on the twentieth of April, and, marching by the way of Winchester, reached Will's Creek about the tenth of May. Here a fortification was thrown up, and named Fort Cumberland. Washington had left the service on account of a regulation by which the colonial officers were made to rank under those of the regular army, but being earnestly urged by General Braddock to accompany him, he consented to do so in the character of aid, and as a volunteer. The great delay in procuring wagons for transporting the baggage and stores, and in furnishing other supplies, gave the French an opportunity to arouse the Indians, and prepare for a vigorous defense.

On numbering his troops at Will's Creek, Braddock ascertained that his force consisted

of a little more than two thousand effective men, about one half of whom belonged to the royal regiments. The remainder were furnished by the colonies, among whom were portions of two independent companies, contrib-

E Braddock

uted by New York, under Captain Horatio Gates, unto whom Burgoyne surrendered twenty-two years later. Braddock separated his army into two divisions. The advanced division, consisting of over twelve hundred men, he led in person; the other was intrusted to the command of Colonel Dunbar, who, by slower marches, was to remain in the rear. Braddock reached the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers, within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne, on the eighth of July, where he was joined by Colonel Washington, who had just recovered from an attack of fever.

On the morning of the ninth,^a the whole army crossed the Monongahela, and marching five miles along its southwestern banks, on account of rugged hills on the other side, they again crossed to the northeastern shore, and proceeded directly toward Fort Duquesne. Lieutenant Colonel Gage, afterward the commander of the British forces at Boston when besieged by the Americans under Washington, led the advanced guard of three

in falsely interpreting the terms of capitulation, which were written in French, by which Washington was made to acknowledge that Jumonville was *assassinated*. A pistol (about three dollars and sixty cents) was given as a gratuity to each soldier engaged in the campaign.

¹ Six colonial governors assembled on this occasion, namely: Shirley, of Massachusetts; Dinwiddie, of Virginia; James Delancy, of New York; Sharpe, of Maryland; Morris, of Pennsylvania; and Dobbs, of North Carolina. Admiral Keppel, then in command of his majesty's fleet in America, was also present.

Alarm of the French.	Passage of the Monongahela.	The Battle.	Washington's Advance.	Death of Braddock.
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hundred men in the order of march. Contrecoeur, the commandant of Fort Duquesne, had been early informed of the approach of Braddock, and his Indian scouts were out in every direction. He had doubts of his ability to maintain the fort against the English, and contemplated an abandonment, when Captain De Beaujeu proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet them while on their march. The proposition was agreed to,

and on the morning of the ninth of July,^a at the moment when the English first crossed the Monongahela, the French and Indians took up their line of march, intending to make the attack at the second crossing of the river. Arriving too late, they posted themselves in the woods and ravines, on the line of march toward the fort.

It was one o'clock, and the sun was pouring its rays down fiercely, when the rear of the British army reached the north side of the Monongahela. A level plain extended from the river to a gentle hill, nearly half a mile northward. This hill terminated in higher elevations thickly covered with woods, and furrowed by narrow ravines.¹ Next to Gage, with his advanced party, was another division of two hundred men, and then came Braddock with the column of artillery and the main body of the army. Just as Gage was ascending the slope and approaching a dense wood, a heavy volley of musketry poured a deadly storm into his ranks. No adversary was to be seen. It was the first intimation that the enemy was near, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. The British fired in return, but at random, while the concealed enemy, from behind trees, and rocks, and thick bushes, kept up rapid and destructive volleys. Beaujeu, the commander of the French and Indians, was killed at the first return fire, and M. Dumas took his place. Braddock advanced with all possible speed to the relief of the advanced guard; but so great was their panic, that they fell back in confusion upon the artillery and other columns of the army, and communicated their panic to the whole. The general tried in vain to rally his troops. Himself and officers were in the thickest of the fight, and exhibited indomitable courage. Washington ventured to suggest the propriety of adopting the Indian mode of skulking, and each man firing for himself, without orders; but Braddock would listen to no suggestions so contrary to military tactics.² For three hours he endeavored to form his men into regular columns and platoons, as if in battle with European troops upon a broad plain, while the concealed enemy, with sure aim, was slaying his brave soldiers by scores. Harassed on every side, the British huddled together in great confusion, fired irregularly, and in several instances shot down their own officers without perceptibly injuring their enemies. The Virginians under Washington, contrary to orders, now adopted the provincial mode of fighting, and did more execution than all the rest of the troops. The carnage was dreadful. More than half of Braddock's whole army, which made such a beautiful picture in the eyes of Washington in the morning,³ were killed and wounded. General Braddock received a wound which disabled him, and terminated his life three days afterward.⁴ Through the

¹ Mr. Sparks visited this battle-field in 1830. He says the hill up which Gage and his detachment were marching is little more than an inclined plain of about three degrees. Down this slope extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions, until they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the enemy were concealed and protected. In 1830, they were from eight to ten feet deep, and capable of holding a thousand men. It was between these ravines that the British army was slaughtered.—See Sparks's *Washington*, ii., 474. Although nearly one hundred years have elapsed since the battle, grape-shot and bullets are now sometimes cut out of the trees, or, with buttons and other metallic portions of military equipage, are turned up by the plowmen.

² It was on this occasion that the haughty and petulant Braddock is said to have remarked contemptuously, "What, a Virginia colonel teach a British general how to fight!" It is proper to remark that this anecdote rests upon apocryphal authority.

³ Washington was often heard to say, during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on that morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform; the soldiers were arranged in columns, and marched in exact order; the sun gleamed from the burnished arms; the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on the left.—*Sparks*.

⁴ General Braddock had five horses shot under him before he was mortally wounded himself. He was conveyed first in a tumbril, then on horseback, and finally by his soldiers in their flight toward Fort Cum-

Washington's Skill. Providential Care acknowledged. Lord Loudoun. New Expedition. General Forbes.

stubbornness of that general, his contempt of the Indians, and the cowardice of many of his regular troops, an army thirteen hundred strong was half destroyed and utterly defeated by about one half that number, a large portion of whom were Indians.¹ Every mounted officer, except Washington, was slain before Braddock fell, and the whole duty of distributing orders devolved upon the youthful colonel, who was almost too weak from sickness to be in the saddle when the action commenced.²

William Pitt entered the British ministry at the close of 1757, and one of his first acts was the preparation of a plan for the campaign of 1758 against the French and Indians.

Loudoun Lord Loudoun, who had been appointed to the chief command of the troops in America,³ was also appointed the successor of Dinwiddie, who left Virginia in January, 1758. Loudoun's deputy, Francis Fauquier, a man greatly esteemed, performed the functions of governor. Pitt, in his arrangements, planned an expedition against Fort Duquesne. Every thing was devised upon a just and liberal scale. Brigadier-general Forbes⁴ was intrusted with the command of the expedition. The Virginian army was augmented to two thousand men. These were divided into two regiments. The first was under Colonel Washington, who was likewise commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces; the second was under Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, mentioned on page 441. After much delay in the collecting of men and munitions, the Virginians were ordered to Fort Cumberland, on the Potomac, at Will's Creek, to join the other portions of the expedition. The illness of General Forbes detained him long in Philadelphia, and, when able to move, his perversity of judgment placed many obstacles in the way of

berland after the defeat. He was attended by Dr. James Craik.* He died on the night of the 15th, and was buried in the road, to prevent his body being discovered by the Indians. Colonel Washington read the impressive funeral service of the Episcopal Church over it, by torch-light. The place of his grave is a few yards north of the present National Road, between the fifty-third and fifty-fourth mile from Cumberland, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity, at the Great Meadows. It is said that a man named Thomas Faucett, who was among the soldiers under Braddock, shot his general. Faucett resided near Uniontown, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, toward the close of the last century, and never denied the accusation. He excused his conduct by the plea that by destroying the general, who would not allow his men to fire from behind trees, the remnant of the army was saved.

¹ In a letter to his mother, written at Fort Cumberland nine days after the battle, Washington said, after mentioning the slaughter of the Virginia troops; "In short, the dastardly behavior of those they call regulars exposed all others who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them." He used similar language in writing to Governor Dinwiddie.

² Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his coat.† Secretary Shirley was shot through the head, Sir Peter Halket was instantly killed, and among the wounded officers were Colonel Burton, Sir John St. Clair, Lieutenant Colonel Gage, Colonel Orme, Major Sparks, and Brigade-major Halket. Five captains were killed, and five wounded; fifteen lieutenants killed, and twenty-two wounded; out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. One half of them were supposed to be killed, and these were stripped and scalped by the Indians.

³ See volume i., p. 110.

⁴ John Forbes was a native of Petencenet, Fifeshire, Scotland, and was educated for a physician. He entered the army in 1745. After serving as quarter-master general under the Duke of Cumberland, he was appointed brigadier general, and sent to America. The remainder of his public career is recorded in the text. The fort at Will's Creek he called Cumberland, in honor of his former commander, and the town since built there retains its name.

* See page 241.

† Speaking of this in a letter to his brother, he remarked, "By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, and escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me." Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington through life, and who was in this battle, relates that fifteen years afterward, while traveling near the junction of the great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers in exploring wild lands, they were met by a party of Indians with an interpreter, headed by a venerable chief. The old chief said he had come a long way to see Colonel Washington, for in the battle of the Monongahola, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him fifteen times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but not one could hit him. He was persuaded that the Great Spirit protected the young hero, and ceased firing at him. The Rev. Samuel Davies of Hanover (afterward president of Princeton College, New Jersey), when preaching to a volunteer company a month after the battle, said, in allusion to Colonel Washington, "I can not but hope Providence has hitherto preserved him in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country." Washington was never wounded in battle.

Movements of Forbes. Defeat of Grant. Attack on Bouquet. Abandonment of Fort Duquesne. Washington's Resignation.

success. Instead of following Braddock's road over the mountains, he insisted upon constructing a new one farther northward¹; and in September, when it was known that not more than eight hundred men were in garrison at Fort Duquesne, and the British might have been successfully beleaguering the fortress if Washington's advice had been heeded,

Forbes

General Forbes with six thousand men was yet east of the Alleghanies! It was November when he reached the scene of action, and then his provisions were nearly exhausted.

In the mean while, Major Grant, of a Highland regiment, who had been ordered by Colonel Bouquet to march toward Fort Duquesne with about eight hundred men, and reconnoiter the country, exceeded his instructions, and made an unsuccessful attempt to capture it.²

^{Sept. 21, 1758.} The British were defeated with great loss, and both Major Grant and Major Andrew Lewis, of Washington's regiment (who commanded a rear guard), were made prisoners, and sent to Montreal.

The retreat of the survivors was effected by the skill and energy of Captain Bullit, who, with fifty men, was left in charge of the baggage. The total loss on that occasion was two hundred and seventy-eight killed, and forty-two wounded.³ The French, greatly inspired by this event, determined to attack Colonel Bouquet at Loyal Hanna,⁴ before General Forbes should arrive from Fort Bedford.⁵ A force under De Vetrie, consisting of twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians, marched eastward, and on the twelfth of October attacked Bouquet's camp. The battle lasted four hours, and the French were repulsed with considerable loss. Colonel Bouquet lost sixty-seven men in killed and wounded. The Indians, bitterly disappointed, left the French in great numbers, and went out upon their hunting-grounds to secure a supply of food for the winter.

General Forbes arrived, toward the close of October, at Loyal Hanna, about half way between Fort Bedford and Fort Duquesne, where he called a council of war. The increasing inclemency of the season and scarcity of provisions, made it appear inexpedient to attempt to reach the fort, and they were about to abandon the expedition until Spring, when a knowledge of the extreme weakness of the garrison at Fort Duquesne was communicated by some prisoners who had been taken. Encouraged by this intelligence, the expedition moved on, the regiment of Colonel Washington forming the advanced corps. When he was within a days' march of Fort Duquesne, he was discovered by scouts. Fear magnified his numbers, and the garrison "burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to the best information."⁶

^{Nov. 25, 1758.} The English took possession of its site the next day.^b The blackened chimneys of thirty tenements stood in bold relief among the ruins.^c The works were repaired, and the name of Pitt was given to the new fortress. After furnishing two hundred men from his regiment to garrison Fort Pitt, Colonel Washington marched back to Winchester, from whence he soon proceeded to Williamsburg to take his seat in the House of Burgesses, to which he had been elected a member by the county of Frederick, while he was at Fort Cumberland. The French being expelled from the Ohio, and the fear of frontier troubles subsiding, Washington determined to yield to the demands of enfeebled health and required attention to private affairs, and leave the army. At about the close of the year, he resigned his commission as colonel of the first Virginia regiment and commander-in-chief of all the troops raised in the colony.^d

¹ Marshall, i., 25.

² Now Ligonier, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, fifty miles west of Bedford.

³ This fort was on the site of the present village of Bedford, the capital of Bedford county.

⁴ Washington's letter to Governor Fauquier.

⁵ Day's *History of Western Pennsylvania*, page 140.

⁶ It was on the occasion of his visit to Williamsburg, at the close of this campaign, that a touching event in the life of Washington is said to have occurred. He went into the gallery of the old Capitol when the House of Burgesses were in session, to listen to the proceedings. As soon as he was perceived by Mr. Speaker Robinson, that gentleman called the attention of the House to the young hero, and greatly complimented him for his gallantry. Washington, who was naturally diffident, and never a fluent extemporaneous speaker, was much confused. He arose to express his acknowledgments for the honor, but, blushing and

Development of Washington's Military Character.Sir Frederick Philipse Robinson.

In this rapid sketch—this mere birds-eye view of the colonial history of Virginia, we have seen the development of those principles which made that state so eminently republican and patriotic when the Revolution broke out; and we have also seen the budding and growth of the military genius and public esteem of him who led our armies through that sanguinary conflict to victory and renown. We will now consider some of the events of the war for Independence which distinguished the peninsula below Richmond, lying between the York and James Rivers.

stammering, he was unable to utter a word intelligibly. Mr. Robinson observed his embarrassment, and with admirable tact relieved him. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," he said; "your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

Mr. Robinson, the speaker of the House on this occasion, was the father of Colonel Beverly Robinson, the distinguished Loyalist of New York during the Revolution, whose portrait is printed on page 141. The last surviving son of Colonel Robinson, Sir Frederick Philipse Robinson, died at his residence at Brighton, England, on the first of January, 1852, at the age of eighty-seven years.

CHAPTER XIX.

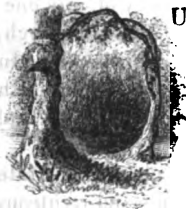
MANSFIELD.

Would you worry the man that has found you in shoes?
 Come, courage, my lord, I can tell you good news—
 Virginia is conquer'd, the rebels are bang'd,
 You are now to go over and see them safe hang'd:
 I hope it is not to your nature abhorrent
 To sign for these wretches a legal death-warrant.
 Were I but in your place, I'm sure it would suit
 To sign their death-warrants, and hang them to boot.

DUNMORE.

My lord! I'm amazed—have we routed the foe?
 I shall govern again, then, if matters be so;
 And as to the hanging, in short, to be plain,
 I'll hang them so well they'll ne'er want it again.
 With regard to the wretches who thump at my gates,¹
 I'll discharge all their dues with the rebel estates;
 In less than three months I shall send a polacca
 As deep as she'll swim, sir, with corn and tobacco."

"DIALOGUE BETWEEN LORDS MANSFIELD AND DUNMORE," BY PHILIP FRENEAU.



URING the progress of more than a century and a quarter, the Virginians had fully appreciated the principles of civil freedom, and particularly that great truth that government possesses no inherent right to tax the people without their consent. At various times, the Virginia Assembly had resisted the attempts of Parliament to levy taxes upon them; and when, in 1764, the Stamp Act was proposed by ministers, they resolved never to submit to it. The following year^a that act became a law. The Virginia House of Burgesses were in session, in the old capital at Williamsburg, when intelligence of the fact reached them. They talked boldly in private, but none were willing to act bravely in public, until near the close of the session, when Patrick Henry, the youngest member of the Assembly, and seated there for the first time only a few days before, took the lead. He had already led the Democratic members successfully against a paper-money scheme, the prime object of which was to cover up defalcations of Robinson, the treasurer of the colony. Now he exerted his powers in a broader field. Upon a scrap of paper torn from a fly-leaf of an old copy of "Coke upon Lyttleton," he wrote five resolutions, and submitted them to the House. The *first* declared that the original settlers of the colonies brought with them and transmitted to their posterity all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. The *second* affirmed that these privileges, &c., had been secured to the aforesaid colonists by two royal charters granted by King James. The *third* asserted that taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves, was the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient Constitution could not exist. The *fourth* maintained that the people of Virginia had always enjoyed the right of being governed by their own Assembly in the article of taxes, and that this right had been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain. The *fifth*

¹ This refers to the fact that Dunmore was a great spendthrift, and always in debt. Such, in truth, was the case of a large proportion of the English nobility, at that time, who were engaged in public affairs, notwithstanding their large incomes. Mansfield here named, was the celebrated chief justice, who, because he gave the weight of his legal opinions, and the services of his pen against the colonists while struggling for independence, became very obnoxious to the Americans.

Effect of Henry's Resolutions. Eloquence and Skill of the Orator. Dissolution of the Assembly. General Congress proposed.

resolution, in which was summed up the essentials of the preceding four, declared "That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

Had lightning from the clouds fallen in the midst of that Assembly, they could not have been more startled. The boldest were astonished; the timid were alarmed; the loyal few were amazed and indignant. Many threats were uttered, and those who were willing to submit abused Mr. Henry without stint. A violent debate ensued, and Henry's energies were aroused in all their majesty and might. His eloquence, sometimes deeply pathetic, at other times full of denunciatory invective, shook that Assembly like thunder peals. In the midst of his harangue he exclaimed, in clear bell-tones, "Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third—" "*Treason!*" cried the excited speaker; and "*Treason! Treason!*" was shouted from every part of the House. Henry did not falter for a moment. Rising to a loftier altitude, and fixing his eyes, beaming with the fire of exalted genius, upon Robinson, the speaker, he concluded the sentence with, "*may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.*"

The moment Henry sat down, Randolph, Pendleton, Bland, Wythe, and others, who afterward became the boldest and most ardent opposers of British power, arose to their feet, and denounced the resolutions as disloyal, and dangerous to the public welfare. Their hearts were with Patrick Henry, but their heads adjudged his course to be premature and injudicious. Again Henry took the floor, and his eloquence, like an avalanche, crushed the most sturdy opposition. The resolutions were carried; the fifth by a majority of only one. They formed the first gauntlet of positive defiance cast at the feet of the British monarch, and gave the first impulse to the storm of revolution which soon swept over the land. In Henry's absence, the next day, the resolutions were reconsidered and modified, and the fifth one stricken out. But manuscript copies were already on their way to other colonies, and the timidity of the Virginia Burgesses did not soften their force.*

Francis Fauquier was at that time lieutenant governor, and the acting chief magistrate of Virginia. He was a man of great private worth, and, for his many virtues and righteous administration of affairs, he was exceedingly popular. As a man, he sympathized with the Legislature; but as the king's representative, he was obliged to use his prerogative in suppressing disloyalty. Therefore, as soon as he was informed of the action of the Burgesses in adopting Henry's resolutions, he dissolved the Assembly and ordered a new election. The eloquence of Henry seemed to have touched every heart in the Old Dominion; and every where the people re-elected the friends of the resolutions, and filled the seats of their opposers with tried patriots.

Within a fortnight after those resolutions went abroad, Massachusetts invited the other colonies to meet her in a general representative Congress at New York. Fauquier refused to call the Virginia Assembly together for the purpose of appointing delegates thereto. Confiding in the patriotism and integrity of the other colonies, the members elect signed a letter to the Congress, in which they promised to acquiesce in any action that might be had. That Congress was held in October,^a and the rights of the American col-^{1763.}

¹ Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*. Robinson had reasons for disliking Henry, and would gladly have crushed his influence in the bud. Already he had thwarted the speaker in his attempts to insure his power and put money into his own purse at the public cost, by defeating a bill which provided for new issues of paper money, on the loan-office plan. By virtue of his office as speaker, Robinson was treasurer of all sums voted by the Assembly, and he had the means of loaning money to his friends and to himself. He had already done so, and was now anxious to have a colonial loan-office established by which he might shift the responsibility of loaning to men unable to repay, from himself to the colony. Henry foresaw the evils of this scheme, and his wisdom was made manifest, when, in the following year, Robinson died, and his dissolutions were made known.

² See a notice of copies of these resolutions in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, on page 466, volume i.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. Lord Botetourt. Thomas Jefferson. Dissolution of the Assembly. The Apollo Room.

onies were so lucidly set forth in their declaration, that the people lacked no sure guide in their future course.¹

The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, and Virginia, rejoicing with hope like her sister colonies, sent an address of thanks to the king and Parliament, and voted a statue to his majesty as a token of her gratitude and love.² Like her sister colonies, she was doomed to disappointment, and her sincere loyalty was speedily transformed into open rebellion. From the repeal of the Stamp Act until the close of the Revolution, Virginia wrought hand in hand with the other colonies in efforts to obtain justice and maintain popular liberty.

Governor Fauquier died early in 1768, and was succeeded by Lord Botetourt. That gentleman bore to his people assurances that the king and Parliament were sincerely desirous of doing justice to the colonies, and that all the obnoxious acts would be speedily repealed. These assurances, and the excellent character and conduct of the governor, allayed the excitement in Virginia for a while, and her people looked forward to seasons of prosperity and repose. Their dream was of short duration. Soon the intelligence came that the engine of oppression was again at work, and new schemes for harassing the colonies were maturing. Virginia was much excited when its Legislature for 1769 convened. Among its members was Thomas Jefferson, of Albemarle county, a young lawyer of eminent abilities, liberality of views, and boldness of character. His first act in the Assembly evinced his appreciation of freedom; he proposed a law which should give the masters of slaves unrestricted right to emancipate them. This motion did not succeed, but it drew the attention of the Assembly to his talents, and he was employed in preparing the counter-resolutions, and addresses of the House of Burgesses,³ in opposition to those of the Lords

¹ May, 1769.

and Commons, then just received. In these resolutions Virginia displayed a manifest disposition to consider the cause of Massachusetts a common one. The governor, on being informed of their proceedings, as in duty bound, and conformable to his oath, dissolved them. The next day they met in the Apollo room of the Raleigh tavern; formed themselves



THE APOLLO ROOM.³

into a voluntary convention; drew up articles of association against the use of any merchandise imported from Great Britain; signed and recommended them to the people, and then repaired to their several counties. All were re-elected except those who had declined assent to the proceedings of the majority.⁴ Botetourt, unlike some of the royal governors, did not make the matter a personal consideration, lose his temper, and act unjustly and unwisely; but, following the prescribed line of duty, he courteously endeavored to prevent rebellious

proceedings and to allay excitement. He was esteemed by all parties; and, as we

¹ See page 464, volume i.

² See page 472, volume i.

³ The room used for public meetings is in the rear building of the old Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg, and up to the day of my visit it had remained unaltered. Carpenters were then at work remodeling its style, for the purpose of making it a ball-room; and now, I suppose, that apartment, hallowed by so many associations connected with our war for independence, has scarcely an original feature left. Had my visit been deferred a day longer, the style of the room could never have been portrayed. Neat wainscoting of Virginia pine ornamented the sides below and partly between the windows, and over the fire-place, which was spacious. This view is from the entrance door from the front portion of the building. On the left were two large windows; on the right were two windows and a door; and on each side of the fire-place was a door opening into small passage ways, from the exterior. Through the door on the left is seen a flight of stairs leading to the dormitory. The walls were whitewashed, and the wood-work painted a lead color. In this room the leading patriots of Virginia, including Washington, held many secret caucuses, and planned many schemes for the overthrow of royal rule in the colonies. The sound of the hammer and saw engaged in the work of change seemed to me like actual desecration; for the Raleigh tavern, and the Apollo room are to Virginia, relatively, what Faneuil Hall is to Massachusetts.

⁴ Jefferson's Memoirs, i., 4.

Death of Botetourt.

Lord Dunmore.

His Character.

Committees of Vigilance and Correspondence.

have seen, his death, which occurred in 1771, was considered a public calamity, and mourned as a public bereavement.

Botetourt was succeeded by John Murray, earl of Dunmore, who was the last royal governor of Virginia. He had succeeded Sir Henry Moore as Governor of New York, in 1770, and on the death of Botetourt, was transferred to Virginia. During his delay in leaving New York, the government was administered by William Nelson, president of the council of the colony, and father of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Dunmore did not arrive in Virginia until the summer of 1772. A knowledge



Dunmore

SEAL AND SIGNATURE OF DUNMORE.¹

of his character, which preceded him, made the Virginians uneasy. He was a Scotch nobleman; descended from an ancient family; full of aristocratic ideas; deficient in sound judgment and that common sense which is were set forth; and they expressed their concurrence and sympathy with their brethren in New England. Jefferson, Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Peyton Randolph, the speaker, urged immediate and bold action, and through their efforts a committee of vigilance was appointed² to obtain the most clear and authentic intelligence of all such acts of Parliament or ministry as might affect the rights of the colonies. This committee was also authorized to open a correspondence and communication with the other colonies.³

so essential in public life, and possessed of an irritable temper and vindictive spirit. In manners and feelings he was the reverse of Botetourt, and before he was fairly seated in the official chair, he had quarreled with some of the leading men of the colony. He evinced a disposition to disregard the rules of colonial law, and to act independent of the wishes of the people.

In March, 1773, the House of Burgesses received copies of an address and resolutions from the Massachusetts Assembly, in which the grievances of that colony

March 10,
1773.

They were about to adopt other resolutions equally unsubmitive to royal rule, when their proceedings were cut short by Dunmore, who dissolved the Assembly. The committee of correspondence met, however, the next day, and dispatched a circular letter containing the resolutions to the speakers of the several Colonial Assemblies. The General Court

¹ These are copied from the third volume of the *Documentary History of New York*, edited by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.

² The committee consisted of Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Carey, and Thomas Jefferson. This committee was formed at a caucus held in a private room in the Raleigh tavern, the evening before it was proposed in the House. The caucus consisted of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Dabney Carr (his brother-in-law), and two or three others. Strong resolutions were drawn up, and it was proposed that Mr. Jefferson should submit them to the House. Desirous of bringing into notice the brilliant talents of Mr. Carr, Mr. Jefferson proposed that he should submit them. It was agreed to, and the next day Mr. Carr moved the adoption of the resolutions. They were carried, and the above committee of correspondence was appointed. Virginia and Massachusetts have disputed for the honor of originating committees of correspondence. It will be seen by referring to page 494, volume i., that the address of the people of Massachusetts, in which their grievances and their rights were stated, and which called out the action of the Virginia Burgesses when their committee of correspondence was formed, contained a recommendation to appoint such committees in the several towns in that province. In Massachusetts, this recommendation was made some six weeks before the action on the subject took place in the Virginia Legislature. Massachusetts was the first to suggest committees of correspondence *within its own domain*; Virginia was the first to appoint a committee for *national* correspondence. And yet each colony seems actually to have originated the idea; for, according to Peyton Randolph, the messengers from the respective Legislatures, bearing the resolutions of each, passed each other on the way.—See Jefferson's letter to Samuel A. Wells, 1819, in the appendix to his *Memoirs*, page 100.

Fast day in Virginia.

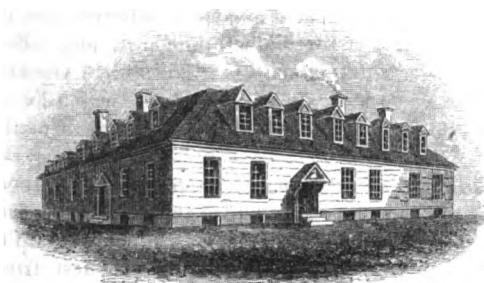
Assembly Dissolved by Dunmore.

Meeting at the Raleigh.

The Proceedings.

of Massachusetts responded by the appointment of a committee of fifteen, instructing them to urge the other colonies to take similar action. The New England colonies, and Pennsylvania and Maryland, did so, and thus was formed the first sound link of our confederacy.

The Boston Port Bill,¹ which was to go into effect on the first of June, 1774, had excited the greatest sympathy for the people of Boston throughout the colonies, and on the twenty-fourth of May, the Virginia Assembly adopted strong resolutions of condolence, and

RALEIGH TAVERN.²

appointed the first of June to be observed as a fast. Dunmore was highly offended, *officially*, and the next day dissolved them by a verbal proclamation.³ The delegates, eighty-nine in number (of whom Washington was one), immediately assembled in the Apollo room of the Raleigh tavern, organized themselves into a voluntary convention, and prepared an address to their constituents, in which they declared that an attack upon one colony was an attack upon all. They recommended

several important measures. Among other propositions was one for a *General Congress*, a proposition which was made by Massachusetts six days afterward,⁴ and being immediately sent forth, was heartily concurred in by all the other colonies except Georgia. Twenty-five of the delegates remained at Williamsburg to engage in the religious services of the

^a May 29. appointed fast-day. While awaiting its arrival,^a they received an account of a town meeting in Boston, at which the inhabitants of the colonies were invited to enter into a general non-importation agreement. The twenty-five delegates did not feel authorized to act in a matter of so much gravity, and therefore only recommended, by a circular, that the Burgesses should meet again in convention at Williamsburg on the first of August.^b Pursuant to this recommendation, all the Burgesses who met at the Raleigh ^b 1774. were present on that day. They adopted resolutions to import no more slaves, nor

British goods, nor tea; and, if colonial grievances were not speedily redressed, to export no more tobacco to England, and not to deal with any merchants who should refuse to sign the agreement. They recommended the cultivation of such articles of husbandry, instead of tobacco, as might form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts; and also particularly recommended the improvement of the breed of sheep, the multiplying of them, and the killing of as few as possible. On the 5th of August they chose seven delegates to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress, appointed to meet on the fifth of September follow-

¹ See page 503, volume i.

² Dunmore's speech on that occasion was very brief. The following is a copy: "*Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses*,—I have in my hand a paper published by order of your House, conceived in such terms as reflects highly upon his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

Notwithstanding this act on the part of the governor, the delegates did not omit to carry out arrangements which they had made for honoring Lady Dunmore with a ball on the 27th. Every mark of respect and attention was paid to Lord Dunmore and his lady on that occasion, as if nothing unpleasant had occurred. In fact, according to entries in Washington's Diary, the matter was not made personal at all, for on the day after the dissolution of the Assembly, although he was one of the foremost in expressions of sympathy for the people of Boston, he remarks, "Rode out with the governor to his farm, and breakfasted with him there."

³ When I visited Williamsburg in December, 1848, the front part of the old Raleigh tavern had been torn down, and a building in modern style was erected in its place. The old tavern was in the form of an L, one portion fronting the street, the other extending at right angles, in the rear. Both parts were precisely alike in external appearance, and as the rear building was yet standing and unaltered, I am able to give a restored view of the *Raleigh*, as it appeared during the Revolution. The wooden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh, which graced the front of the old inn, now ornaments the new building.

⁴ The latter colony could not have heard of the action of the former, and therefore the recommendation was as original with it as with Virginia.

Delegates to the Continental Congress. Expedition against the Indians. Dunmore's Schemes. Camp at the Great Kenawha.

ing, in Philadelphia,' and then adjourned, each pledged to do all in his power to effect the results contemplated in their proceedings.

While these clouds of difficulty were gathering in the horizon of Virginia politics, and the colony was menaced with civil war, the Indians on the frontiers had commenced fierce hostilities, and were driving civilization back from its adventurous settlements west of the Blue Ridge. Although several times chastised, they were still bold. In 1764, Colonel Bouquet,^a having dispersed the Indians besieging Detroit, passed into the Wyandot country, by the way of Sandusky Bay, and compelled the head men of the tribes to agree to a treaty of peace. The Shawnees and Delawares in the Ohio county still continued hostile. Bouquet, the same year, marched from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum, awed the Indians, procured the restoration of prisoners in their hands, and made a treaty of peace with them, and for several years they kept comparatively quiet, though exhibiting unmistakable signs of deadly hostility.

Early in 1777, the hatchet again fell with terrible fury upon the frontier settlements of Virginia, and its keenness was heightened by the encouragement which the savages received from a few white scoundrels, who hoped to gain personal advantage in the contest. The scheme which Governor Dunmore afterward entered into for banding these forest tribes against the colonists, has left upon his memory the suspicion that even thus early, in view of impending hostilities, he had tampered with them, through his agents, and made them bold. History gives no positive warrant for suspicions so damning, and we may charitably hope that his expedition against the Indians, in the summer of that year,^a was undertaken with a sincere desire to save the colony from their cruel incursions. It is true, ^a 1774. Dunmore was very tardy in his preparations, and his expedition did not march until the voice of his indignant people compelled him to go, and alert suspicion made him fearful of its consequences.

The chief rendezvous of the hostile Indians was on the Sciota, within the limits of the present Pickaway county, Ohio. There were three principal towns, and against these Dunmore marched with a force of three thousand men, early in August.^b The army ^b 1774. proceeded in two divisions; one composing the left wing, under Colonel Andrew Lewis, the other led by Dunmore in person. The left wing struck the Great Kenawha, and followed that stream to the Ohio; the right wing passed the mountains of the Potomac gap, and reached the Ohio a little above Wheeling. The plan of the campaign was to form a junction before reaching the Indian villages. Lewis encamped on the site of Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, on the sixth of October. In expectation of the approach of Dunmore, he cast up no intrenchments. In this exposed situation, he was attacked on the morning of the tenth, by one thousand chosen warriors of the western confederacy under the celebrated *Cornstalk*, who came from the Pickaway Plains to confront Colonel Lewis before the other division should join him.^c So stealthily had the

¹ The following were the delegates appointed: Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton. These were all present at the opening of the Congress in Carpenter's Hall, and, as we have seen, Peyton Randolph was chosen the first president of that body.

^a Henry Bouquet was of French descent. He was appointed lieutenant colonel in the British army in 1756. He was active in his co-operations with General Forbes, and was highly esteemed by Amherst. That officer sent him to the relief of Fort Pitt, with stores, in 1763. He was attacked on his way by a powerful body of Indians, whom he defeated. In 1764, as noticed in the text, he was successful in the Ohio country. The following year he was appointed a brigadier. He died at Pensacola, Florida, in February, 1766.

^b Stuart, in his *Memoir of Indian Wars*, and Withers, in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, express the opinion, and adduce strong corroborating evidence of its truth, that Dunmore arranged the expedition in such a way, that the whole Indian force should fall upon and annihilate Lewis's detachment, and thereby weaken the physical strength, and break down the spirit of the Virginians. It must be admitted that the fact of the great body of Indians leaving their towns and marching directly to attack Lewis, when Dunmore, with a force equally strong, was approaching in another direction, gives the color of probability to these suspicions. His subsequent conduct in inciting servile war in Virginia, shows that he was capable of so nefarious a scheme.

Battle at Mount Pleasant.

March to the Shawnee Towns.

Old Chillicothe.

Fort Gower.

Indians approached, that within one hour after Lewis's scouts discovered those of the enemy a general battle was in progress.

Colonel Charles Lewis, a brother of the general, with three hundred men, received the first assault. He and his aid, Hugh Allen, were mortally wounded, and so overwhelming in numbers and fierce in aspect were the assailants, that his line broke and gave way.¹ At this moment, a party under Colonel Fleming attacked the enemy's right, and, being sustained by a reserve under Colonel Field, the Indians were driven back. The battle continued with unabated fury until one o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians slowly retreating from tree to tree, while the gigantic *Cornstalk* encouraged them with the words, "Be strong! Be strong!"² The peculiarity of the ground, it being upon a point at the junction of two rivers, made every retreat of the enemy advantageous to the Virginians, because as their line extended from river to river, forming the base of an equilateral triangle, it was lengthened, and consequently weakened. The belligerents rested within rifle shot of each other, and kept up a desultory fire until sunset. The battle was a desperate one, and neither party could fairly claim the victory. The Virginians lost one half of their commissioned officers, and fifty-two privates were killed. The Indians lost, in killed and wounded, two hundred and thirty-three. During the night they retreated, but Lewis did not think it prudent to pursue them. Lieutenant Shelby (the hero at King's Mountain, and afterward governor of Kentucky) was left in command of a garrison at Point Pleasant, until July, 1775.

On the day after the battle, Colonel Lewis received orders from Dunmore to hasten on toward the Shawnee towns, on the Sciota, and join him at a point eighty miles distant.



THE SHAWNEE TOWNS.³

redoubt or block-house, and called it Fort Gower.⁴ From this point he marched up that

Dunmore was ignorant of the battle, and the weakened condition of Lewis's division. But the latter did not hesitate. Leaving a small garrison at Point Pleasant, he pressed onward, through an unbroken wilderness to the banks of Congo Creek, in Pickaway township, within striking distance of the Shawnee or Shawanese towns. The principal village of the Indians stood upon the site of the present borough of Westfall, on the west bank of the Sciota, and was called *Old Chillicothe*, there being other towns of the same name. When Colonel Lewis arrived, he found Dunmore and his party in the neighborhood. The governor had descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, where he built a

¹ From a "Song of Lament," written at the time, I quote the following stanzas, which are more remarkable for pathos than poetry:

"Colonel Lewis and some noble captains,
Did down to death like Uriah go,
Alas! their heads wound up in napkins,
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

Kings lamented their mighty fallen
Upon the mountains of Gilboa,

And now we mourn for brave Hugh Allen,
Far from the banks of the Ohio.

Oh bless the mighty King of Heaven
For all his wondrous works below,
Who hath to us the victory given
Upon the banks of the Ohio."

² Howison's *History of Virginia*, ii., 15.

³ This little map shows a portion of the Pickaway Plains upon which the towns of the Shawnees were built. These plains are on the east side of the Sciota, and contain the richest body of land in Ohio. When first cultivated by the whites, the soil was a black vegetable mold, the result of long ages of decomposition, and for many years one hundred bushels of corn, or fifty bushels of wheat to the acre, was an average yield. This region was for many generations the principal rendezvous of Indian chiefs in council, in the Ohio country, and here many victims, brought from the frontier settlements, endured the torments of savage cruelty.—See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 403.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.—a a, the ancient works at Circleville; b, Logan's cabin near; c, Old Chillicothe; d, Black Mountain; e, Cornstalk's town; f, Squaw's town; g, Council-house; h, the point where Dunmore and Colonel Lewis met; i, the camp of Colonel Lewis; j, Camp Lewis; m, High Lands.

⁴ This was in Athens township. Dunmore was a great admirer of Earl Gower, and in honor of that nobleman he named this, the first fort he ever erected.

Junction of the Armies of Dunmore and Lewis.

Camp Charlotte.

Logan and Cresap.

stream into the Indian country, and when Lewis arrived, he was encamped on the left bank of Sippo Creek, about seven miles southwest of the present village of Circleville. Dunmore called his station *Camp Charlotte*,¹ and hither the Indians, dispirited by their engagement with Colonel Lewis, and perceiving the destruction of their towns to be inevitable, came to treat for peace. Dunmore had been met by a flag of truce from the Indians, borne by a white man named Elliot,² and his readiness to treat with the enemy, instead of striking a blow of annihilation, is adduced as evidence of his ulterior designs for making these warriors subservient to his use in enslaving Virginia. Colonel Lewis was greatly irritated because Dunmore would not allow him to crush the enemy within his grasp, and the Virginians, eager for revenge, almost mutinied.³ The treaty was held in the presence of all the troops, amounting to twenty-five hundred in number. The Shawnee chiefs were quite numerous. *Cornstalk* was the principal speaker, and, in the course of his remarks, he adroitly charged upon the white people the causes of the war, in consequence, principally, of the murder of the family of Logan, a Mingo chief, a few months previously.⁴ Logan,

¹ Camp Charlotte, according to Charles Whittlesy, Esq. (from whose discourse before the *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, at Cincinnati, in 1840, the principal facts of this narrative have been gleaned), was upon the farm then (1840) owned by Thomas J. Winship, Esq. Camp Lewis was situated about four and a half miles southwest of Camp Charlotte.

² The Tory companion of Girty and M'Kee.

³ From concurrent testimony, it appears that suspicions of Dunmore's treachery was rife in the camp, and for that reason Lewis was more disposed to disobey his orders. It is said that Dunmore, in the violence of his anger, because his subaltern insisted upon fighting, drew his sword upon Lewis, and threatened him with instant death if he persisted in his disobedience.

⁴ This circumstance is alluded to on page 313, where a copy of Logan's speech to Dunmore, as preserved by Jefferson, is given. Mr. Brantz Mayer, in an able discourse delivered before the *Maryland Historical Society* in May, 1851, has adduced sufficient evidence to fully acquit Colonel Cresap of the charge made in the reported speech of Logan, and removed the foul stain of cold-blooded murder which has so long rested upon the fair fame of a brave and honorable man. It appears that, in the spring of 1774, Michael Cresap was upon the Ohio, below Wheeling, engaged in planting a settlement. Some pioneers on their way to make a settlement in Kentucky, under the auspices of Colonel George Rogers Clarke, resolved to attack an Indian town near the mouth of the Scioto, and solicited Cresap to command the expedition. He advised them to forbear, and, with him, they all repaired to Wheeling. Dr. Connelly, whom Lord Dunmore had appointed magistrate of West Augusta, sent Cresap word, on the 21st of April, that an Indian war was inevitable. Cresap, always vigilant, called a council of the pioneers, and on the 26th made solemn declaration of war against the Indians. They established a new post of defense, and the very next day two canoes, filled with painted savages, appeared. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, when a skirmish ensued. One man was killed, and several Indians were made prisoners. On the return of the pursuing party, an expedition against the settlement of Logan,* near the mouth of the Yellow Creek, thirty miles above Wheeling, was proposed. Cresap raised his voice against the proposed expedition, for the people of Logan's settlement seemed rather friendly than otherwise. His council prevailed, and the pioneers proceeded that evening to Red Stone Old Fort, at the mouth of Dunlap's Creek, on the Monongahela, now the site of Brownsville.

Other white people upon the Ohio were less cautious and humane. On the bank of the Ohio, nearly opposite Logan's settlement, was the cabin of a man named Baker, where rum was sold to the Indians, which consequently augmented the savagism of their nature. On account of the shooting of two Indians near Yellow Creek, by a settler named Myers, the savages resolved to cross over and murder Baker's family. A squaw revealed the plot to Baker's wife, and twenty white men, armed, were concealed in and around his cabin. The next morning early, three squaws, with an infant and four Indian men, unarmed, came to Baker's. The whole party of red people became intoxicated, an affray occurred, and the whole of the Indians were massacred, except the infant. Logan's mother, brother, and sister,† were among the slain. The vengeance of the chief was aroused, and during nearly all of that summer Logan was out upon the war-path. Michael Cresap was known to be a leader among the pioneers upon the Ohio, and Logan supposed he was concerned in the affair.‡ The researches of Mr. Mayer show that, at the time of the massacre, Cresap was

* The Indian name of Logan, according to competent authority quoted by Mr. Mayer, was *Ta-ga-jua*, which means "short dress."

† This squaw was the wife for the time of John Gibson, the Indian trader, to whom the reputed speech of Logan was communicated. Her infant, who was saved, was cared for by Gibson.

‡ Logan evidently held Cresap responsible, as appears by the following note, quoted by Mr. Mayer, page 56. It was written with ink made of gunpowder and water, at the command of Logan, by William Robinson, who had been made a prisoner by that chief nine days before:

"CAPTAIN CRESAP,—What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga, a

John Gibson.

Logan's Speech.

His Death.

Sketch of Colonel Cresap.

who was then at Old Chillicothe, disdained to meet the white men in council, and sat sullenly in his cabin while the treaty was in progress, Dunmore sent a messenger (John Gibson¹) to Logan, to invite him to attend the council. The chief took Gibson into the woods, and sitting down upon a mossy root, he told him the story of his wrongs, and, as that officer related, shedding many bitter tears. He refused to go to the council, but, unwilling to disturb the deliberations by seeming opposition, he sent a speech, in the mouth of Gibson, to Governor Dunmore. That speech, as preserved in print,² has been greatly admired for its pathetic eloquence.³

with his young family in Maryland, and had nothing to do with the matter.* It is also demonstrated that at about the hour when the massacre took place, two canoes, with Indians painted and prepared for war, approached. The appearance fully corroborated the disclosures of the squaw, and justified the vigilance (but not the murder of women and unarmed men) by the neighbors of Baker.

¹ John Gibson, who afterward became a major general, was an Indian trader, and an active man among the settlers on the Ohio. Washington esteemed him as a brave and honest man, and in 1781 intrusted him with the command of the western military department. He was succeeded by General Irvine in 1782. He was a member of the Pennsylvania convention in 1788; was major general of militia, and was secretary of Indian territory during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. He was at one time associate judge of the Common Pleas of Alleghany county, in Pennsylvania. Colonel George Gibson, who was mortally wounded at St. Clair's defeat in Ohio, was his nephew.

² Gibson repeated the substance to Dunmore and other officers. They wrote it down, and, on returning to Williamsburg, caused it to be published in the *Virginia Gazette*, February 4, 1775. This was the name of the first newspaper published in Virginia. It was first issued at Williamsburg in 1736, a sheet about twelve inches by six in size. It was printed weekly by William Parks, at fifteen shillings per annum. No other paper was published in Virginia until the Stamp Act excitement in 1765-6. The *Gazette* was so much under government control, that Jefferson and others got Mr. Rind to come from Maryland and publish a paper, which was also called "The Virginia Gazette." It was professedly open to all parties, but influenced by none. This was the paper in which Logan's speech was published. Another "Virginia Gazette" was printed at Williamsburg in 1775, and published weekly for several years.—See Thomas's *History of Printing*.

³ Logan, whose majestic person and mental accomplishments were the theme of favorable remark, became a victim to the vice of intemperance. Earlier than the time when Dunmore called him to council, he was addicted to the habit. The last years of his life were very melancholy. Notwithstanding the miseries he had suffered at the hands of the white man, his benevolence made him the prisoner's friend, until intemperance blunted his sensibilities, and in 1780 we find him among the marauders at Ruddell's Station (see page 500). The manner of his death is differently related. The patient researches of Mr. Mayer lead me to adopt his as the correct one, as it was from the lips of an aged man who knew Logan well, and corresponds in all essential particulars with an account I received from an aged Mohawk whom I saw at Caghawaga, twelve miles from Montreal, in the summer of 1848. His mother was a Shawnee woman, and when he was a boy, he often saw Logan. In a drunken phrensy near Detroit, in 1780, Logan struck his wife to the ground. Believing her dead, he fled to the wilderness. Between Detroit and Sandusky, he was overtaken by a troop of Indian men, women, and children. Not yet sober, he imagined that the penalty of his crime was about to be inflicted by a relative. Being well armed, he declared that the whole party should be destroyed. In defense, his nephew, *Tbd-kah-dohs*, killed him on the spot, by a shot from his gun. His wife recovered from his blow.

great while ago, and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since. But the Indians are not angry—only myself.
"July 21st, 1774.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOGAN."

This note was attached to a war-club, and left in the house of a man whose whole family had been murdered by the savages. * Michael Cresap was the son of a hardy pioneer, who was one of the Ohio Company in 1752. He was born in Maryland (Alleghany county), on the 29th of June, 1742. While yet a minor, he married a Miss Whitehead, of Philadelphia. He became a merchant and trader, and at length a bold pioneer upon the Ohio. He raised a company of volunteers in the summer of 1774, and proceeded to aid his countrymen on the Ohio, when he was stopped by Connolly. Dunmore, however, valuing his services, sent him a commission of captain in the militia of Hampshire county, in Virginia. He then proceeded to the Ohio, and was engaged in Dunmore's expedition of that year. When Gibson reported Logan's speech, the charge against Cresap was laughed at as ridiculous; and George Rogers Clarke, who was standing by, said, "He must be a very great man, as the Indians palmed every thing that happened upon his shoulders."

Cresap returned to Maryland after the conclusion of Dunmore's expedition, and early in the spring he again went to the Ohio, and penetrated the wilderness of Kentucky. On his return, he was informed that he had been appointed to the command of a company of Maryland riflemen, raised by a resolution of Congress. Although suffering from ill health, he immediately went to Boston with his company, and joined the continental army under Washington. His sickness continuing, he left the army for his home among the mountains. At New York he sunk, exhausted, where he died on the 18th of October, 1775, at the age of thirty-three years. His remains were buried in Trinity church-yard with military honors, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, where they yet rest.—See *Mayer's Discourses*; also *Jacob's Life of Cresap*. In the appendix to his *Discourses*, Mr. Mayer presents the results of patient investigation, concerning the authenticity of Logan's speech. It appears probable that the sentiment was Logan's, delivered, not as a speech or message, but as the natural expressions of the feelings of a man who felt that he had been greatly injured; the composition was evidently the work of some hand in Dunmore's camp.

Treaty with the Indians.

Sentiments of Dunmore's Officers.

Indian Wars in the West.

Daniel Boone.

At the conclusion of the treaty, Dunmore and his troops returned to Virginia, by the way of Fort Gower. At that place, the officers held a meeting on the fifth of November^a for the purpose of considering the "grievances of British America." The proceedings were not at all palatable to Lord Dunmore, notwithstanding one of the resolutions highly complimented him personally. The speech of one of the officers, and the resolution which followed, notwithstanding the attestations of loyalty freely expressed, evidently implied a determination no longer to submit to royal rule. Dunmore was offended, and both parties returned home dissatisfied.

Before resuming our record of events in the progress of the Virginia colony toward independence, let us take a brief survey of succeeding Indian hostilities on the Virginia frontier, until the close of the war. It is a wide and romantic field, but we must not be tempted into minute details. We will note the most prominent features of those events, and refer the reader to fuller details drawn by other pens. I briefly referred to the Indian war in this region on page 264, volume i., and promised a more extended notice. Here I will fulfill that promise.

For a while after the treaty on the Scioto, the western Indians made no concerted attacks upon the white settlements on the frontiers; but small parties continually harassed those civil heroes who went over the Alleghany ranges and explored the broad forests which stretched between the Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbias of the south, and the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots, of the north, now the state of Kentucky. The first of these



Daniel Boone

bold pioneers was Daniel Boone,¹ a hero in the truest sense of the term. He explored a portion of the wilderness west of the Blue Ridge as early as 1769, and for two years dwelt among the solitudes of the forests. Accustomed to the woods from earliest childhood, he found his highest happiness in the excitements of forest life, and in 1773 his own and a few other families accompanied him to the paradise lying among the rich valleys south of the Ohio. From that time, until the power of the western tribes was broken by the expedition under Major George Rogers Clark, Boone's life was an almost continual conflict with the Indians. Engaged in Dunmore's expedition in 1774, he was marked for vengeance by the savages; and when he built his little fort at Boonsborough,^a a few miles from Lexington, they viewed his labors with jealousy, and resolved to drive him from his foothold. Already the Indians had killed his eldest son, and now his wife

¹ Daniel Boone was born about the year 1730. His parents, who came from Bridgenorth, in England, went from Pennsylvania to the banks of the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, and his childhood was spent in the forest. In 1769, he was induced to accompany John Finley in the wilds west of the mountains, within the limits of the present state of Kentucky. From that period his own history is identified with that of the state. During his first visit there, he was captured by the Indians, but escaped within a week or ten days afterward. He took his family to Kentucky in 1775, and settled on the Cleriole River. In 1774, at the request of Lord Dunmore, he accompanied a party of surveyors to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), and was active in expeditions against the Indians during that year. He removed to the locality of the present Boonsborough, and built a fort there in 1775. In the course of three or four years, many other settlers came to his vicinity. While at the Blue Lick, on the Licking River, making salt for his garrison, in February, 1778, he and his companions were captured by a party of Indians, and taken to Chillicothe. The Indians became much attached to him. A family adopted him as a son, according to the Indian custom, and an offer of \$500 for his ransom, made by Governor Hamilton of Canada, was refused. Four months after his capture, he learned that five hundred warriors were preparing to march against Boons-

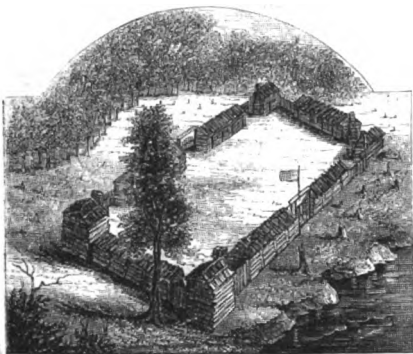
Boone's Family on the *Kain-tuck-ee*.

Boone's Fort assailed by Indians.

Capture of Boone's Daughter and Companions.

and daughters, the first white women who ever stood upon the banks of the *Kain-tuck-ee*, were with him and engaged his solicitude. Kenton, Henderson, Logan, the M'Asces, Hardin, Harrod, Hart, Ray, the Irvines, Bryants, Rogers, and others, soon followed; and in the course of seven or eight years the "western precincts of Finley county," as Kentucky was called, contained scores of adventurers planting small settlements along the water-courses. A record of the adventures of the settlers with the Indians would fill volumes. I have space to notice only a few of the prominent events of that period which have a direct relation with the history of our war for Independence.¹

In the spring of 1775, Daniel Boone erected a fort on the western bank of the Ken-

BOONE'S FORT.²

tucky River, the site of the present village of Boonsborough. It was the first fortification built in that region; and the British, who had forts north of the Ohio, at once excited the jealous fears of the Indians respecting it. In December of that year,³ a party of Indians assailed it, but were repulsed; the little garrison lost

Dec. 24,
1775.

but one man. On the seventh of July following, one of Boone's daughters, and two other girls who were amusing themselves near the fort, were caught and carried away by the Indians, but were speedily rescued.⁴

In 1774, Harrodsburg, in Mercer county, Kentucky, was founded, and several log-cabins were

borough. He effected his escape on the 16th of June, and arrived home on the 20th, having traveled one hundred and sixty miles, and eaten only one meal, during four days. He arrived in time to assist in preparing the fort for the expected attack mentioned in the text. Boone's wife, with his children, in the mean while, had returned to the house of her father, on the Yadkin, where Boone visited them in 1779. He remained there until the next year, when he returned to Kentucky. He subsequently accompanied George Rogers Clarke in his expeditions against the Indians on the Ohio, and was an active partisan until the close of the war. From that time, until 1798, he resided alternately in Kentucky and Virginia. In consequence of a defect in his title to lands in Kentucky, he was dispossessed of what was an ample estate, and made poor. The region he had explored, and helped to defend, now contained a population of half a million. Indignant because of being dispossessed, he shouldered his rifle, left Kentucky forever, and, with some followers, plunged into the interminable forests of Missouri, west of the Mississippi.

"Of all men, saving Sylla, the man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
Of great names, which in our faces stare,
The General Boone, backwoodsman of Kentucky,

Was happiest among mortals any where;
For, killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless day,
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

BRADON'S DON JUAN, VIII., 1x1

They settled upon the Little Osage in 1799, and the following year explored the head waters of the Arkansas. At the age of eighty years, accompanied by only two men (one white and the other black), he made a hunting excursion to the great Osage, where they trapped many beavers and other game. At about that time (1812), Boone addressed a memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky, setting forth that he owned not an acre of ground on the face of the earth, and, at the age of fourscore, had nowhere to lay his bones. He asked for a confirmation of his title to lands in Louisiana, given him by the Spanish government in 1794, before that territory was ceded to the United States. The Legislature instructed their delegates in Congress to solicit a confirmation of this grant, and two thousand acres were secured to him. He died on the twenty-sixth of September, 1820, at the age of almost ninety years. On that occasion, the Legislature of Missouri, then in session, agreed to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, as a token of respect. The grave of Boone is by the side of that of his wife, in the Cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky, but no stone identifies it to the eye of a stranger.

¹ The reader, desirous of possessing minute information respecting this exciting portion of our early history, will be amply rewarded by a perusal of "*Kentucky, its History, Antiquities, and Biography*," an excellent work of nearly six hundred large octavo pages, with forty engravings, by Lewis Collins of Louisville, Kentucky.

² This sketch is from a drawing by Colonel Henderson, and published in Collin's *Historical Collections of Kentucky*, page 417. It was composed of a number of log-houses disposed in the form of an oblong square. Those at each corner, intended particularly for block-houses, were larger and stronger than the others. The length of the fort was about two hundred and fifty feet, and the width about one hundred and fifty feet.

³ Betsey and Frances Calloway, the youngest about thirteen years of age, were the companions of Miss

Construction of other Forts. Indian Assaults. Expedition against the Kentucky Settlements. George Rogers Clarke.

built. Early in 1776, Colonel Benjamin Logan, and a small party of settlers, encamped about a mile west of the present town of Stanford, in Lincoln county, and erected a log fortification, which they called Logan's Fort. These two settlements and Boone's Fort were simultaneously attacked by a large party of Indians on the fifteenth of April, 1777. The assailants, having neither artillery nor scaling-ladders, made but little impression upon Boonsborough. A few men of the garrison were killed, and a quantity of corn and cattle belonging to the settlers was destroyed. Many of the assailants were killed.

On the fourth of July following, about two hundred warriors attacked Boonsborough with great vigor. The assailants were repulsed with the loss of seven of their number, while the garrison had but one man killed, and two wounded. The siege lasted two days and nights. On the ninth of September, 1778, a third attack was made upon Boonsborough. The Indians, five hundred in number, were led by Captain Duquesne, and other skillful Canadian officers. When the enemy appeared in front of the fort, the British flag was displayed, and a formal demand for the surrender of the fortress was made. Boone requested an allowance of two days for consideration. It was granted, and in the mean while the garrison, consisting of only fifty men, prepared for a vigorous defense. Boone assembled the defenders, and set before them the actual state of things. To surrender might insure them their lives, but they would lose all their property; to resist and be overcome, would result in the death of every man, woman, and child. Every one resolutely determined to defend the fort to the last, and this decision Boone communicated to Captain Duquesne. The Canadian was chagrined, and sought to obtain by stratagem what he feared he might not accomplish by force.¹ The siege was commenced, and lasted nine days, when the assailants, having lost many of their number, and unable to make any impression on the fort, retreated suddenly and in great confusion. This was the last time that Boonsborough was assailed, for the garrisons of other forts between it and the Ohio were rapidly augmenting in numbers and strength, and made it dangerous for the enemy to penetrate far into Kentucky.



With the single exception of Dunmore's expedition in 1774, hostilities west of the Alleghanies were nothing but a series of border conflicts, each little party acting upon its own responsibility, until 1778, when Major George Rogers Clarke led a regular expedition against the frontier posts of the enemy in the wilderness. Clarke first went to Kentucky in 1775, when he paddled down the Ohio with the Reverend David Jones,

Boone on that occasion. Their screams alarmed the people in the fort. It was just at sunset when the Indians carried off their victims. Boone and seven others started in pursuit. The next day they came up with the savages, forty-five miles distant from Boonsborough, furiously attacked them, and rescued the girls, who had received no farther injury than that produced by the effect of excessive fright.

¹ Duquesne, professing great humanity, proposed to Boone to send out nine of the principal men of his garrison to treat for an accommodation, the entire safety of the people within the fort being the basis. Un-suspicious of treachery, Boone and eight others went out to the camp of the enemy. While engaged in council, at a concerted signal, two strong warriors for each man attempted to seize and carry off the delegation. The whole nine succeeded in releasing themselves, and escaping to the fort amid a shower of bullets from the enemy. Only one man was wounded. The siege immediately commenced.

² George Rogers Clarke was born in Albermarle county, Virginia, on the nineteenth of November, 1752

Clarke's Explorations in the Wilderness.

Expeditions against British Forts.

Simon Kenton.

then on his way to preach the Gospel to the Western Indians. He was at once impressed with the importance of that fertile region, and the necessity of making it a secure place for settlements. His mind was clear and comprehensive; his personal courage of the truest stamp; his energies, physical and mental, always vigorous, and he soon became an oracle among the backwoodsmen. During the years 1775 and 1776, he traversed vast regions of the wilderness south of the Ohio, studied the character of the Indians chiefly from the observations of others, and sought to discover a plan by which a tide of emigration might flow unchecked and secure into that paradise of the continent. He soon became convinced that the British garrisons at Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, were the nests of those vultures who preyed upon the feeble settlements of the west, and deluged the virgin soil with the blood of the pioneers. Virginia, to which province this rich wilderness belonged, was at that time bending all her energies in advancing the cause of independence within her borders east of the Alleghanies, and the settlers west of the mountains were left to their own defense. Major Clarke, convinced of the necessity of reducing the hostile forts in the Ohio country, submitted a plan for the purpose to the Virginia Legislature, in December, 1777.



Simon Kenton

His scheme was highly approved, and Governor Henry and his council were so warmly interested, that all the preliminary arrangements were soon made. Major Clarke received two sets of instructions, one public, ordering him to "proceed to the defense of Kentucky," the other private, directing an attack upon the British fort at Kaskaskia. Twelve hundred pounds were appropriated to defray the expenses of the expedition; and the commandant of Fort Pitt was ordered to furnish Clarke with ammunition, boats, and other necessary equipments. His force consisted of only four companies, but they were all prime men. Early in the spring^a they rendezvoused upon Corn Island, at the Falls of the Ohio, six hundred and seven miles by water, below Fort Pitt. Here Clarke was joined by Simon Kenton, one of the boldest pioneers of the west, then a young man of twenty-two years. He had been acting as a spy for two years previously; henceforth he was engaged in a more honorable, but not more useful service.

little is known of his early youth. He was engaged in land surveying, and this led him to love a forest life. He commanded a company in Dunmore's army in 1774, and then first became acquainted with the country west of the Alleghanies. In 1775 he first went to Kentucky, and, while there, he was placed in temporary command of armed settlers. His subsequent military career, until the close of the Revolution, is given in the text. Three years after the conclusion of the war (1786), Clarke commanded an expedition of one thousand men against the Indians on the Wabash. It was disastrous. Several years afterward, Genet, the French minister, undertook to raise and organize a force in Kentucky, for a secret expedition against the Spaniards on the Mississippi, and General Clarke accepted a commission as major general in the armies of France, to conduct the enterprise. Before it could be matured, Genet was recalled, and Clarke's commission annulled. General Clarke never appeared in public life afterward. After suffering for many years from a rheumatic affection, he was prostrated by paralysis, and died near Louisville, in February, 1818, at the age of sixty-six.

¹ Simon Kenton was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, May 15th, 1755. His father was a native of Ireland; his mother came from Scotland. He fled to the wilderness at the age of sixteen, on account of an affray with a young man who had married his affianced. Believing he had killed his rival in a fist fight, he went over the Alleghanies, and became a noble pioneer in the march of western civilization. At Fort Pitt he formed an intimacy with Simon Girty, the desperate renegade in after years, and his daily companions were trappers and hunters. He was an active spy for Governor Dunmore in 1774, and after that he had many encounters with the sons of the forest in their native wilds. He became a companion of Boone, and with him and his co-laborers arrested Kain-tuck-ee from the red men. He joined Major Clarke at the

Kenton's Life and Sufferings.

Surprise of Kaskaskia.

Capture of the Garrison.

Location of Kaskaskia.

From Corn Island¹ they proceeded in boats to the mouth of the Tennessee River, and landed upon the site of Paducah. There they met a party of hunters from Kaskaskia and obtained valuable information. They reported that M. Rocheblave, commander of the garrison at Kaskaskia, was an exceedingly vigilant officer, and kept spies continually on the alert to discover the approach of Kentuckians. The hunters believed that a surprise might be effected, and they offered to accompany the expedition as guides. Their services were accepted, and the expedition having dropped down the Ohio to a proper point on the Illinois shore, and concealed their boats, commenced their march through the wilderness to Kaskaskia.² They arrived in the vicinity of the town toward the evening of the fourth of July,^a where they remained until dark, unperceived by any of the people. Before midnight the town and garrison were in possession of the Kentuckians. Philip Rocheblave, the British commander, was surprised in bed, like Delaplace at Ticonderoga. His wife, whom the polite Kentuckians would not disturb, secured or destroyed most of his papers. The rest of his papers, which revealed the fact that the British were stimulating the Indians to hostilities, were sent, with the commandant himself, to Williamsburg, in Virginia. It was a bloodless conquest, and in the course of a few days the prudent policy of Clarke secured the respect of the French people, and they accepted the government of Virginia with satisfaction.

About sixty miles further up the Mississippi was Cahokia, a village coeval in settlement with Kaskaskia. It was a place of considerable trade, and a depository of British arms for distribution among the Indians. Clarke dispatched Captain Joseph Bowman with a little

Falls of the Ohio in 1778, and after the surprise of Kaskaskia he returned to Boonsborough. Toward the close of that year he was captured by the Indians, and finally became a prison laborer in the hands of the British at Detroit. Aided by a trader's wife, he escaped in company with two fellow-prisoners, the renowned Captain Bullitt and Lieutenant Coffee, and arrived at the Falls in July, 1779. Kenton subsequently joined Clarke in his expeditions. It was in 1782 when he heard that he had not killed his rival in love, and that his old father still lived. He went to Virginia, and, after spending some time among the friends of his early youth, he returned to Kentucky, taking his father and family with him. On the way the old man died; the remainder of the family reached Kenton's settlement in safety. From that period, until Wayne's expedition in 1793, Kenton was much engaged in Indian warfare.

Poor Simon Kenton experienced the bitter effects of wrong, ingratitude, and neglect. On account of some legal matters concerning his lands in Kentucky, he was imprisoned for twelve months upon the very spot where he built his cabin in 1775. In 1802, beggared by lawsuits and losses, he became landless. Yet he never murmured at the ingratitude which pressed him down, and in 1813 the veteran joined the Kentucky troops under Shelby, and was in the battle of the Thames. In 1824, then seventy years old, he journeyed to Frankfort, in tattered garments and upon a miserable horse, to ask the Legislature of Kentucky to release the claims of the state upon some of his mountain lands. He was stared at by the boys, and shunned by the citizens, for none knew him. At length General Thomas Fletcher recognized him, gave him a new suit of clothes, and entertained him kindly. When it was known that Simon Kenton was in town, scores flocked to see the old hero. He was taken to the Capitol and seated in the speaker's chair. His lands were released, and afterward Congress gave him a pension of two hundred and forty dollars a year. He died, at the age of eighty-one years, in 1836, at his residence at the head of Mad River, Logan county, Ohio, in sight of the place where, fifty-eight years before, the Indians were about to put him to death.

¹ The city of Louisville is at the Falls or Rapids of the Ohio. The rapids, formed by a dike of limestone stretching across the river, extend about two miles. Captain Bullitt, of Virginia, a brave officer, who accompanied Washington in his expedition against Fort Duquesne, visited this spot in 1773, and, it is said, laid out the city there, on the south side of the river. But no settlement was made until 1778, when a small number of families accompanied Mr. Clarke down the Ohio, and were left by him upon Corn Island. In the autumn they moved to the main land, built a block-house of logs, and thus founded Louisville, now (1851) a city and port of entry, with a population of 50,000. In 1780, the Virginia Legislature passed an act for establishing the town of Louisville, the name being given in honor of Louis XVI. of France, then lending his aid to the Americans. A stronger fort was built there in 1782, and was called Fort Nelson, in honor of Governor Thomas Nelson, of Virginia. For several years the settlement was harassed by the Indians, but it soon became too strong to fear them. The commerce of Louisville began in 1783, when Daniel Broadhead took goods from Philadelphia and exposed them for sale there.—*Collins*, page 360.

² Kaskaskia, the present capital of Randolph county, Illinois, is situated on the west side of Kaskaskia River, seven miles from its junction with the Mississippi. It was settled by some French Jesuits about 1683, and was one of the towns which went into the possession of the British by the treaty of 1763, at the conclusion of the *Seven Years' War*. It then contained about one hundred families, and that was about the amount of its population at the time of Clarke's expedition.

Surprise of Cahokia. Capture of Vincennes. Its Loss and Recapture. Terrible March over the "Drowned Lands."

^a July 8. less than two companies,^a to reduce that post, and also to capture two other small towns. Several inhabitants of Kaskaskia gladly accompanied them. The expedition was successful at the small towns, and reached Cahokia unobserved. The surprise was complete. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed; but when the Kaskaskia people explained the whole matter, the fears of the people were changed to emotions of joy, and the American flag was saluted with three hearty huzzas. They took the oath of allegiance, and the conquest was thorough. The region thus brought under the sway of Virginia was erected into a county, and named Illinois.

The stronger and more important post of Vincennes¹ was yet unsubdued, and Clarke felt that the object of his mission would be but half accomplished if he did not gain possession of that place. It was necessary to garrison Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in order to retain them, and to do this would so weaken his little army that he could scarcely hope for victory in an attack upon Vincennes, unless he should be as successful in effecting a surprise as he had in capturing the posts already in his possession. While thus perplexed, and doubting what course to pursue, he communicated his desires to Father Gibault, a French priest, who agreed to endeavor to bring those inhabitants of Vincennes, over whom he had pastoral charge, to the support of the American cause. The influence of the priest was successful; the inhabitants arose in the night and cast off their allegiance to the British,

^b Aug., 1778. expelled the garrison from the fort, and pulled down the English standard. The American flag floated in triumph over the ramparts in the morning.^b

Major Clarke, just promoted to colonel by the Virginia authorities, now applied himself to the pacification of the Indian tribes. His reputation as a warrior was great among them, and, as the qualities of a hero inspires the Indian with respect, his influence was also great. He was a successful negotiator, and the prejudices of many of the tribes against the provincials were subdued. While thus engaged, he received no news from Vincennes, and he began to have fears for its safety. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1779, he received intelligence that Governor Hamilton had marched an expedition against that place, from Detroit, nearly a month previously, and that the town was again in possession of the enemy. He was also informed that another and more formidable expedition was to be sent out in the spring to recapture Kaskaskia, and to assail the various posts on the Kentucky frontier. With his usual promptness and energy, Colonel Clarke prepared to anticipate the enemy, and strike the first blow. He planned an expedition against Vincennes, and on the seventh

^c 1779. of February^c commenced his march through the wilderness, with one hundred and seventy-five men. He had previously dispatched Captain Rogers and forty men, two four-pounders, and a boat, with orders to force their way up the Wabash to a point near the mouth of White River, and there wait for further orders. For a whole week Colonel Clarke's party traversed the drowned lands of Illinois, suffering every privation from wet, cold, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, at a point where the forks of the stream are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart, and all that distance those hardy soldiers waded the cold snow-flood, sometimes armpit deep! On the

^d Feb., 1779. evening of the eighteenth,^d they halted a little distance from the mouth of Embarrass Creek, and so near Vincennes that they could hear the booming of the evening gun. Here they encamped for the night, and the next morning at dawn, with their faces blackened with gunpowder to make themselves appear hideous, they crossed the river in a boat they had secured, and pushed on through the floods toward the town. Just as they reached dry land, in sight of Vincennes, they captured a resident, and sent him into the town with a letter demanding the immediate surrender of the place and fort. The people, taken by surprise, were greatly alarmed, and believed the expedition to be from Kentucky, composed of the fierce and strong of that advancing commonwealth. Had armed men dropped in their midst from the clouds, they could not have been more astonished, for it

¹ Vincennes is the capital of Knox county, Indiana. It is situated on the east bank of the Wabash River, one hundred miles above its entrance into the Ohio. A French trading post was established there in 1730.

Colonel Hamilton made Prisoner. Detroit Tory Emissaries. Dr. Connolly. Official Tampering with the Indians.

seemed impossible for this little band to have traversed the deluged country. The people were disposed to comply with the demand, but Governor Hamilton, who commanded the garrison in person, would not allow it. A siege commenced, and for fourteen hours a furious conflict continued. The next day the town and fort were surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.¹ The stars and stripes took the place of the red cross of St. George; a round of thirteen guns proclaimed the victory, and that night the exhausted troops of Colonel Clarke reposed in comfort.

While Boone and his companions were beating back the Indians from the Kentucky frontier, and Colonel Clarke was prosecuting his conquests and establishing the American power over the more westerly posts, Detroit was a position toward which the Continental Congress, and the Assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, looked with anxiety, for it was the focal point of British influence over the Western Indians, and the rendezvous for expeditions against the frontier settlements. Colonel Hamilton, the commandant at that post, was actively engaged, from the commencement of the war, in winning the Indians over to the British interest, and in organizing parties to go out upon the war-path for blood and spoil. Among his most active emissaries were three Tories—Girty, M'Kee, and Elliot, whom I have alluded to on page 264, of the first volume of this work. Governor Dunmore, too, was implicated, as early as the summer of 1775, in the nefarious business of exciting the Indian tribes to fall upon the white settlements on the frontiers of his province, hoping thereby to weaken the powers and resources of the people, then engaged in their struggle for independence. The capture of Connolly, his chief agent in the business, exposed the whole plot, and made the Continental Congress more vigilant, as well as more determined.² General Gage also appears to have been concerned in the measure, and there can not be a doubt that the representatives of royalty in British America were secretly engaged, after the battle of Bunker Hill, in a grand scheme for uniting the various Indian tribes, and bringing them down upon the white people with the desolating fury of a tornado. The fidelity of some of the Indian chiefs impeded the consummation of the plan until countervailing measures were taken by Congress, and the darling project of Dunmore and his associates was frustrated.

Simon Girty, who with Elliot and M'Kee had been confined by the patriots at Pittsburgh, burned with a spirit of revenge. He collected about four hundred Indian warriors at Sandusky, in the summer of 1777, and marched toward Limestone (now Maysville), on the Kentucky frontier. Fort Henry,³ a small establishment near the mouth of Wheeling Creek (now Wheeling), was garrisoned by about forty men, under the command of Colonel Sheppard. The movements of Girty were known at that post, and scouts were kept on the

¹ Governor Hamilton and several of his chief officers were sent to Williamsburg, in Virginia, where, on account of their having incited the Indians to their cruel deeds, they were confined in jail, and heavily ironed. Governor Jefferson used his influence in favor of relieving them of this rigorous treatment. He was successful, and Hamilton and his associates were allowed to go to New York on parole.

² John Connolly was a physician, and resided at Pittsburgh, where he and Washington became acquainted. At the commencement of the war he took sides with Dunmore, and doubtless suggested to the governor the plan of arousing and combining the Indian tribes against the colonists. He visited General Gage in the autumn of 1775, and ten days after his return to Williamsburg, in Virginia, he left Dunmore and departed for the Ohio country with two companions, Allen Cameron, and Dr. John Smythe. Near Hagerstown, in Maryland, they were stopped as suspicious characters, and taken back to Frederickton. Connolly's papers were concealed in the tree of his saddle. They revealed the whole nefarious plot. It appeared that Connolly had received from Dunmore the appointment of colonel, and was to raise a regiment in the western country and Canada. Detroit was to be his place of rendezvous, from whence, as soon as his forces could be collected, he was to enter Virginia, march to Alexandria in the spring, and there meet Lord Dunmore with a naval armament and another body of troops. Connolly and his papers were sent to Philadelphia; the first was placed in the custody of the jailer, the latter in that of Congress. Connolly was afterward a prisoner in Baltimore, and he was left in durance until about the close of the war.

³ This fort was erected in 1774, during Dunmore's campaign, as a place of refuge. It was first called Fort Fincastle; afterward its name was changed to Henry, in compliment to the great Virginia orator. The fort stood on the south branch of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile below the mouth of Wheeling Creek.

Girty before Fort Henry. Massacre of a Reconnoitering Party. Attack upon the Fort. Elizabeth Zane and Mrs. Merrill.

alert. Girty's design seemed to be to cross the Ohio and attack the Kentucky frontier; but, with dextrous caution, he pushed up the river, and, undiscovered by Sheppard's scouts, he appeared before Fort Henry with his fierce followers, early on the morning of the twenty-sixth of September. Fortunately for the settlers of Wheeling, then a scattered village of about twenty-five log-huts, they had intimations of savages being near on the evening previous, and all had taken refuge in the fort.

The first attack was made upon a reconnoitering party under Captain Mason. The Indians were ambushed, and fell upon the little band without a moment's warning. More than one half of them perished. Captain Ogle, with twelve men, sallied out to the assistance of Mason, and only four of his company escaped. Bullet and tomahawk cut them down, and the garrison was thus reduced to only twelve men and youths, among whom Colonel Sheppard, and Ebenezer and Silas Zane, were the most prominent.¹ The women and children of the little settlement were within the pickets, overwhelmed with grief and fear, and all hope for the salvation of the fort and its inmates faded away. At that critical moment, Simon Girty appeared with a white flag, and demanded the unconditional surrender of the fort. Although the assailants outnumbered the garrison forty-fold, the beleaguered resolved to resist, and Colonel Sheppard promptly told the scoundrel that it should never be surrendered to *him*, nor to any other man, while there was an American left to defend it. Girty was enraged, and immediately ordered a siege. The Indians entered the log-houses near the fort for protection, and for six hours they kept up an ineffectual fire against the pickets (for they had no artillery), while the sharp-shooters within seldom sent a bullet upon a fruitless errand of death. At meridian the Indians fell back to the base of Wheeling Hill, and the firing ceased. This season of quiet was employed by the garrison in a bold attempt to bring some powder into the fort, for their ammunition was almost exhausted. This feat was accomplished by an intrepid young woman, a sister of the Zanes.²

¹ Ebenezer Zane became the founder of Zanesville, in Ohio, twenty years afterward.

² Elizabeth Zane was the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane. She had just returned from Philadelphia, where she had completed her education, and was but little accustomed to the horrors of border warfare. With other females in the fort, she assisted in casting bullets, making cartridges, and loading rifles. When the powder in the fort was exhausted, Ebenezer Zane remembered that there was a keg of the article in his house, sixty yards distant from the fort. The man who should attempt to go for it would be exposed to the close and numerous shots of the Indians. Only one man for the service could be spared from the fort. Colonel Sheppard was unwilling to order any one to the duty; he asked for a *volunteer*. Every man present eagerly offered to undertake the hazardous duty. They contended so long for the honor, that it was feared that the Indians would return to the siege before an attempt to get the powder should be made. At this moment Elizabeth Zane came forward and asked permission to go for the powder, giving as a reason that her life was of less value to the garrison than that of a man. At first she was peremptorily refused, but so earnest were her solicitations, that consent was reluctantly given. She went out the gate, and fearlessly passed the open space to her brother's house. The Indians saw her, and watched her movements. When she came out of the house, and, with the keg of powder in her arms, sped with the fleetness of a fawn toward the fort, they sent a full volley of bullets after her, but not a ball touched her person. The shield of God's providence was about her, and the noble girl entered the fort in safety with her valuable prize. A loud shout welcomed her, and every man, inspired by her heroism, resolved to repulse the foe or die in the trench. Elizabeth Zane was twice married. The name of her first husband was M'Laughlin; of the second, Clarke. She resided on the Ohio side of the river, near Wheeling, until within the last ten years. The story of Elizabeth Zane ought to be perpetuated in marble, and preserved in the Valhalla of our Revolutionary heroes.

The history of our Western States is full of the chronicles of heroic women, who boldly battled with the privations incident to new settlements, or engaged in actual conflicts with the Indian tribes upon lands which the white men wrongfully invaded. Elizabeth Zane was a type of the moral, and Mrs. Merrill of the physical heroines of that day. During the summer of 1787, the house of John Merrill, in Nelson county, Kentucky, was attacked by a party of Indians. It was midnight when the approach of the savages was announced by the barking of a dog. Mr. Merrill opened the door to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, when he received the fire of five or six rifles, and his thigh and arm were broken. He fell, and called to his wife to close the door. She was an Amazon in strength and courage, and seizing an ax for defense, closed the door just as several Indians approached with tomahawks. They soon made a breach and attempted to enter. Mrs. Merrill killed or badly wounded four of them with the ax, and maintained her post. The Indians ascended the roof, and essayed to enter the house by the broad chimney. Mrs. Merrill seized her only feather-bed, ripped it open, and cast the contents upon the fire. The suffocating smoke

Effect of a Log Field-piece.

Arrival of Succor.

Abandonment of the Siege.

Escape of M'Culloch.

The assailants renewed the attack at half past two o'clock. Again they took possession of the cabins near the fort, and were thus covered from the fire of the Republicans. They also attempted to force the gate of the fort, but were obliged to abandon it after six of their number were shot down. Still they eagerly sought to secure their prey within. Approaching darkness did not end the conflict. The Indians converted a hollow maple log into a field piece, and after dark conveyed it within sixty yards of the fort. It was bound with chains, filled to the muzzle with stones, pieces of iron, and other missiles, and discharged against the gates of the fort. The log burst into a thousand fragments, and its projectiles were scattered in all directions. Several Indians were killed, but not a picket of the fort was injured. This failure of their artillery discouraged the assailants, and the conflict ceased for the night. At four o'clock in the morning,^a Colonel Swearingen and four-^a Sept. 28, 1777. teen men arrived, and fought their way into the fort without losing a man; and at daybreak Major M'Culloch arrived with forty mounted men. His followers entered the fort in safety, but he, being separated from his companions, was obliged to flee to the open country. He narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Indians, who thirsted for his blood, for he was their most skillful enemy. They hated him intensely, and yearned to subject him to their keenest tortures.¹

Girty and his fellow-savages abandoned all hope of capturing the fort, after this augmentation of the garrison, and, setting fire to the houses and fences outside of the palisades, and killing about three hundred head of cattle belonging to the settlers, they raised the siege and departed for the wilderness.² Not a man of the garrison was lost during the siege; twenty-three of the forty-two in the fort were slain at the first attack, before the siege commenced. The loss of the enemy was between sixty and one hundred.³ The defense of Fort Henry was one of the most remarkable for courage, on record, and deserves far more prominence in the catalogue of battles for independence than has generally been awarded to it by historians.

Early in 1778, Congress sent three commissioners to Pittsburgh to make observations, and determine the importance of Detroit as a place of rendezvous for the hostile tribes. They reported the activity of the commander, and his influence among the Indians, and represented the necessity of sending an expedition against that post immediately. Congress resolved to do so, but the financial embarrassments of the government, then fearfully increasing, rendered an expedition so expensive quite incompatible. The design was reluctantly abandoned,⁴ and in lieu thereof, General Lachlin M'Intosh, then commanding the western department, was ordered to march from Fort Pitt (his head-quarters), with a sufficient force, against the principal Indian towns in the Ohio country, and so to chastise them

brought two of the savages down almost insensible. These she dispatched with the ax. The only remaining savage now tried to force his way in through the door. Across his cheek Mrs. Merrill drew the keen blade of the ax. With a horrid yell, he fled to the woods, and, arriving at Chillicothe, gave a terrible account of the strength and fury of the "long knife squaw." I might fill pages with similar recitals. For such records, see M'Clung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*.

¹ The Indians might have killed Major M'Culloch, but they determined to take him alive and torture him. His horse was fleet, but the savages managed to hem him in on three sides, while on the fourth was an almost perpendicular precipice of one hundred and fifty feet descent, with Wheeling Creek at its base. He had the single alternative, surrender to the Indians, or leap the precipice. His horse was a powerful animal. Gathering his reins tightly in his right hand, and grasping his rifle in his left, M'Culloch spurred his charger to the brow of the declivity and made the momentous leap. They reached the foot of the bluff in safety, and the noble animal dashed through the creek, and bore his rider far away from his pursuers.

² Simon Girty was the offspring of crime. His father, a native of Ireland, and settler in Pennsylvania, was a sot; his mother was a bawd. They had four sons; Simon was the second. With two brothers, he was made a prisoner by the Indians at Braddock's defeat. His brother James was adopted by the Delawares, and became the fiercest savage of the tribe. Simon was adopted by the Senecas, became a great hunter, and exercised his innate wickedness to its fullest extent. For twenty years the name of Simon Girty was a terror to the women and children of the Ohio country. He possessed the redeeming quality of honesty in all his transactions. It was his earnest wish that he might die in battle. That wish was gratified; he was killed at Proctor's defeat in the battle of the Thames, on the fifth of October, 1813.

³ *American Pioneer*.

⁴ See Journals of Congress, iv., 245 and 305.

Fort M'Intosh.

Expedition against Sandusky Towns.

Successful Expedition from Detroit against Kentucky Forts.

as to insure their future quiet. As soon as spring opened, M'Intosh descended the Ohio River about thirty miles, and erected a fort at Beavertown, at the mouth of Beaver Creek, to intercept the war parties on their marches toward the settlements, and to make effective demonstrations against the savages when opportunities should occur.¹ After considerable delay, he marched toward the Sandusky towns, on Sandusky Bay, with one thousand men. The season was so far advanced when they reached the Tuscarawas, that General M'Intosh thought it imprudent to advance farther. He built a fort about half a mile below the present village of Bolivia, and named it Fort Laurens, in honor of the then president of Congress.^a Leaving a garrison of one hundred and fifty men under the command of

^a 1778. Colonel John Gibson (the ambassador to poor Logan), he returned to Fort Pitt barren of the honors of an Indian fight.

On the first of June, 1780, an expedition was sent out from Detroit, composed of six hundred Canadians and Indians under Colonel Byrd. They took with them six pieces of artillery; their destination was some of the stations upon the Licking River, in Kentucky. Colonel Byrd went up the Licking as far as the forks, where he landed his artillery, and erected some huts upon the site of Falmouth. Gathering strength on his way, he marched from the forks, with nearly one thousand men and his artillery, for Ruddell's Station, on the south fork of the Licking, three miles below the junction of Hinkston and Stoner's branches of that stream. The Kentucky stockades, all wanting cannons, were quite powerless before the artillery of Colonel Byrd, and Captain Ruddell at once surrendered, after being assured that the people within should not be made the prisoners of the Indians. When the gates were opened, however, Byrd could not restrain his savage allies. They rushed in, and seizing men, women, and children promiscuously, claimed them as their own, and thus families were separated during a long captivity. All the property was destroyed or carried away, and the place was made a desolation. Elated with their success, the Indians proposed an attack upon Martin's, Bryant's, and Lexington Stations, all lying between the Licking and Kentucky Rivers. Colonel Byrd endeavored to dissuade them, for his humanity was shocked by the scenes at Ruddell's. The chiefs finally consented to allow all future prisoners to be under the control of their commander. The army then proceeded to Martin's Station, captured it without opposition, and, bearing away all the property found there, took up its line of march toward the fork of the Licking, leaving Bryant's and Lexington unmolested, except by marauding parties of Indians, who drove away many horses from each place. The whole expedition returned to Detroit by the way of the Great Miami, on the banks of which, at the point where they commenced their land journey toward Detroit, they concealed their artillery.

This incursion from Detroit aroused all the energies of Colonel Clarke. He visited Richmond in December,^b and urged the Provincial Assembly to furnish him with means to chastise the enemy for his insolence. While there, Arnold invaded the state by

¹ Fort M'Intosh (as the redoubt was called) was erected under the general superintendence of the Chevalier De Cambray, a French engineer, who commanded the artillery in the western department. It was built of strong stockades furnished with bastions, and mounted one six-pounder. Cambray's chief officer was Captain William Sommerville, conductor of the artillery, who, from letters from De Cambray to him (copies of which are before me), appears to have been an officer of much merit.* He was in the continental service four years and a half (more than two of which as conductor of artillery, with the rank of captain), when he resigned, and, at the close of the war, settled in the Valley of Virginia, in Berkeley county, where he died about 1825. Like many of the subordinate officers of merit connected with the artillery service of the Revolution, Captain Sommerville has not received the attention of the historian. How many patriots of that struggle lie in forgotten graves!

* The following extract from a letter of instruction, sent by Colonel De Cambray to Captain Sommerville, and dated "Fort Pitt, 6th January, 1779," is a fair specimen of that officer's diction in English: "For the supplies necessary to your department you are to apply to the quarter-master (Colonel Archibald Steele), and, in case of refusal, to form your complaint against them. You must insist repeatedly for your store-house to be put in order, to secure the military stores, who, if continue to be neglected, in three months more ought to be unfit for service. If you insist, you shall not be accountable of it, but the commanding officer. If I did omit something, I leave to your discretion to supply it. I recommend to you once more the greatest care, and to be very scrupulous on the orders of issuing, for to avoid, if possible, the bad effects of the wasting genius who reign all over this department."

Colonel Clarke in Virginia.

Made a Brigadier.

Battle at the Blue Licks.

The Indians subdued.

way of the James River, and Clarke took a temporary command under Baron Steuben. He afterward succeeded in raising a considerable force for an expedition against Detroit, and the corps destined for the service was ordered to rendezvous at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), on the fifteenth of March.^a Clarke was promoted to the rank of a brigadier, and joined his troops at the appointed time. Unexpected difficulties arose. 1781. Cornwallis was menacing all Virginia with desolation; the financial resources of Congress were at their lowest point, and operations on the western frontier were confined to defensive acts. Like a lion chained, Clarke beheld the British and their forest allies lording it over the chosen country of the pioneers, who were without strength sufficient to drive them away, or hardly able to beat them back when they came as assailants. Finally, the disastrous battle at the Blue Licks, which spread a pall of gloom over Kentucky, aroused his desponding spirit, and he raised a war-cry which awoke responsive echoes every where in that deep forest land.¹ That battle was fought in August,^b and in September, General Clarke, at the head of more than one thousand mounted riflemen, assembled at the mouth of b Aug. 19, 1782. the Licking (opposite the present city of Cincinnati), crossed the Ohio, and pressed forward to the Indian towns on the Sciota. He was accompanied by Simon Kenton as pilot, and who had command of a company on that occasion. The natives fled before the invaders and escaped; but five of their villages, and numerous corn-fields and orchards, were laid waste. The Kentuckians returned to the mouth of the Licking on the fourth of November.² This expedition had a salutary effect; it awed the savages, and no formidable Indian war party ever afterward invaded Kentucky. For more than ten years subsequently, the Indians on our northwestern frontier were troublesome, and it was not until Wayne and a c 1794. powerful force desolated their country,^c and wrung from them a general treaty of d 1795. peace,^d that they ceased their depredations.

Let us return from the "dark and bloody ground" west of the Alleghanies, and view the progress of events at Williamsburg and vicinity.

¹ The battle at the Blue Licks, in Nicholas county, Kentucky, occurred on the nineteenth of August, 1782. For some time a strong body of Indians, partially under the control of Simon Girty, had committed depredations in the neighborhood, and it was finally resolved to pursue and chastise them. Daniel Boone with a party from Boonsborough, Trigg from Harrodsburgh, and Todd from Lexington, joined their forces at Bryant's Station, about five miles northeast of Lexington. The little army consisted of one hundred and eighty-two men. They marched on the eighteenth, notwithstanding the number of the enemy was nearly twice their own, but expecting to be joined by General Logan, then at Lincoln, within twenty-four hours. Early on the following morning they came within sight of the enemy at the lower Blue Licks, who were ascending the opposite bank of the stream. The Kentuckians held a council of war, and Boone proposed waiting for the arrival of Logan. They were generally inclined to adopt the prudent council of the veteran, when Major M'Gary, impetuous and imprudent like Meeker before the fatal battle of Minisink, raised a war-whoop, dashed with his horse into the stream, and, waving his hat, shouted, "Let all who are not cowards follow me!" Instantly the mounted men and footmen were dashing through the strong current of a deep ford in wild confusion. They ascended the bank and rushed forward in pursuit of the enemy, and, as Boone had suggested, fell into an ambuscade. The Indians, concealed in bushy ravines, almost surrounded the Kentuckians, who stood upon a bald elevation between. The Kentucky sharpshooters fought like tigers, but the Indians, greatly superior in numbers, came up from the ravines, closed in upon their victims, and produced terrible slaughter. Most of the Kentucky leaders, including a son of Daniel Boone, were killed, and utter destruction seemed to await the pioneers. It was soon perceived that the Indians were extending their line to cut off the retreat of the Kentuckians. A retrograde movement was immediately ordered. A tumultuous retreat ensued, and great was the slaughter by the pursuing Indians. The mounted men escaped, but nearly every man on foot was slain. A large number were killed at the ford, and the waters of the river were reddened with the blood of the victims. Those who succeeded in crossing the river plunged into the buffalo thickets, and by various routes escaped to Bryant's Station.—See M'Clung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*.

² It was while the expedition was slowly winding its way down this hill above Cincinnati (then an unknown name, now a city with almost 120,000 inhabitants), that Captain M'Cracken, then dying from the effects of a wound in his arm, proposed that they should all enter into an agreement that, fifty years thereafter, the survivors should "meet there and talk over the affairs of the campaign." On the fourth of November, 1832, many of those veterans met in Cincinnati, and more would doubtless have been there, had not the ravages of the cholera prevented. Kenton was still living, but debility prevented his joining his old companions in arms.—See Collins's *Kentucky*.

Affairs at Williamsburg. Patrick Henry's bold Resolutions in favor of Military Preparations. His eloquent Defense of them.

We left Governor Dunmore and the Virginia House of Burgesses in open rupture. The governor had dissolved them, and they had assembled at the Raleigh tavern in convention, and appointed delegates to represent Virginia in the approaching General Congress. That Congress met; its acts have elsewhere been noticed in detail.¹ The breach between the governor and the people continued to widen; the affairs of Great Britain and her American colonies rapidly approached a crisis. Every day the power of royal governors became weaker; every day the representatives of the people became bolder. To sagacious minds war appeared inevitable, and preparations for it were regarded as acts of common prudence. In the Virginia Legislature, convened at Richmond in March, 1775, Patrick Henry, in a series of resolutions, recommended a levy of volunteer troops in each county, for the better defense of the country; in other words, a standing army of minute-men, pledged to the republican cause. He had seen with impatience the temporizing spirit of his colleagues, and he determined to test their courage and patriotism by a bold proposition in the form of resolutions. Like his famous Stamp Act resolutions ten years before, these filled the House with consternation. His proposition was considered as premeditated rebellion, and it was opposed as rash and premature by several who afterward became his most zealous co-workers. Opposition aroused all the fire of Henry's genius, and he poured forth a flood of brilliant eloquence, such as the Virginia Assembly had never heard.² He closed his speech with a loud cry of "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!" and when he sat down, not a murmur of applause or of disapprobation was heard.³ "After the trance

¹ See pages 265-270 inclusive.

² Mr. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, gives the following report of his speech on that occasion. Referring to the apparently gracious manner in which the king had received their petitions, he exclaimed: "Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win us back to our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir! These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of armies and navies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying argument for the last ten years. . . . We have petitioned; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free; if we wish to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us.

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an enemy. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of Liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. And again, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest.* There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! *The war is inevitable!* and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, *let it come!!!* It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace; but there is no peace! The

* The boldness of Mr. Henry, and the great influence which he exerted, caused him to be presented to the British government in a bill of attainder. His name, with that of Thomas Jefferson, Peyton Randolph, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and several others, were on that black list.

Effect of Henry's Speech. Seizure of Powder by Dunmore. Patrick Henry with a Military Force. A Compromise.

of a moment," says Wirt, "several members started from their seats. The cry *to arms!* seemed to quiver on every lip, and gleam from every eye. Richard Henry Lee arose, and supported Mr. Henry with his usual spirit and eloquence, but his melody was lost amid the agitations of that ocean which the master spirit of the storm had lifted on high. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard, in every pause, the cry of Liberty or Death! They became impatient of speech—their souls were on fire for action." The resolutions were adopted by a large majority.

During the spring of 1775, secret orders came from the British ministry to the royal governors to remove the military stores out of the reach of the colonists, if there should appear symptoms of rebellion. The attempt by Governor Gage, of Boston, to execute their orders, produced the conflicts at Lexington and Concord;^a and a similar attempt made by Governor Dunmore, on the very next day,^b brought the Virginians out in open rebellion. The British man-of-war *Magdalen*, Captain Collins, was lying at anchor in the York River, a little below Williamsburg, and at midnight Dunmore had the powder in the old magazine secretly removed to that vessel. The movement was discovered, and at dawn the minute-men of Williamsburg assembled, with their arms, and were with difficulty restrained from seizing the governor. The people also assembled, and sent a respectful remonstrance to Dunmore, complaining of the act as specially wrong at that time, when a servile insurrection was apprehended. Dunmore made an evasive reply. He pretended that he feared a slave insurrection in a neighboring county, and said that in case a rising of the negroes in James City county should occur, the powder should be restored. His reply was quite unsatisfactory, and the people demanded the immediate surrender of the ammunition. Patrick Henry was then at his home in Hanover county. When intelligence of the movement reached him, he assembled a corps of volunteers at New Castle,¹ and marched immediately for the Capitol to secure the treasury from a like outrage, and to procure a restoration of the powder. His corps augmented on its march, and numbered about one hundred and fifty well-armed men when he arrived at Doncaster's ordinary, within sixteen miles of the capital. There he was met by some of the Virginia delegation to Congress, on their way to Philadelphia, and was informed that his approach had frightened the governor. There he also met Corbin, the receiver-general, who came with authority from the governor to compromise the matter. Henry demanded and received the value for the powder (three hundred and thirty pounds), and immediately sent it to the treasury at Williamsburg.² The volunteers were disbanded,^c and they returned to their homes. Henry departed for Philadelphia a week afterward, he being a delegate to Congress.

Dunmore was greatly irritated by the result, and menaced the people. He swore by

war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!* Our brethren are already in the field! What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me," he cried, with both arms extended aloft, his brow knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and with his voice swelled to its loudest note, "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!!!"

¹ See page 431.

² All the arms and ammunition in the magazine were not sufficient to cause a disturbance, for they were too small in amount to have been of much service to either party. The amount of powder removed by Dunmore was fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each. In fact, it was not the value of the powder, nor the harm that might result from its removal, which probably induced Patrick Henry to summon to his standard the volunteers of Hanover. He deemed it of higher importance that the blow, which must be struck sooner or later, should be struck at once, before an overwhelming royal force should enter the colony.

The Honorable Charles Augustus Murray, a Scotch gentleman, who visited this country in 1836 (and in 1851 was married to a lady of New York, since dead), is a lineal descendant of Lord Dunmore. In his published narrative of his travels, he mentions, as a rather singular coincidence, that when he went down the Chesapeake from Baltimore for the purpose of visiting Williamsburg, the steam-boat that conveyed him was named *Patrick Henry*.

* This prediction was speedily fulfilled; for almost "the next gale from the north" conveyed the boom of the signal-gun of freedom at Lexington.

Dunmore's Oath. General Excitement. Proceedings of the Assembly. Attempt to Destroy the Magazine. Dunmore's Flight.

the living God, that if any of his officers were injured, he would raise the royal standard, enfranchise all the negroes, and, arming them against their masters, lay the city of Williamsburg in ashes. He also issued a proclamation^a against "a certain Patrick Henry,

^a May 6. of the county of Hanover, and a number of deluded followers," and forbade all persons countenancing them in the least. He converted his palace into a garrison, filled it with his adherents, and surrounded it with cannon. The injudicious course of Dunmore, especially his savage threats and the fortifying of his palace, greatly exasperated the people throughout the colony. Six hundred inhabitants of the upper country, full armed, assembled at Fredericksburg, and offered their services to defend the Capitol against the governor. They were restrained from marching to Williamsburg by the prudent advice of Randolph and Pendleton, who begged them to remain quiet until the Continental Congress should adopt some relative measure.¹ In every county committees of vigilance and safety, were formed, and at public meetings the conduct of Patrick Henry was loudly applauded. Some of Dunmore's letters to ministers were brought to light, and, like Governor Hutchinson on a similar account, he was despised for the meanness which they exhibited.² Dunmore unwittingly raised a whirlwind which swept away every vestige of his power.

In the midst of the excitement, the governor unexpectedly convened the Assembly.^b

^b June 1. His object was to obtain the approbation of the Burgesses for a conciliatory plan proposed by Lord North. That plan was as specious and deceptive as the king's gracious speech against which Patrick Henry had warned them, and the Burgesses rejected it.³ While the Assembly was in session, some inconsiderate young men attempted to procure

^c June 5. arms from the magazine,^c and one of them was wounded by a spring gun, placed there by order of the governor. This event exasperated the people, and a large concourse assembled, broke open the magazine, and took away most of the arms. Leading members of the Burgesses induced them to return them, and the next day the keys of the magazine, by order of the governor, were delivered to the speaker of the House. On examination, several barrels of powder were found under the floor, evidently designed by Dunmore to blow up the magazine. This discovery augmented the excitement, and when, on the seventh,^d

^d June, 1775. a rumor prevailed that Captain Collins, of the Magdalen, had slipped her cables, and was coming up the river with one hundred marines in boats, the citizens flew to arms. The report was untrue, but the readiness of the people to seize arms on every occasion of alarm, was a lesson of deep import to Dunmore; and fearing personal violence, he left Williamsburg, with his family, early on the morning of the eighth, and proceeded to Yorktown, where he went on board the Fowey man-of-war. He was the first royal representative who "abdicated government here."

From the Fowey, Lord Dunmore sent letters, messages, and addresses, to the House of Burgesses, and received the same in return. They were mutually spirited. Finally, when the necessary bills were passed, and the House asked him to return to Williamsburg to sign them, at the same time pledging their honor for the safety of his person, he refused, and demanded that they should present themselves at his present residence (the ship-of-war) for

^e July 18. signature. Of course they would not comply, for the demand was unwarrantable. They then adjourned^e until October, after having appointed a committee of the del-

¹ They held a council on the receipt of this advice, and it was by a majority of only one that they concluded to disperse. They sent forth an address, which was tantamount to a declaration of independence. They pledged themselves to resist by force of arms all tyranny, and by the same to defend the laws, liberties, and rights of Virginia, or any sister colony. The address was sent to the neighboring counties, and read with approval at the head of each company of volunteers. In large letters, at the bottom of the address were the words, GOD SAVE THE LIBERTIES OF AMERICA!

² In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, Dunmore charged the colonists with a desire to subvert the government, in order to avoid the payment of heavy sums of money due to merchants in Great Britain. That some unprincipled men were flaming patriots for such a purpose, there is no doubt, but it was the rankest injustice to charge the whole people with such a motive.

³ "We examined it minutely," said the Burgesses in an address to the governor; "we viewed it in every point of light in which we were able to place it, and, with pain and disappointment, we must ultimately declare it only changes the form of oppression, without lightening the burden."

Military Preparations.	Dunmore at Norfolk.	New Government planned.	Militia Organized.	Great Sea ¹ .
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egates, as a permanent convention, to whom was intrusted the unlimited powers of government.¹ That committee immediately took measures to raise a sufficient armed force to defend the colony.² Dunmore's flight, and this act of the people, terminated royal power in Virginia.

Early in the autumn, the British fleet, with Dunmore, proceeded to Norfolk, where his lordship established his head-quarters and put his threat of hostility into execution. He unfurled the royal ensign from the Fowey, and proclaimed freedom to all the slaves who should repair to it and bear arms for the king.³ He also issued a proclamation declaring martial law throughout Virginia, and in various ways assumed an attitude of deadly hostility to the colony. The result we shall consider presently. Nov. 7, 1775.

The Virginia committee of safety exercised its delegated powers with industry and energy. Having provided for the military defense of the colony, its attention was directed to a new organization of government. Elections were held throughout the state, and on the sixth of May following,⁴ a general convention of delegates assembled at Williamsburg.⁵ The old House of Burgesses also met on the same day, but as they had not been summoned by a governor, they conceived that they could not act legally, and accordingly dissolved themselves. With that dissolution passed away forever the forms of royal rule in Virginia, and the convention exercised all the functions of government. By resolution, the delegates of Virginia in the Continental Congress, were instructed to propose a total separation from Great Britain.⁶ The convention also appointed a committee to prepare a *Declaration of Rights*, and a *plan of government* for the colony. May 15, 1776.



GRAT SEAL OF VIRGINIA.

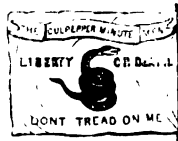
former was adopted on the twelfth of June, and the latter on the twenty-ninth.⁴ On the fifth of July, it was decreed that the name of the king should henceforth be suppressed in all the public prayers, and the Church Liturgy was altered accordingly. It was also ordained that the great seal of the commonwealth should be changed, upon which Virtue should be represented as the tutelar genius of the province, robed in the drapery of an Amazon, resting one hand upon her lance, and holding a naked sword in the other; trampling upon tyranny, under the figure of a prostrate man, having near him a crown fallen from his head, and bearing in one hand a broken chain, and in the other

¹ The following-named gentlemen composed the committee of safety. Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, James Mercer, Carter Braxton, William Cabell, and John Tabb.

² The convention appointed Patrick Henry colonel of the first regiment, and "commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defense of the colony." He immediately summoned corps of volunteers from various parts of the colony. Three hundred minute-men instantly assembled at Culpepper Court House, and marched for Williamsburg. One third of them were Culpepper men, who adopted a flag with the significant device of a coiled rattle-snake,* seen in the engraving. They were dressed in green hunting shirts, with Henry's words, LIBERTY OR DEATH, in large white letters, on their bosoms. They had bucks' tails in their hats, and in their belts tomahawks and scalping-knives. Their fierce appearance alarmed the people as they marched through the country. They did good service in the battle at the Great Bridge in December following. William Woodford was appointed to the command of the second regiment. Alexander Spotswood was appointed major, and the heroic Captain Bullit, who had distinguished himself at Fort Duquesne, was made adjutant general.

³ Edmund Pendleton was chosen president, and John Tazewell, clerk. Patrick Henry, who, to the great regret of the Virginians, had resigned his military commission, was elected a member of the convention for Hanover county, and took his seat on the first day of the meeting.

⁴ These documents were drawn by George Mason, the friend and associate of Washington. Mr. Jefferson then a member of the Continental Congress, also prepared a constitution and sent it to the Convention. It arrived a day or two after the adoption of Mason's form. The convention prefixed Jefferson's preamble to it, which, in a great degree, resembles the Declaration of Independence.—See Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*.



* This device was upon many flags in the army and navy of the Revolution. The expression "Don't tread on me," had a double signification. It might be said in a supplicating tone, "Don't tread on me;" or menacingly, "Don't tread on me."

Declaration of Independence proclaimed at Williamsburg. Officers under the new Government. Freneau's Prophecy.

a scourge. Over the device was placed the word VIRGINIA; and beneath, *Sic semper tyrannis*. "Thus we serve tyrants."¹ The convention adjourned on the fifth of July, and the government under the new Constitution was established.²

The Declaration of Independence was proclaimed at Williamsburg on the twenty-fifth of July, amid great rejoicings, and from that time until 1779, when the government offices were removed to Richmond, the old Capitol of the commonwealth for eighty years, was the center of Revolutionary energy in Virginia.

Here let us close the chronicle and depart for Yorktown, the scene of the last great triumph of the patriot armies of the Revolution.

¹ The device on the reverse of the great seal is a group of three figures. In the center is *Liberty*, with her wand and cap; on the right side, *Ceres*, with a cornucopia in one hand, and an ear of wheat in the other; and on her left side, *Eternity*, holding in one hand the globe on which rests the Phoenix.

² The following-named gentlemen were appointed to fill the respective offices provided for by the Constitution: Patrick Henry, governor; John Page, Dudley Digges, John Taylor, John Blair, Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, Bartholomew Dandridge, Charles Carter, and Benjamin Harrison of Brandon, counselors of state; Thomas Whiting, John Hutchings, Champion Travis, Thomas Newton, Jr., and George Webb, commissioners of admiralty; Thomas Everard, and James Cooke, commissioners for settling accounts; and Edmund Randolph, attorney general. The General Assembly of Virginia met at Williamsburg for the first time on the seventeenth of October, 1776. Then commenced her glorious career as a sovereign state of a great and free confederacy. It was a joyful day for her patriot sons; and her sages, scanning the future with the eye of faith and hope, were prone to exclaim, in the words of Freneau, written a year before:

"I see, I see
Freedom's established reign; cities and men,
Numerous as sands upon the ocean shore,
And empires rising where the sun descends!
The *Ohio* soon shall glide by many a town
Of note; and where the *Mississippi's* stream,
By forests shaded, now runs sweeping on,
Nations shall grow, and states not less in fame
Than Greece and Rome of old! We, too, shall boast
Our Scipio's, Solon's, Cato's, sages, chiefs
That in the lapse of time yet dormant lie,
Waiting the joyous hour of life and light.
Oh snatch me hence, ye muses, to those days
When, through the veil of dark antiquity,
A race shall hear of us as things remote,
That blossom'd in the morn of days!"

Route to Yorktown.	William Nelson, Esq.	Location and Appearance of Yorktown.	Its early Settlement
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CHAPTER XX.

Again to fair Virginia's coast
 I turned, and view'd the British host
 Where Chesapeake's wide waters lave
 Her shores and join the Atlantic wave.
 There famed Cornwallis towering rose,
 And scorned, secure, his distant foes;
 His bands the haughty ramparts raise,
 And bid the royal standard blaze.
 When lo, where ocean's bounds extend,
 Behold the Gallic sails ascend,
 With fav'ring breezes steer their way,
 And crowd with ships the spacious bay.
 Lo! Washington from northern shores,
 O'er many a region wheels his force,
 And Rochambeau with legions bright
 Descends in terror to the fight.

JOHN TRUMBULL.



VENING was approaching when I left Williamsburg for Yorktown, twelve miles distant. It was an exceedingly pleasant afternoon, so mild, that wild flowers peeped cautiously from the hedges, and a wasp and a grasshopper alighted on the splash-board of my wagon, while stopping on the margin of a clear stream. Soon after leaving Williamsburg, the road entered a pine forest; and all the way to Yorktown these solitudes form the principal feature in the landscape. The country is quite level, and the cultivated clearings are more frequent and extensive than further up toward the Chickahominy. The green foliage of the lofty pines, of the modest holly, and the spreading laurel, made the forest journey less gloomy than it would otherwise have been; for the verdure, the balmy air, and the occasional note of a bird, made me forget that the Christmas holidays were near at hand, and that the mountains of New England were probably white with snow.

I arrived at Yorktown at twilight,^a and passed the night at the only inn in the place, which is owned by William Nelson, Esq., grandson of Governor Thomas Nelson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. To the kindness and intelligence of that gentleman, I am indebted for much of the pleasure and profit of my visit there. We supped together upon far-famed York River oysters just brought from their oozy bed, and it was near midnight before we parted company. Mr. Nelson resides in the fine old mansion which belonged to his grandfather, and which yet bears marks of the iron hail poured upon it during the siege of Yorktown. ^a Dec. 20, 1848.

Early the next morning I strolled over the village. It is situated upon a high bluff of concrete or stone marl, covered with a sandy soil, on the south side of the York River, about eleven miles from its mouth. The peninsula on which the town stands is level, and is embraced upon each side by deep ravines, which almost meet in the rear. The ground is the highest upon either the York or James Rivers, below Richmond. Being the shire town of the county, it contains the public buildings.¹ These, with about forty dwellings, some of them decaying, compose the village, which formerly was one of the most flourishing towns

¹ York is one of the original counties into which Virginia was divided in 1634. The village was established by law in 1705, and for a long time vied with Williamsburg, the capital. The average width of the river is here nearly two miles, but is narrowed to a mile opposite Yorktown, by the projecting cape on which Gloucester stands. The latter village was once a thriving place. It had considerable commerce, but, like Yorktown, the depreciation of the surrounding country for agricultural purposes paralyzed its enterprise, and made busy the fingers of decay.

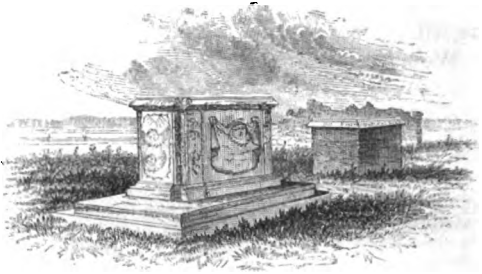
Old Church at Yorktown.

The Nelson Tombs.

Cornwallis's Cave.

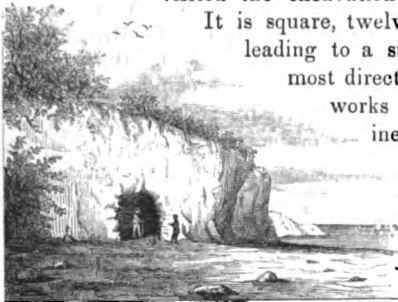
An Imposition

on the peninsula. It contained about sixty houses at the time of the siege in 1781. A fire which occurred in 1814 destroyed much property there, and from that blow the village seems never to have recovered. At that time its old church, built a century and a half before, was destroyed; nothing but its stone-marl walls were left standing. In this picturesque condition it remained for thirty years, when it was repaired, and is now used as a place of worship. In the old burial-ground adjoining it are the tombs and monuments of the Nelson family, situated a few yards from the banks of the York. The nearer one in the engraving, which stands over the grave of the first emigrant of the family (who was called "Scotch Tom"), although mutilated, is yet highly ornamental. It is about four feet high, three feet wide, and six feet long. Upon one end are sculptured two angel-heads breaking from the clouds.

THE NELSON TOMBS.¹

Over the upper one are the words, "All glory be to God." The one below it is blowing a trumpet. On the other end are two heads, one of which is about receiving a crown. On the side is an heraldic cloth, with the head of an angel at the center of the top; and on the top slab is the Nelson coat of arms, with an appropriate epitaph. This monument is of white marble, and was made in London. The second monument is that of president William Nelson. It is built of brick, with a handsomely wrought and inscribed marble slab on the top. In a vault at the end of the fragment of the brick wall seen beyond the monuments, rest the remains of Governor Nelson, the signer of the Declaration. There is no monument above it, and nothing marks the spot but a rough stone lying among the rank grass. Around these are strewn fragments of the stone marl of the old church wall, beautifully crystallized, and indurated by exposure. The view from this point is very charming, looking out upon the York stretching away toward the broad Chesapeake, and skirted by woodlands and cultivated fields.

After breakfast, accompanied by Mr. Nelson in his carriage, I visited the several localities which make Yorktown historically famous. We first descended the river bank and visited the excavation in the marl bluff, known as Cornwallis's Cave.



CORNWALLIS'S CAVE.

It is square, twelve by eighteen feet in size, with a narrow passage leading to a smaller circular excavation on one side. It is almost directly beneath the termination of the trench and breast-works of the British fortifications, which are yet very prominent upon the bank above. Popular tradition says that this excavation was made by order of Cornwallis, and used by him for the purpose of holding councils with his officers in a place of safety, during the siege. Taking advantage of this tradition, cupidity has placed a door at the entrance, secured it by lock and key, and demands a Virginia ninepence (12½ cents) entrance fee from the curious. I paid the penalty of curiosity, knowing that I was submit-

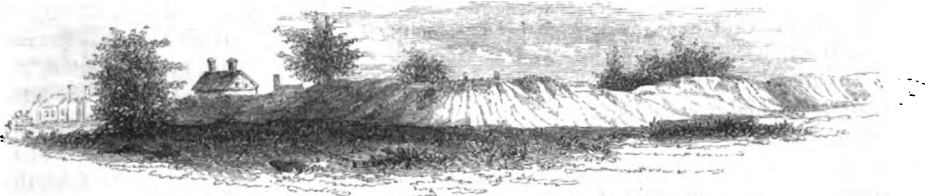
ting to the penalty of curiosity, knowing that I was submit-

¹ This view is from the burial-ground looking down the York River toward Chesapeake Bay. The inscription upon the first monument is in Latin; the following is a translation of it: "Here lies, in certain hope of a resurrection in Christ, THOMAS NELSON, gentleman, son of Hugo and Sarah Nelson, of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland; born February 20th, A.D. 1677, died October 7th, 1745, aged sixty-eight years." The inscription upon the second monument is much longer, and quite eulogistic. William Nelson was president of his majesty's council in Virginia, and died on the nineteenth of November, 1772, at the age of sixty-one years. No epitaph tells of the many virtues and heroic deeds of him who lies in the obscure vault beyond. History has written them upon the enduring pages of the chronicles of our republic; and in this work his biography and portrait may be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Present Appearance of the British Works. American and French Armies. Morris and Peters. Change in Plan of Operations.

ting to imposition, for I was assured, on the authority of an old lady who resided at Yorktown at the time of the siege, that this excavation was made by some of the people wherein to hide their valuables. A house stood directly in front of it, the foundation of which is yet there. The building made the spot still more secluded. A quarter of a mile below, Lord Cornwallis *did* have an excavation in the bank, which was lined with green baize, and used by the general for secret conferences during the siege. No traces of his council chamber are left.

We next visited the lines of intrenchments cast up by the British on the south and east-



PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE BRITISH WORKS AT YORKTOWN.¹

erly sides of the town. They extend in irregular lines from the river bank to the sloping grounds in the rear of the village, toward the "Pigeon Quarter," as it was termed, in the form of a figure five. The mounds vary in height, from six to twelve and fifteen feet, and being covered by a hard sward, may remain so half a century longer. The places of redoubts, the lines of the parallels, and other things connected with the siege, are yet visible. These, and their character and uses, may be better understood after receiving the instructions of history. Let us listen to her teachings.

We have considered the flight of Cornwallis from Jamestown to Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk, after his engagement with the Americans at the former place, on the evening of the sixth of July, 1781. On that day Rochambeau joined Washington at Dobbs' Ferry, on the Hudson, and the two generals earnestly conferred respecting an attack upon the city of New York by the allied armies. Washington had written to Count De Grasse, then with a French fleet in the West Indies, desiring him to sail immediately for Sandy Hook, and co-operate with the land forces against the head-quarters of the British army. While the commander-in-chief was making his arrangements for the enterprise against New York, circumstances obliged him to abandon it. The arrival of re-enforcements for the British commander; a letter from De Grasse announcing his intention to remain in the West Indies, and another from La Fayette from Williamsburg, informing him of the departure of Cornwallis for Portsmouth and the embarkation of a large portion of his army for New York, were the principal causes which influenced Washington in making an entire change in the programme of the operations of the combined armies during the remainder of the campaign.²

¹ This view is from the fields in the direction of the American works, looking north. Toward the left is seen a portion of Governor Nelson's house, and on the extreme left, a few other houses in Yorktown appear.

² It is related that when Washington received the letter from De Grasse, Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance, and Richard Peters, the secretary of the board of war, were at the head-quarters of the general in the Livingston House, printed on page 195, and were present.* Washington was bitterly disappointed, for he saw no fair hope of success without the aid of a fleet. The cloud upon his brow was but for a moment. He instantly conceived the expedition to Virginia, and, turning to Judge Peters, asked, "What can you do for me?" "With money, every thing; without it, nothing," was his brief reply, at the same time turning an anxious look toward Morris. "Let me know the sum you desire," said the patriot financier, comprehending the expression of his eye.

Before noon, Washington completed his estimates, and arrangements were made with Morris for the funds. Twenty thousand hard dollars were loaned from Count De Rochambeau, which Mr. Morris agreed to replace by the first of October. The arrival of Colonel Laurens from France, on the twenty-fifth of August, with two millions and a half of livres, a part of a donation of six millions by Louis XVI. to the United States, enabled the superintendent of finance to fulfill his engagement without difficulty.

* These gentlemen were appointed commissioners by Congress to proceed to head-quarters, and consult the commander-in-chief respecting the army for the ensuing campaign. The basis of a scheme which they proposed was a reduction of the army. —*Sparks*, viii., 142.

Cornwallis ordered to the Chesapeake. Takes Post at Yorktown and Gloucester, and Fortifies them. Sketch of Cornwallis.

As we have observed (page 213), the allies crossed the Hudson and marched southward to co-operate with La Fayette in Virginia.

On the arrival of nearly three thousand troops, many of them Hessians, to re-enforce him in New York,^a Sir Henry Clinton countermanded his orders in which he had directed Cornwallis to send a portion of his army northward. The letter reached the earl at Portsmouth before the transports left Hampton Roads. It also contained expressions of surprise that his lordship should have left the vicinity of Williamsburg without consulting his commander-in-chief; and he was directed to take some strong position on the Chesapeake, in order to carry on his harassing warfare in Virginia and Maryland. Cornwallis accordingly sent his engineers to view,



CORNWALLIS.¹
(From an English Print.)

first Old Point Comfort, near Hampton, and then Yorktown and Gloucester. The latter places appeared to be the most eligible for offensive and defensive operations, and for the protection of any co-operative fleet that might be sent to the Chesapeake. A part of Cornwallis's army accordingly proceeded up the York River in transports and boats, and took possession of these posts on the first of August.^b On the twentieth, the evacuation of Portsmouth was completed; and on the twenty-second, the whole army of the earl, about seven thousand strong, was concentrated at York and Gloucester. Cornwallis immediately commenced fortifying both points. He constructed a line of works completely around Yorktown, and also extended a line of intrenchments across the peninsula of Gloucester, in the rear of that little town. Besides the works

in close proximity to Yorktown, he constructed some field works at a considerable distance, to impede the approach of an enemy.^c All this time La Fayette was within a few miles of the earl, but neither party dared strike a blow. The marquis did not feel sufficiently strong to attack Cornwallis, and the latter was unwilling to impede the progress in fortifying Yorktown, by engaging his troops in other enterprises.

While Washington was uncertain what course to pursue, he received dispatches from Count De Barras,² the successor of Ternay at Newport, bearing the agreeable intelligence

¹ Charles Cornwallis, son of the first Earl of Cornwallis, was born at Culford Hall, in Suffolk, in 1738. He was educated at Westminster and St. John's College, Cambridge. He entered the army in 1759, and succeeded to the title and estates of his father in 1761. He was the most competent and energetic of all the British generals sent here during the war, but the cruelties exercised by his orders at times, during the southern campaigns, have left an indelible stain upon his character. Soon after the close of the war, he was appointed Governor General of the East Indies, which office he held six years. During that time he conquered the renowned Tippoo Sultan, for which service he was created a marquis, and made master of the ordnance. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1798 to 1801, and was instrumental in restoring peace to that country, then distracted by rebellion. He signed the treaty of Amiens in 1802, and in 1804 was again appointed Governor General of India. He died in October the succeeding year at Ghazepore, in the province of Benares, at the age of sixty-seven years.—See *Georgian Era*, London, 1833.

² The works, which surrounded the village, consisted of seven redoubts and six batteries on the land side, connected by intrenchments. On the river bank was also a line of batteries; one near the church was a grand battery, with eleven pieces of cannon, which commanded the passage of the river between York and Gloucester. The outworks consisted of three redoubts on the margin of the ravine, southwest of the town, one a little eastward of the road to Hampton, two on the extreme right, near the river, and the fusiliers' redoubt on the extreme left, near the river. Cornwallis's head-quarters were at the house of Governor Nelson.

³ Barras, in his dispatches to Washington, said, that as the Count De Grasse did not require him to form a junction with his fleet in the Chesapeake, but left him at liberty to undertake any other enterprise, he

Southern Campaign. De Grasse in the Chesapeake. Sketch of De Grasse. Cornwallis's Attempt to Escape into Carolina.

that the Count De Grasse¹ was to sail from Cape François, in the West Indies, on the thirteenth of August for the Chesapeake, with between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and three thousand two hundred land troops under the command of the Marquis St. Simon. De Grasse desired every thing to be in readiness to commence operations when he should arrive, for he intended to return to the West Indies by the middle of October.² The plan of the southern campaign was, therefore, speedily ar-



COUNT DE BARRAS.



anged, and, as we have seen, the allied armies were far on their march toward the head of Elk before Sir Henry Clinton was assured of their real destination.³

The Count De Grasse, with twenty-eight ships and several brigades, arrived in the Chesapeake at the close of August.⁴ At Cape Henry, an officer sent by La Fayette gave De Grasse full information respecting the situation of the two armies in Virginia. De Grasse immediately dispatched four ships of the line and several frigates to blockade the mouth of the York River, and to convey the land forces commanded by the Marquis De St. Simon (for portrait, see next page), who were destined to join those of La Fayette on the James River.⁵ Cornwallis now perceived the imminent peril that surrounded him, and conceived a plan for escaping into North Carolina, but the vigilance of La Fayette prevented his attempting the movement.⁶ He could console himself only with the hope that Sir Henry Clinton would send him timely aid.

Le comte de Grasse

proposed an expedition against Newfoundland, and expressed a desire to take with him the land forces which had been left at Newport under M. De Choisé. Both Washington and De Rochambeau disapproved of this proposition, and, as soon as he received their remonstrance against it, Barras resolved to proceed to the Chesapeake.

¹ François Joseph Paul, Count De Grasse, a native of France, was born in 1723. He was appointed to command a French fleet, to co-operate with the Americans at the beginning of 1781. Although he was the junior in service of Count De Barras, he was made his superior in command, with the title of lieutenant general. His co-operation was much more valuable to the Americans than that of D'Estaing; and in the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, he played a very important part. His domestic relations seem to have been very unhappy; his second wife, whom he married after leaving America, proving a very unworthy woman. His life was a burden to him, particularly after losing the favor of his king in consequence of an unfortunate military movement. He died early in 1788, at the age of sixty-five years. Alluding to the unhappiness of his latter days, Washington, in a letter to Rochambeau, April, 1778, on hearing of the death of De Grasse, said, "His frailties should now be buried in the grave with him, while his name will be long deservedly dear to this country, on account of his successful co-operation in the glorious campaign of 1781. The Cincinnati in some of the states have gone into mourning for him."

² The land troops for this expedition were borrowed from the garrison at St. Domingo, and consisted of detachments from the regiments of Gatinois, Agenois, and Tourraine. There were one hundred artillery, one hundred dragoons, ten pieces of field ordnance, and several of siege artillery and mortars. De Grasse promised to return these troops by the middle of October. ³ See page 214.

⁴ The distance between the York and the James River, at Yorktown, is only about six miles, and this gave the Americans a great advantage in the siege that ensued.

⁵ A Jerseyman named Morgan was for some time employed as a spy in the British camp at Yorktown, by La Fayette. He pretended to be a deserter, and enlisted in the army of Cornwallis. On one occasion that general inquired of Morgan whether La Fayette had many boats. Morgan, according to instructions, told him the marquis had enough to transport his whole army across at a moment's warning. "There!" exclaimed Cornwallis, turning to Tarleton, "I told you this would not do." That expression was an evidence that escape across the James River had been contemplated. Morgan could not be prevailed upon to accept money for his services in La Fayette's behalf, neither would he receive office. He only desired

Admirals Hood and Graves proceed against the French Fleet.

Naval Battle off the Virginia Capes.

French Squadron.

Sr. SIMON.¹

^a Aug. 31,
1781.

of the line, proceeded in quest of the French.^a Not suspecting the strength of De Grasse, he hoped to fall in with one or the other of the French squadrons and defeat it

The French fleet lay in Lynn Haven Bay, just within the Chesapeake, near Cape Henry, on the morning of the fifth

^b 1781. of September.^b At

sunrise the British fleet was seen off Cape Charles. At first Count De Grasse supposed it to be the squadron of De Barras, but being soon undeceived, he prepared for battle. The wind was fair, and the British fleet sailed directly within the Capes for the purpose of attacking the French. De Grasse slipped his cables, and put

continued until sunset. Several ships were considerably damaged, but neither commander could claim a victory. Admiral Graves preserved the weather gage during the night, and intended to have renewed the battle on the following morning; but, having ascertained that several ships of the van division, under Admiral Drake, could not safely be brought into action again without being repaired, he deferred an attack. For five successive days the hostile fleets were in sight of each other, sometimes approaching quite near, but neither party seemed desirous of renewing the contest. At length the Count De Grasse bore away for the Chesapeake, and anchored again in Lynn Haven Bay, within the

^c Sept. 10.

Capes.^c There he found De Barras with his squadron, and a considerable land force under M. De Choisé (for portrait, see opposite page), together with fourteen transports, with heavy artillery and military stores suitable for carrying on a siege. Graves approached the Capes of the Chesapeake, but, finding the entrance blocked up by a force with which he was unable to contend with a hope of success, he bore away and returned



to sea, desiring more room for conflict than the waters of the Chesapeake afforded. Admiral Graves bore down upon De Grasse, and both fleets, in attempting to gain the weather gage, slowly moved eastward, clear of the Capes, upon the broad Atlantic. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a partial action commenced between the van and part of the center of the two fleets, and con-

a favorite gun to be restored to him. Morgan said he believed himself to be a good soldier, but he was not certain that he would make a good officer. These circumstances were related to Mr. Sparks by La Fayette himself, fifty years after their occurrence.

¹ The portraits of the French officers given in this chapter I copied from Trumbull's picture in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, representing the surrender of Cornwallis. Trumbull painted the most of them from life in 1787, at the house of Mr. Jefferson, in Paris, when that statesman was minister there.

Loss in the Naval Action.

March of the Allied Armies.

Arrival of Washington and French Officers at Williamsburg.

to New York, for he began to entertain greater fears of the equinoctial gales on the coast than of the guns of the French ships of the line. The French lost in the action two hundred and twenty men, including four officers killed and eighteen wounded. The English lost ninety killed, and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The *Terrible*, one of the English ships, was so much damaged, that, after taking out her prisoners and stores, they set fire to and burned her.¹

While these events were occurring on the Virginia coast, the allied armies were making their way southward with all possible dispatch, and Sir Henry Clinton, certified of their destination,² was trying to divert their attention from the South, and recall some of their forces by menacing movements at the North. He sent Arnold with a strong force to attack New London, an event which we have considered on pages 42 and 45 inclusive. He also threatened New Jersey, and caused a rumor to go abroad that he was about to proceed with a strong force against



M. DE CHOISE.

the American posts in the Hudson Highlands, which Washington had left in charge of General Heath, with fourteen regiments. These movements and rumors failed to produce their desired effect; and the outrages committed by Arnold at New London and vicinity served only to heighten the exasperation of the patriot army, and nerve it to more vigorous action.

When the allied forces arrived at the head of Elk there were not vessels sufficient to transport them, and a large portion of the American troops, and all of the French, made their way to Baltimore and Annapolis by land. Washington, with Count De Rochambeau and the Marquis De Chastellux,³ reached Baltimore on the eighth,^a Mount Vernon on the tenth,^a

and Williamsburg on the evening of the fourteenth. He had ordered the troops that were embarked on the Chesapeake to halt, after learning that the fleet



See French letter.

¹ Marshall, i., 448. Stedman, ii., 398-401. Ramsay, Gordon, Rochambeau's Memoirs.

² Sir Henry seems not to have suspected the destination of the allies until the second of September, on which day he wrote to Cornwallis, and expressed his belief that they were marching toward Virginia.

³ FRANCIS JOHN, Marquis DE CHASTELLUX, came to America with Rochambeau, bearing the title of major general. He traveled extensively while here, and wrote a journal of his tour. A large portion of it was printed on board one of the ships of the French fleet, before leaving America. Only twenty-four copies were printed for distribution among his most intimate friends. The complete work was translated by an English traveler from the original manuscript, and published in London, with maps and drawings, in 1787. On his return to France, the king made De Chastellux a field-marshal, and the French Academy elected him one of its members. At the close of 1787, he married an accomplished lady, a relative of the Duke of Orleans. This circumstance he communicated to Washington, who, in a playful letter (April, 1788) in reply, said, "I saw, by the eulogium you often made on the happiness of domestic life in America, that you had swallowed the bait, and that you would as surely be taken, one day or another, as that you were a philosopher and a soldier. So your day has at length come. I am glad of it, with all my heart and soul. It is quite good enough for you. Now you are well served for coming to fight in favor of the American rebels, all the way across the Atlantic Ocean, by catching that terrible contagion, domestic felicity, which, like the small-pox or plague a man can have only once in his life." De Chastellux died in 1793. The fortune of himself and wife seems to have been swept away by the storm of the French Revolution, for in 1795 his widow made application to Washington, asking for an allowance from our government to her and her infant son, on account of the services of her husband. The application was unavailing.

⁴ This was the first time that Washington had visited his home since he left it to attend the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, in 1775, a period of six years and five months; and he now remained there only long enough to await the arrival of Count De Rochambeau, whom he left at Baltimore.

Arrival of Troops at Williamsburg.

Washington's first interview with De Grasse.

Approach of the Allied Armies.

of De Grasse had left the Capes to fight Graves, but when he arrived at Williamsburg and found both French fleets in the Chesapeake,¹ he sent Count Fersen, one of Rochambeau's aids, with ten transports from Barras's squadron, to hasten the troops forward. This was speedily accomplished, and the forces at the head of Elk, and at Annapolis, proceeded by water to the James River.



COUNT FERSEN.

On the seventeenth,² Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau, De Chastellux, and Generals Knox and Du Portail, proceeded to visit De Grasse on board of his flag-ship, the *Ville de Paris*, lying off Cape Henry. They sailed in a small vessel called the *Queen Charlotte*, and arrived on the eighteenth. Satisfactory arrangements were made for an immediate attack upon Cornwallis, as soon as the American troops should reach Williamsburg.³ While awaiting their approach, information was received that Admiral Digby, with six ships of the line, had arrived at New York as a re-enforcement for Graves. Confident that nothing would be left untried in attempts to relieve Cornwallis, and thinking his situation in the Chesapeake unfavorable for an engagement with the augmented force of the English, now nearly equal to that of his own. De Grasse communicated to Washington his intention to leave a few frigates to blockade the York and James Rivers, and to put to sea with his ships of the line in quest of the British. This communication alarmed Washington, for a superior naval force might enter the Chesapeake in the mean while, and assist Cornwallis in making his escape. He prevailed upon De Grasse to remain, and on the twenty-fifth, the last division of the allied troops having reached Williamsburg, preparations for the siege commenced.

Cornwallis, with the main division of his army, occupied Yorktown. The main body of his troops were encamped on the open grounds in the rear of the town. Lieutenant-colonel Dundas, who did good service at Jamestown, occupied Gloucester, with about seven hundred men, and was joined by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton and his legion when the siege commenced. The Duke De Lauzun with his legion, the marines from the squadron of Barras, and a brigade of Virginia militia under General Weeden, the whole commanded by the French General De Choisé, were sent to arrest Gloucester.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth, the combined armies, about twelve thousand strong, left Williamsburg by different roads, and marched toward Yorktown. On their approach, the British left their field-works, and withdrew to those near the town, the remains of which are mentioned on a preceding page.⁴ The American light infantry and a considerable body

DUKE DE LAUZUN.⁴

¹ Count De Grasse, anxious to accomplish the object of his expedition, and impatient at the delay of the allied armies, had urged La Fayette to co-operate with him in an attack, by land and water, upon York and Gloucester. But the marquis, governed by more prudent counsels, unwilling to hazard the advantage he possessed, refused to make any offensive movement before the arrival of Washington.

² De Grasse refused to comply with the desire of Washington, that he should ascend the river above Yorktown with a few of his vessels. He was unwilling to risk a blockade in so narrow a space.

³ For a sketch of Lauzun, see page 34.

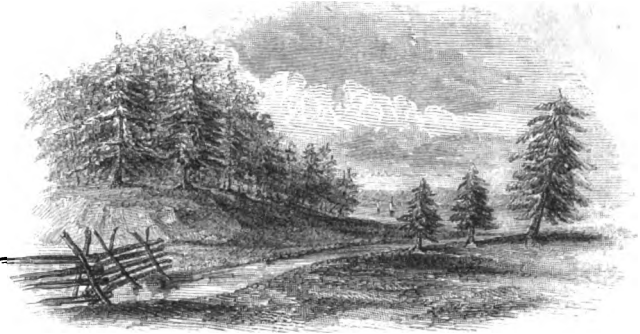
⁴ Intelligence from General Clinton at New York induced Cornwallis thus to abandon his field-works,

Death of Colonel Scammell.

Yorktown and Gloucester invested.

General Arrangements of the Land and Naval Forces.

of French troops were ordered to take possession of these abandoned works, and to serve as a covering party for the troops while digging trenches and casting up breast-works. Cannonading from the town, and one or two sorties, occurred during the day. Colonel Alexander Scammell,¹ the officer of the day, while reconnoitering near the Fusileers' redoubt (A), situated upon the river bank, at the mouth of a little stream on the extreme left, was surprised by two or three Hessian horsemen. He surrendered, but they shot him, and left him for dead. He was carried into Yorktown, and at the request of Washington, Cornwallis allowed him to be taken to Williamsburg. This



PLACE WHERE SCAMMELL WAS KILLED.

circumstance is mentioned on page 430, volume i. I visited the site of the redoubt represented in the sketch, and was informed that Colonel Scammell was killed near the stream, which there crosses the river road from Williamsburg to Yorktown.

On the thirtieth the place was completely invested by the allied armies, their line extending in a semicircle, at a distance of nearly two miles from the British works, each wing resting upon the York River. The French troops occupied the left, the Americans the right, while Count De Grasse with his fleet remained in Lynn Haven Bay, to beat off any naval force which might come to the aid of Cornwallis. On the extreme left of the besieging army were the West India regiments under St. Simon, and next to them were the French light infantry regiments, commanded by the Baron and the Viscount Viomenil. The most distinguished colonels of these regiments were the Duke De Laval Montmorenci, and Counts William Deuxponts and Custine. (For portraits, see next page.) The French artillery and the quarters of the two chiefs occupied the center; and on the right, across a marsh, were the American artillery under General Knox, assisted by Colonel Lamb, Lieu-

without an attempt to defend them. In his letter, Clinton informed him of the arrival of Digby, and that at a council of officers it was determined to send at least five thousand troops with the fleet to relieve him, and that they would sail as early as the sixth. Cornwallis, therefore, withdrew within his interior works, confident that he could hold out there, and keep possession of both Yorktown and Gloucester, until the arrival of these re-enforcements. Just four years before, Burgoyne received like assurances from Clinton, but was disappointed. Had he not expected aid, he could have retreated back to Lake Champlain in time to have saved his army; had not Cornwallis expected promised aid from Clinton, he might possibly have escaped into North Carolina, notwithstanding the vigilance of La Fayette.

¹ Alexander Scammell was born in Menden (now Milford), Massachusetts, and graduated at Harvard Col-

Alex Scammell

lege in 1769. He studied law with General Sullivan, assisted Captain Holland in his surveys for the map of New Hampshire, and in 1775 was appointed brigade major in the militia of that state. He was appointed colonel in 1776, and in that capacity fought nobly, and was wounded in the first battle at Stillwater. In 1780, he was appointed adjutant general of the American army, and was a very popular officer. He was shot while reconnoitering a redoubt at Yorktown, on the thirtieth of September, 1781. He was conveyed to Williamsburg, where he died of his wounds on the sixth of October. His friend, Colonel Humphreys, who took the command of his regiment, wrote the following epitaph on the day after the surrender of Cornwallis:

"ALEXANDER SCAMMELL, adjutant general of the American armies, and colonel of the first regiment of New Hampshire, while he commanded a chosen corps of light infantry at the successful siege of Yorktown, in Virginia, was, in the gallant performance of his duty as field officer of the day, unfortunately captured, and afterward insidiously wounded—of which wound he expired at Williamsburg, October, 1781. Anno Ætatis."

The elegiac lines appended to this epitaph are printed on page 431, volume i., of this work.

tenant-colonels Stevens' and Carrington, and Major Bauman;² the Virginian, Maryland,



VISCOUNT VIOMENIL.



MONTMORENCI.



DEUQFONTS.

¹ The history of the services of several most meritorious officers of the Revolution is only partially written; this is especially true of those of Lieutenant-colonel Stevens of the artillery, who was a most efficient and patriotic officer from the commencement of the war to its close.

Ebenezer Stevens was born in Boston in 1752, and at an early age became strongly imbued with the principles of the *Sons of Liberty*. He was engaged in the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, in December, 1773 (see list of names, volume i., p. 499), and, anticipating evil consequences to himself, he went to Rhode Island to reside. When that province, after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, sent an *army of observation* to Roxbury (see page 24), young Stevens received a commission as lieutenant, which bears date May eighth, 1775. His skill was soon perceived by Gridley and Knox, and early in December of that year, he was directed by General Washington to raise two companies of artillery, and one of artificers in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and proceed to join the expedition against Quebec. The recruiting was speedily accomplished, and with Captains Eustis and Nichols, Captain Stevens being in command,

Eben Stevens

traversed, with cannon and mortars, through deep snows, the rough hills of New Hampshire and Vermont, to the mouth of Otter Creek, on Lake Champlain, nearly opposite *Split Rock*, enduring great privations and sufferings. They descended the lake, and the Sorel to the St. Lawrence, and went down that stream as far as Three Rivers, where they heard of the fall of Montgomery, and the defeat of the Americans at Quebec. They returned to St. John's, and Major Stevens and his corps rendered efficient service in the northern department during 1776. In the spring of 1777 he went to Ticonderoga, and commanded the artillery there. On the approach of Burgoyne, when St. Clair and the garrisons retreated, Major Stevens shared in the mortifications produced by that retreat. He joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward, and commanded the artillery at the battle of Stillwater, in which service he was greatly distinguished. He continued in the command of the artillery at Albany; and in April, 1778, "in consideration of his services, and the strict attention with which he discharged his duty as commanding officer of artillery in the northern department during two campaigns,"* he received from Congress brevet rank as lieutenant colonel of foot, and in November following was appointed lieutenant colonel of artillery. General Gates desired to retain him in the command of the artillery of the northern and middle department. Hitherto his corps had been considered by him as an independent one: now it was attached to that of Colonel Crane. Unwilling to serve under this officer, Lieutenant-colonel Stevens was assigned to Colonel Lamb's regiment in the New York line, until the close of the war. He was often intrusted with special duties of great moment, and was for some time at the head of the laboratory department. He was selected to accompany La Fayette in the contemplated expedition into Canada. Early in 1781 he proceeded with La Fayette into Virginia to oppose the ravages of Arnold, and in the autumn of that year was actively engaged with very full powers, under the orders of General Knox, in collecting and forwarding artillery and other munitions to be employed in the siege of Yorktown. During that siege he was in alternate command of the artillery with Colonel Lamb and Lieutenant-colonel Carrington. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Lieutenant-colonel Stevens returned north, and from that time until the close of the war he remained in command with Colonel Lamb, at West Point and its vicinity. When peace returned, he commenced the business of a merchant in New York, at the same time performing the duties first of colonel, then of briga-

* The same officer whose name was appended to the report on the condition of the artillery of West Point, which was furnished to Arnold when preparing for his treasonable act. Major Bauman was postmaster at New York city for thirteen successive years, commencing in 1790.

* Journals of Congress, iv., 180.

Position of the American Corps. Approach by Parallels. Cannonade and Bombardment. Burning of British Ships.

and Pennsylvanian troops, under Steuben; the New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey troops, with sappers and miners under General James Clinton; the light infantry under La Fayette; and the Virginia militia under Governor Nelson. The quarters of General Lincoln were on the banks of Wormeley's Creek, on the extreme right. The general disposition of the troops will be better understood by reference to the map on the next page.



CUSTINE.¹

From the first until the sixth of October, the besieging armies were employed in bringing up heavy ordnance, and making other preparations. The evening of the sixth was very dark and stormy, and under cover of the gloom, the first parallel² was commenced within six hundred yards of Cornwallis's works. General Lincoln commanded the troops detailed for this service. So silently and so earnestly did they labor, that they were not discerned by the British sentinels, and before daylight the trenches were sufficiently complete to shield the laborers from the guns of the enemy. On the afternoon of the ninth, several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of twenty-four and eighteen pounders was commenced by the Americans on the right. This cannonade was kept up without intermission during the night, and early the next morning³ the French opened their batteries upon the enemy. For nearly eight hours there was an incessant roar of cannons and mortars; and hundreds of bombs and round shot were poured upon the British works. So tremendous was the bombardment, that the besieged soon withdrew their cannon from the embrasures, and fired very few shots in return. At evening red hot cannon balls were hurled from the French battery F, on the extreme left, at the *Guadaloupe* and *Charon*, two British vessels in the river. The *Guadaloupe* was driven from her post, and the *Charon* of forty-four guns and three large transports were burned. The night was starry and mild, and invited to repose, but the besiegers rested not, and Yorktown presented a scene of terrible grandeur, such as is seldom witnessed by the eye of man.³ All night long the allies kept

Oct. 10,
1781.

dier, and finally of major general, commanding the division of artillery of the State of New York. He held the latter office when the war of 1812 broke out, and was called into the service of the United States for the defense of the city. He continued to be the senior major general of artillery until the peace of 1815. General Stevens was often employed by government in services requiring skill, energy, and integrity. In the year 1800, he superintended the construction of fortifications on Governor's Island. For many years he was one of the leading merchants of New York, in which pursuit he amassed a considerable fortune. He died on the second of September, 1823.

Colonel Trumbull has introduced Lieutenant-colonel Stevens, in his picture of the surrender of Cornwallis, mounted at the head of the regiment; and also prominently in his picture of the surrender of Burgoyne. Letters written to Colonel Stevens by Generals Washington, La Fayette, Schuyler, Knox, Gates, Lincoln, and other officers, yet in possession of his family, attest the extent of his services, his efficiency as an officer, and their high regard for him as a man. The gold medal voted by Congress to General Gates, and his small library, were left to members of General Stevens's family, and are still retained by them. General Stevens's second wife was Lucretia, sister of Colonel William Ledyard, who was massacred in Fort Griswold, at Groton, as recorded on page 44.

¹ ADAM PHILIP, Count DE CUSTINE, was born at Metz in 1740. He entered the army in early life, and served under Frederick the Great, of Prussia, during the Seven Years' War. He commanded a regiment in the French army in America, under Rochambeau. On returning to France, he was made governor of Toulon. In 1792, he had command of the army of the Rhine, when he was suddenly summoned to Paris by the Terrorists and sent to the guillotine. He was decapitated in August, 1793, at the age of fifty-three years.

² *Parallel* is a technical term applied to trenches and embankments dug and thrown up as a protection to besiegers against the guns of a fort. In this way the assailants may approach a fort, and construct batteries within short gun-shot of the works of the beleaguered, and be well protected in their labors.

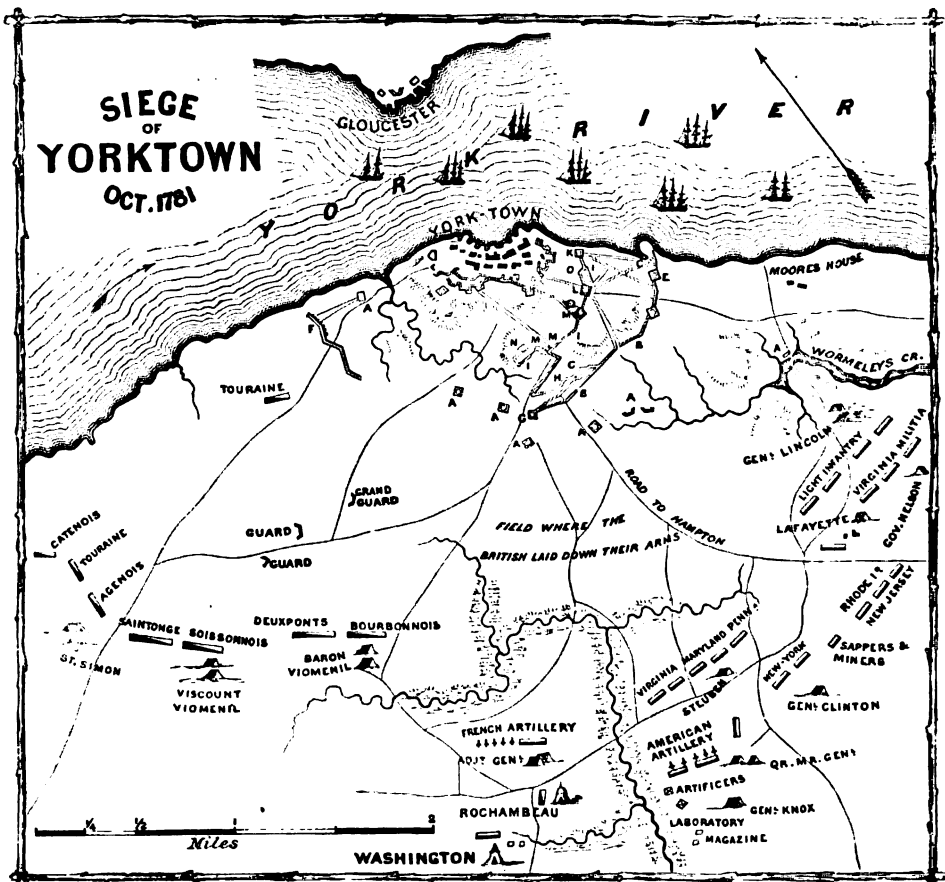
³ Doctor Thatcher in his journal, page 274, says, "From the bank of the river I had a fine view of this splendid conflagration. The ships were enwrapped in a torrent of fire, which, spreading with vivid brightness among the combustible rigging, and running with amazing rapidity to the tops of the several masts, while all around was thunder and lightning from our numerous cannons and mortars, and in the darkness of night, presented one of the most sublime and magnificent spectacles which can be imagined. Some of

Continued Approaches toward the British Works.

Preparations to Storm Redoubts.

Plan of the Siege of Yorktown.

Oct. 11. up a cannonade, and early the next morning^a another British vessel was set in flames by a fiery ball, and consumed.



During the night of the eleventh, the besiegers commenced a second parallel, between two and three hundred yards from the British works. The three succeeding days were devoted to the completion of this line of trenches, during which time the enemy opened new embrasures in positions from which their fire was far more effective than at first. Two redoubts (K and L) on the left of the besieged and advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works, flanked the second parallel, and greatly annoyed the men in the trenches. Preparations were made on the fourteenth to carry them both by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the American light infantry under La Fayette; the other to a detachment of the French grenadiers and chasseurs, commanded by Major-general the Baron De Viomenil, a brave and experienced officer. Toward evening the two detachments marched to the assault. Colonel Alexander Hamilton, who had commanded a battalion of light infantry during this campaign, led the advanced corps of the Americans, assisted by Colonel Gimat, La Fayette's aid; while Colonel Laurens, with

our shells over-reaching the town, are seen to fall into the river, and bursting, throw up columns of water, like the spouting of the monsters of the deep.

NOTE.—*Explanation of the Map.*—A, British outworks taken possession of by the Americans on their arrival. B, first parallel. C, D, American batteries. E, a bomb battery. G, French battery. H, French bomb battery. I, second parallel. K, redoubt stormed by the Americans. L, redoubt stormed by the French. M M M, French batteries. N, French bomb battery. O, American batteries.

Successful Assault upon two Redoubts. Loss sustained by the Combatants. Bravery and Loss of the French Grenadiers.

eighty men, turned the redoubt, in order to intercept the retreat of the garrison. At a given signal, the troops rushed furiously to the charge without firing a gun, the van being led by Captain Aaron Ogden, of New Jersey. Over the *abatis* and palisades they leaped, and with such vehemence and rapidity assaulted and entered the works, that their loss was inconsiderable. One sergeant and eight privates were killed; and seven officers, and twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded. Colonel Gimmat received a slight wound in the foot, and Major Gibbs, commander of Washington's Life-guard, was also slightly wounded. Major Campbell, who commanded the redoubt, and some inferior officers, with seventeen privates, were made prisoners. Eight privates of the garrison were killed in the assault, but not one was injured after the surrender.¹ This redoubt (K, on the map) was upon the high river bank, on the extreme right of the American lines. When I visited the spot in 1848, the remains of the embankments were quite prominent.



BARON VIOMENIL.

The redoubt (L) stormed by the French under Viomenil was garrisoned by a greater force, and was not so easily overcome. It was defended by a lieutenant colonel, and one hundred and twenty men. After a combat of nearly half an hour, the redoubt was surrendered. Eighteen of the garrison were killed, and forty-two were made prisoners. The French lost in killed and wounded about one hundred men.² In this engagement Count Mathieu Dumas (see portrait, on next page), one of Rochambeau's aids, bore a conspicuous part. He was in the advanced corps, and was one of the first who entered the redoubt.³ In this assault the Count De Deuxponts, who led the French grenadiers, was slightly wounded. Count Charles De Lameth, the adjutant general, was also wounded,



VIEW FROM THE SITE OF THE REDOUBT.⁴

¹ Gordon (iii., 258) says that La Fayette, with the sanction of Washington, ordered the assailants to remember Fort Griswold (see page 44), and put every man of the garrison to death after the redoubt should be captured. There is no other than verbal evidence that such an order was ever given, an order so repugnant to the character of both Washington and La Fayette. Colonel Hamilton afterward publicly denied the truth of the allegation; and so also did La Fayette. Stedman, an officer under Cornwallis, and historian of the war, does not mention it.

² This view is from the mounds looking northwest, up the York River. The first head-land on the right is Gloucester Point, and upon the high bank on the left is situated the village of Yorktown. The dark spot in the bank indicates the place of the so-called *Cornwallis's Cave*.

³ Doctor Thatcher says, the reason why the loss of the French was so much greater than that of the Americans was the fact that they awaited the removal of the *abatis* before they made the assault, and all that time were exposed to the galling fire of the enemy. Doctor Munson informed me that while the assault upon these redoubts was progressing, Washington, with Lincoln, Knox, and one or two other officers, were standing in the grand battery (C) watching every movement, through the embrasures, with great anxiety. When the last redoubt was captured, Washington turned to Knox, and said, "The work is done, and well done;" and then called to his servant, "Billy, hand me my horse."

⁴ Rochambeau, in his *Memoirs*, mentions an interesting circumstance connected with the attack upon this redoubt. The grenadiers of the regiment of *Gatenois*, which had been formed out of that of Auvergne, called *Sans Tache*, were led to the attack. When informed that they were to be engaged in this perilous enterprise, they declared their willingness "to be killed, even to the last man," if their original name, which they so much revered, would be restored to them. Rochambeau promised them it should be done. They fought like tigers, and one third of their number were killed. When Rochambeau reported this affair to the king, Louis signed the order, restoring to the regiment the name of *Royal Auvergne*. Dumas, in his *Memoirs*, vol. i., 52, also mentions this circumstance.

Desperate Situation of Cornwallis. Sortie. Attempt of Cornwallis to Escape. Providential Interposition. Count Dumas.

a musket ball passing through both knees. Washington was highly gratified with the success of these assaults, and in general orders the next day congratulated the armies on the result.

COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS.¹

During the night of the fourteenth, these redoubts were included in a second parallel, and by five o'clock the next afternoon^a some howitzers, which had been placed in them, were opened upon the British works. The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. Beleguered on all sides by a superior force, his strongest defenses crumbling or passing into the possession of the besiegers, and no tidings from General Clinton to encourage him, the British commander was filled with the gloomiest apprehensions. Knowing that the town would be untenable when the second parallel should be completed, he sent out a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, to make a sortie against two almost completed batteries, guarded by French troops. They made a furious as-

^a Oct. 16. ^b Oct. 15. assault at about four o'clock in the morning,^b and were successful; but the guards from the trenches soon drove the assailants back, and their enterprise was fruitless of advantage.

Cornwallis, confident that he could not maintain his position, determined to make a desperate effort at flight. His plan was to leave the sick and his baggage behind; cross over to Gloucester, and, with his detachment there, cut up or disperse the troops of De Ckôisé, Weeden, and Lauzun; mount his infantry on horses taken from the duke's legion, and others that might be seized in the neighborhood; by rapid marches gain the forks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and, forcing his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, form a junction with the army in New York. This was a most hazardous undertaking, but his only alternative was flight or capture. Boats were accordingly prepared, and at ten o'clock on the evening of the sixteenth a portion of his troops were conveyed across to Gloucester. So secretly was the whole movement performed, that the patriots did not perceive it; and had not a power mightier than man's interposed an obstacle, Cornwallis's desperate plan might have been successfully accomplished. The first body of troops had scarcely reached Gloucester Point, when a storm of wind and rain, almost as sudden and fierce as a summer tornado, made the passage of the river too hazardous to be again attempted. The storm continued with unabated violence until morning, and Cornwallis was obliged to abandon his design. The troops were brought back without much loss, and now the last ray of hope began to fade from the vision of the earl.

At daybreak, on the morning of the seventeenth, several new batteries in the second parallel were opened, and a more terrible storm of shells and round shot was poured upon the town than had yet been experienced by the enemy. Governor Nelson, who was at the

¹ COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS, who, after his return from America, was made a lieutenant general, was born in Montpellier, in 1753. At the age of twenty he entered the army. He accompanied Rochambeau to America as his aid, and served with distinction at the siege of Yorktown. On his return to Europe, he entered into the French service. He was married to Julia De La Rue in 1785. In 1789 he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly, and from that period until the close of Napoleon's career he was continually engaged in the most active public duties. Yet he found time to use his pen, which he wielded with power. At the beginning of the "Reign of Terror," he fled with his family, in company with Count Charles Lameth, who was wounded at Yorktown, to England. He soon returned, but was obliged to flee into Switzerland. He acted with La Fayette in the reorganization of the National Guard, and was at length elevated to a place in the Chamber of Peers. He was with Bonaparte at the battle of Waterloo, and with that event closed his military career. The leisure which ensued he employed in writing historical essays, and preparing *Memoirs* of his own times. These extend from 1773 to 1826, when he was seventy-three years of age. From these *Memoirs* I have compiled this brief notice of his public life. He took an active part in the French Revolution in 1830, and co-operated with La Fayette in placing Louis Philippe on the throne. He died at the house of his son (the editor of his *Memoirs*), in 1837, at the age of almost eighty-five years. He was thirty-five years of age when Trumbull painted the portrait here given.

Patriotism of Gov. Nelson. Bombardment of his Mansion. Cornwallis's Proposition to Surrender. Destruction in Yorktown.

head of the Virginia militia, commanded the first battery that opened upon the British works that morning. His fine stone mansion, the most commodious in the place, was a prominent object within the British lines. He knew that Cornwallis and his staff occupied it, and was probably in it when he began the cannonade. Regardless of the personal loss that must ensue, he pointed one of his heaviest guns directly toward his house, and ordered the gunner, and also a bombardier, to play upon it with the greatest vigor.¹ The desired effect was accomplished. Upon the heights of Saratoga, Burgoyne found no place secure from the cannon-balls of the besiegers; in Yorktown there was like insecurity;² and before ten o'clock in the morning, Cornwallis beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities. The house of Governor Nelson, I have already mentioned, still bears many scars received during the bombardment; and in the yard attached to the dwelling, I saw a huge unexploded bomb-shell which was cast there by order of the patriot owner.



THE NELSON MANSION.³

Cornwallis, despairing of victory or escape, sent a flag to Washington with a request that hostilities should be suspended for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet at Mrs. Moore's house on the right of the American lines, and just in the rear of the first parallel,⁴ to arrange terms for the surrender of his army. Washington was unwilling to waste precious time in negotiations, for, in the mean while, the augmented British fleet might arrive, and give the earl an opportunity to escape.⁵ In his reply to

¹ Never did a man display more lofty patriotism than Governor Nelson on this occasion. He was the chief magistrate of the state, and by virtue of his office was commander-in-chief of its militia. At that time the treasury of Virginia was empty, and there was great apprehension that the militia would disband for want of pay. Governor Nelson applied to a wealthy citizen to borrow money on the credit of the state. The security was not considered safe, and the patriot pledged his private property as collateral. The money was obtained and used for the public service. Because Governor Nelson exercised his prerogative as chief magistrate of the state in impressing men into the military service on the occasion of the siege of Yorktown, many influential men were offended, and many mortal enemies appeared. But he outlived all the wounds of malice, and posterity does honor to his name.

² Dr. Thatcher says: "I have this day visited the town of York, to witness the destructive effects of the siege. It contains about sixty houses; some of them are elegant, many of them are greatly damaged, and some totally ruined, being shot through in a thousand places, and honey-combed, ready to crumble to pieces. Rich furniture and books were scattered over the ground, and the carcasses of men and horses, half covered with earth, exhibited a scene of ruin and horror beyond description. The earth in many places is thrown up into mounds by the force of our shells, and it is difficult to point to a spot where a man could have resorted for safety."

³ This view is from the street looking northwest. A long wooden building, with steep roof and dormer windows, a portion of which is seen on the left, is also a relic of the Revolutionary era. It, too, was much damaged by the bombardment. A few feet from the door of Mr. Nelson's dwelling is a fine laurel-tree. On the occasion of La Fayette's visit to Yorktown in 1824, a large concourse of people were assembled; branches were taken from this laurel-tree, woven into a civic crown, and placed upon the head of the venerable marquis. He took it from his brow, and placing it upon that of Preserved Fish, who accompanied him, remarked that none in all that company was better entitled to wear the mark of honor than he.

⁴ See the map on page 518.

⁵ Delay on that occasion would, indeed, have been dangerous, perhaps fatal to the hopes of the Americans. Admiral Digby hastened the repairs of his vessels with all possible dispatch, and on the very day when the capitulation was signed, Sir Henry Clinton, with seven thousand of his best troops, sailed for the Chesapeake to aid Cornwallis, under a convoy of twenty-five ships of the line. This armament appeared off the Capes of Virginia on the twenty-fourth; but, receiving unquestionable intelligence of the capitulation at Yorktown, the British general returned to New York.

Thomas Anburey, a British officer in Burgoyne's army, and who served in America until near the close of 1781, published two interesting volumes, called *Travels in America*. Alluding to the capture of Cornwallis, which occurred three or four weeks previous to his sailing for Europe, he says: "When the British fleet left Sandy Hook, General Washington had certain intelligence of it, within forty-eight hours after it sailed, although at such a considerable distance as near six hundred miles, by means of signal guns and

Cornwallis's letter, Washington desired him to transmit his proposals in writing previous to the meeting of the commissioners, for which purpose he would order a cessation of hostilities for two hours. To this the earl consented, and within the stipulated time he sent a rough draft of the general basis of his proposals.¹ Washington, perceiving that there would probably be no serious disagreement finally, also sent Cornwallis a general basis of terms upon which he should expect him to surrender.² Commissioners were appointed to meet in conference at Moore's house, and hostilities were suspended for the night. The American commissioners were Colonel Laurens,³ and Viscount De Noailles, a relative of La Fayette's wife; the British commissioners were Lieutenant-colonel Dundas and Major Ross.

De Noailles
 * Oct. 1781. The commissioners met early on the morning of the eighteenth; ^a but, being unable to adjust the terms of capitulation⁴ definitively, only a rough draft of them could be

alarms. A very notorious rebel in New York, from the top of his house, hung out the signal of a white flag the moment the fleet got under way, which was immediately answered by the firing of a gun at a small village about a mile from our post at Paulus' Hook (now Jersey City); after that a continual firing of cannon was heard on the opposite shore; and about two days after the fleet sailed, was the period in which General Washington was so pressing for the army to surrender."—Volume ii., page 481. There is no evidence that Washington was informed of the departure of the fleet previous to the surrender. Although Digby did not leave Sandy Hook until the nineteenth, on account of unfavorable winds and other causes of delay, he left the harbor of New York on the seventeenth.

¹ He proposed that the garrisons at York and Gloucester should be prisoners of war, with the customary honors; that the British soldiers should be sent to Great Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under an engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released or regularly exchanged; that all arms and public stores should be delivered to the conqueror, reserving the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers, and of retaining private property by the officers and soldiers; and that the interests of several individuals (Tories) in civil capacities, and connected with the British, should be attended to, and their persons respected.

² Washington declared that a general basis for a definitive treaty should be the reception of the two garrisons as prisoners of war, with the same honors as were granted to the American prisoners at Charleston; but he would not agree to send the prisoners out of the country. They were to be marched to some convenient place, where they could be sustained and treated kindly. The shipping and boats in the harbor of Yorktown and Gloucester, with all their guns, stores, tackling, apparel, and furniture, to be delivered to a naval officer appointed to receive them. The artillery, arms, munitions, and public stores to be delivered up, and the sick and wounded to be supplied with the British hospital stores, and attended by the hospital surgeons.

Cornwallis, in reply, asked the privilege of retaining the Bonetta sloop of war, and sufficient officers and men, to carry his dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, pledging her safe delivery to the conqueror subsequently, if she escaped the dangers of the sea. This was granted.

³ At that very time, Colonel Laurens's father, who had been president of Congress, was confined in the Tower of London on a charge of high treason. He had been captured at sea while on his way to Holland to solicit a loan. This circumstance will be more fully noticed hereafter.

⁴ The following is an abstract of the Articles of Capitulation: I. The garrisons at York and Gloucester to surrender themselves prisoners of war; the land troops to remain prisoners to the United States; the naval forces to the naval army of the French king. II. The artillery, munitions, stores, &c., to be delivered to proper officers appointed to receive them. III. The two redoubts captured on the sixteenth to be surrendered, one to the Americans, the other to the French troops. The garrison at York to march out at two o'clock, with shouldered arms, colors cased,* and drums beating; there to lay down their arms and return to their encampment. The works on the Gloucester side to be delivered to the Americans and French; the garrison to lay down their arms at three o'clock. IV. The officers to retain their side-arms, papers, and private property. Also, the property of Loyalists found in the garrison to be retained. V. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be subsisted by the Americans. British, Anspach, and Hessian officers allowed to be quartered near them, and supply them with clothing and necessities. VI. The officers allowed to go on parole to Europe, or to any part of the American confederacy; proper vessels to be granted by Count De Grasse to convey them, under flags of truce, to New York, within ten days, if they choose. Passports to be granted to those who go by land. VII. Officers allowed to keep soldiers as servants, and servants, not soldiers, not to be considered prisoners. VIII. The Bonetta to be under the entire control of Cornwallis, to go to New York with dispatches, and then to be delivered to Count De Grasse.† IX. Traders not considered close prisoners of war but on parole, and allowed three

* This disposition of colors is considered degrading. Lincoln was obliged to submit to it at Charleston, where the British general intended it as an insult. As Washington made the terms of surrender "those of Charleston," Cornwallis was obliged to submit.

† As Washington refused to agree to any stipulations respecting the Tories in the British camp, many of them sailed in the Bonetta for New York, unwilling to brave the ire of their offended countrymen.

FAC SIMILE OF THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE OF THE CAPITULATION.

prepared, which was submitted to the consideration of Cornwallis. Washington would not

Article 14th
 No Article of the Capitulation
 was to be infringed on pre-
 text of Repeal, & if there be
 any doubtfull Expressions
 in it, they are to be inter-
 preted according to the com-
 mon Meaning & Acceptation
 of the Words. ~

Done at York in Virginia
 this 9th Day October 1781

permit the delay that might ensue by leaving these open to further negotiation; he, therefore, had the rough articles fairly transcribed, and sent them to his lordship early on the morning of the nineteenth, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and that the

Cornwallis
 J^r.: Symonds:

FAC SIMILE OF THE LAST ARTICLE OF THE CAPITULATION.

months to dispose of their property, or remove it. X. Loyalists not to be punished on account of having joined the British army. Considering this matter to be of a civil character, Washington would not assent to the article. XI. Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded, they to be attended by the

Ceremonies at the Surrender of the British Army.

Delivery of the Colors.

Conduct of Cornwallis in the Carolinas.

garrison would march out by two in the afternoon. Cornwallis was obliged to submit, and at the appointed hour the garrisons at York and Gloucester, the shipping in the harbor, and all the ammunition, stores, &c., were surrendered, after a siege of thirteen days, to the land and naval forces of America and France. The ceremony, on the occasion of the surrender, was exceedingly imposing. The American army was drawn up on the right side of the road leading from Yorktown to Hampton (see map), and the French army on the left. Their lines extended more than a mile in length. Washington, upon his white charger, was at the head of the American column; and Rochambeau, upon a powerful bay horse, was at the head of the French column. A vast concourse of people, equal in number, according to eye-witnesses, to the military, was also assembled from the surrounding country to participate in the joy of the event. Universal silence prevailed as the vanquished troops slowly marched out of their intrenchments, with their colors cased and their drums beating a British tune, and passed between the columns of the combined armies.¹ All were eager to look upon Cornwallis, the terror of the South,² in the hour of his adversity. They were disappointed; he had given himself up to vexation and despair, and, feigning illness, he sent General O'Hara with his sword, to lead the vanquished army to the field of humiliation. Having arrived at the head of the line, General O'Hara advanced toward Washington, and, taking off his hat, apologized for the absence of Earl Cornwallis. The commander-in-chief pointed him to General Lincoln for directions. It must have been a proud moment for Lincoln, for only the year before he was obliged to make a humiliating surrender of his army to British conquerors at Charleston. Lincoln conducted the royal troops to the field selected for laying down their arms, and there General O'Hara delivered to him the sword of Cornwallis; Lincoln received it, and then politely handed it back to O'Hara, to be returned to the earl.

The delivery of the colors of the several regiments, twenty-eight in number, was next performed. For this purpose, twenty-eight British captains, each bearing a flag in a case, were drawn up in line. Opposite to them, at a distance of six paces, twenty-eight American sergeants were placed in line to receive the colors. Ensign Wilson of Clinton's brigade, the youngest commissioned officer in the army (being then only eighteen years of age), was appointed by Colonel Hamilton, the officer of the day, to conduct this interesting ceremony.³

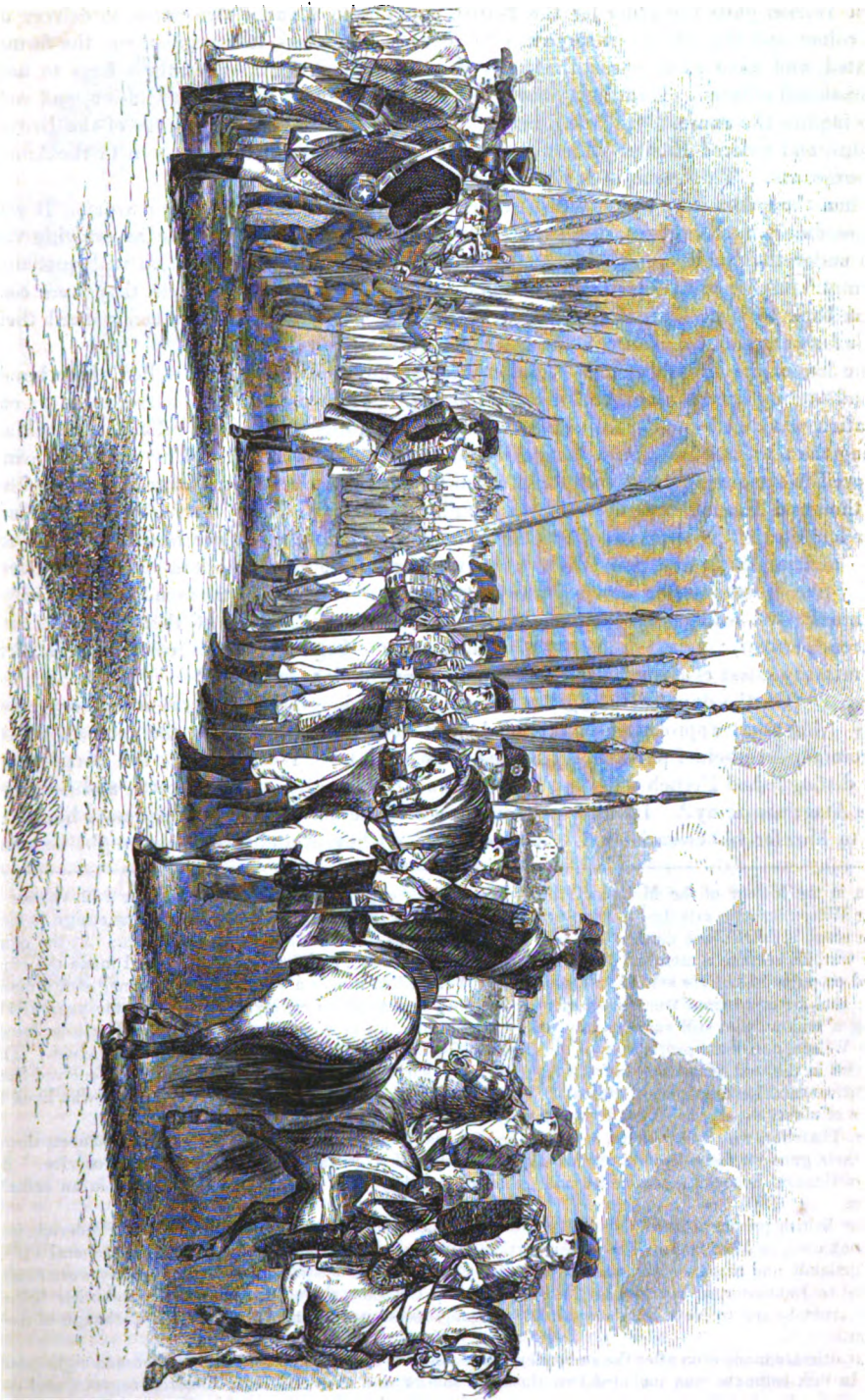
British surgeons. XII. Wagons to be furnished, if possible, for carrying the baggage of officers attending the soldiers, and of the hospital surgeons when traveling on account of the sick. XIII. The shipping and boats in the two harbors, with all their appendages, arms, and stores, to be delivered up, unimpaired, after the private property was unloaded.* XIV. This article is given entire in the preceding fac simile, which, with the signatures, I copied from the original document, now in possession of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City. These articles were signed, on the part of the British, by Lord Cornwallis, and by Thomas Symonds, the naval commander in York River; on the part of the allied armies, by Washington, Rochambeau, Barras, and De Grasse.

¹ The Abbé Robin, chaplain to the French army, wrote an interesting account of this siege and surrender. He says, "We were all surprised at the good condition of the English troops, as well as their cleanliness of dress. To account for their good appearance, Cornwallis had opened all the stores (about to be surrendered) to the soldiers before the capitulation took place. Each had on a complete new suit, but all their finery seemed to humble them the more, when contrasted with the miserable appearance of the Americans." — *New Travels in North America in the year 1781, and Campaigns of the Army of Count De Rochambeau*.

² The conduct of Lord Cornwallis during his march of over fifteen hundred miles through the Southern States was often disgraceful to the British name. He suffered dwelling-houses to be plundered of every thing that could be carried off; and it was well known that his lordship's table was furnished with plate thus obtained from private families. His march was more frequently that of a marauder than an honorable general. It is estimated that Virginia alone lost, during Cornwallis's attempt to reduce it, thirty thousand slaves. It was also estimated, at the time, from the best information that could be obtained, that, during the six months previous to the surrender at Yorktown, the whole devastations of his army amounted in value to about fifteen millions of dollars.

³ Robert Wilson, the honored ensign on this occasion, was a native of New York. He had been early trained in the duties and hardships of military life, by his maternal uncle, the famous Captain Gregg well

* Considerable private property of the loyal citizens had been placed on board the vessels for security during the siege. This was included in the terms of the article.



SURRENDER OF BRITISH STANDARDS AT YORKTOWN.

Laying down of Arms. Loss of both Armies. Washington's expressed Approbation of Officers. Disposition of Prisoners.

When Wilson gave the order for the British captains to advance two paces, to deliver up their colors, and the American sergeants to advance two paces to receive them, the former hesitated, and gave as a reason that they were unwilling to surrender their flags to non-commissioned officers. Hamilton, who was at a distance, observed this hesitation, and rode up to inquire the cause. On being informed, he willingly spared the feelings of the British captains, and ordered Ensign Wilson to receive them himself, and hand them to the American sergeants. This scene is depicted in the engraving.

When the colors were surrendered, the whole royal army laid down their arms. It was an exceedingly humiliating task for the captives, for they had been for months enjoying victories under their able commander, and had learned to look upon the *rebels* with profound contempt.¹ After grounding their arms and laying off their accoutrements, they were conducted back to their lines, and guarded by a sufficient force until they commenced their march for permanent quarters in the interior of Virginia and Maryland.²

The loss of the British on this occasion was one hundred and fifty-six killed, three hundred and twenty-six wounded, and seventy missing. The whole number surrendered by capitulation was a little more than seven thousand,³ according to the most reliable authorities, making the total loss between seventy-five and seventy-eight hundred. The combined army employed in the siege consisted of about seven thousand regular American troops, more than five thousand French, and four thousand militia; a total of over sixteen thousand men. Their loss during the siege, of killed and wounded, was only about three hundred. The artillery, and military stores and provisions surrendered, were very considerable. There were seventy-five brass, and one hundred and sixty iron cannons; seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-four muskets; twenty-eight regimental standards (ten of them English, and eighteen German); a large quantity of cannon and musket-balls, bombs, carriages, &c., &c. The military chest contained nearly eleven thousand dollars in specie.⁴

On the day succeeding the surrender,⁵ Washington, in general orders, expressed his great approbation of the conduct of both armies. Among the generals whom the commander-in-chief particularly named were Count De Rochambeau, Du Portail, and other distinguished French officers; and Generals Lincoln, Knox, La Fayette, and Steuben, of the American army.⁶ He also spoke warmly of Governor Nelson, and expressed his gratitude to him for his essential aid. Joy pervaded all hearts, and that there might be none

known in the history of the Mohawk Valley. One of his exploits I have related on page 252, volume i. Young Wilson became attached to the army at the age of twelve years. His commission as ensign (which I have seen) is dated June ninth, 1781, four months previous to the surrender at Yorktown. At the close of the war, he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and from his certificate I made the copy printed on page 128. He settled in Central New York when it was a wilderness; was magistrate many years; and for some time was postmaster at Manlius, in Onondago county. He died in the year 1811, leaving a widow, who still survives him, and four children, all of whom are now dead. The late James Gregg Wilson, one of the proprietors of the *Brother Jonathan* newspaper, was his last surviving child. The statement in the text respecting his participation in the surrender of the colors at Yorktown I received from his relatives, and have no reason to doubt its truth. It is also corroborated by an eye-witness who lived to the age of ninety-eight, and knew Wilson from his boyhood until his death.

¹ Dr. Thatcher, who was present, says that he saw many of the soldiers, with sullen countenances, throw down their guns on the pile with violence, as if determined to render them unfit for further service. By order of General Lincoln, this conduct was checked, and they were made to lay them down in an orderly manner.

² The British prisoners were marched, some to Winchester, in Virginia, and some to Fort Frederick, and Fredericktown, in Maryland. The latter portion were guarded by militia, commanded by General Philip Van Cortlandt, and many serious quarrels between them and their custodians occurred. They were finally removed to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, and guarded by Continental troops. Cornwallis and other British officers went by sea to New York on parole. Arrangements were finally made for the exchange of most of them.

³ An estimate made soon after the surrender, made the total loss of the British eleven thousand eight hundred. In that estimate was included two thousand sailors, one thousand eight hundred negroes, and one thousand five hundred Tories.

⁴ Ramsay, Gordon, Marshall, Stedman, Robin, Thacher, Botta, Sparks.

⁵ Brigadiers Du Portail and Knox were each promoted to the rank of major general; and Colonel Govion, and Captain Rochefontain, of the corps of engineers, were each advanced a grade, by brevet.

A Jubilee for Prisoners.

Intelligence of the Surrender at Philadelphia.

Proceedings of Congress.

Rochambeau.

excluded from a participation in the general thanksgiving, the commander-in-chief ordered that all those who were under arrest or confinement should be immediately set at liberty;¹ and as the next day was the Sabbath, he closed his orders by directing divine service to be performed in the several brigades on the morrow.

ROCHAMBEAU.²

The surrender of Cornwallis with so large a portion of the British army in America secured the Independence of the United States. The strong arm of military oppression, moved by governmental power, was paralyzed, and the king and his ministers, from the hour when intelligence of the event reached them, abandoned all hopes of subduing the rebellion and preserving the integrity of the realm. The blow of disseverance had fallen; war could no longer subserve a useful purpose; humanity and sound policy counseled peace. Great was the exultation and joy of the Americans as the intelligence went from lip to lip throughout the confederation.

Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, one of Washington's aids-de-camp, rode express to Philadelphia to carry the dispatches of the chief announcing the joyful tidings to Congress. It was midnight when he entered the city.³ Thomas M'Kean was then president of the Continental Congress, and resided in High Street, near Second. Tilghman knocked at his door so vehemently, that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. M'Kean arose, and presently the glad tidings were made known. The watchmen throughout the city proclaimed the hour, adding "*and Cornwallis is taken!*" That annunciation, ringing out upon the frosty night air, aroused thousands from their beds. Lights were seen moving in almost every house; and soon the streets were thronged with men and women all eager to hear the details. It was a night of great joy in Philadelphia, for the people had anxiously awaited intelligence from Yorktown. The old State House bell rang out its notes of gladness, and the first blush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannons.

Congress assembled at an early hour, and the grave orators of that august body could hardly repress huzzas while Secretary Thompson read the letter from Washington announcing the capitulation of Cornwallis. On motion of Edmund Randolph, Congress resolved to go in procession at two o'clock the same day^b to the Dutch Lutheran Church, "and return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." A committee was appointed,⁴ to whom were referred the letters of Washington, and who were instructed to report resolutions of thanks to the armies and their officers, and to recommend appropriate honors.⁴ The committee reported on the twenty-ninth, and Congress resolved that their thanks should be presented to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse, and the officers and soldiers under their respective commands; that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown in commemoration of the

¹ Thatcher, 281.

² JEAN BAPTISTE DONATIEU DE VIMEUR, the Count De Rochambeau, was born at Vendôme in 1725, and entered the army at the age of sixteen years. In 1746 he became aid-de-camp to Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, and was afterward appointed to the command of the regiment of La Marche. He was wounded at the battle of Lafeldt, where he distinguished himself. He fought bravely at Crevelt, Minden, Corbach, and Clostercamp. He was made lieutenant general in 1779, and in 1780 came to America with a strong force. After assisting in the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and remaining several months in America, he returned to France, and was raised to the rank of field-marshal by Louis XVI. During the French Revolution, he was appointed to the command of the army of the North. He was superseded, and suffered the persecutions of calumny, but a decree of approbation was passed in 1792. He then retired to his estate near Vendôme. Under the tyranny of Robespierre, he was arrested, and narrowly escaped death. In 1803 Bonaparte granted him a pension, and the cross of grand officer of the Legion of Honor. He died in 1807, at the age of sixty-one. His Memoirs were published in 1809.

³ The committee consisted of Edmund Randolph, Elias Boudinot, Joseph Varnum, and Charles Carroll.

⁴ *Journals of Congress*, vii., 162.

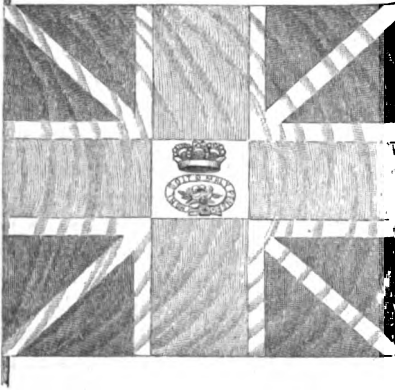
Awards of Congress to Officers.

General Rejoicings.

Proceedings in Parliament.

Lord North's Agitation.

event;¹ that two stands of colors taken from Cornwallis should be presented to Washing-

BRITISH FLAG.²

ton in the name of the United States; that two pieces of the field ordnance captured at York should be presented to each of the French commanders, Rochambeau and De Grasse; and that the Board of War should present to Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States, a horse properly caparisoned, and an elegant sword. Congress also issued a proclamation appointing the thirteenth day of December for a general thanksgiving and prayer throughout the confederacy, on account of this signal mark of Divine favor. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies, presented congratulatory addresses to the commanding generals and their officers; and from almost every pulpit in the land arose the voice of thanksgiving and praise, accompanied

the alleluias of thousands of worshipers at the altar of the Lord of Hosts.

The king and his ministers were sorely perplexed when the intelligence reached them.³ Parliament assembled on the twenty-seventh of November; its first business was a consideration of the news of the disasters in America, which reached ministers officially on Sunday, the twenty-fifth.^a Violent debates ensued, and Fox even went so far as

^a Nov., 1781.

to intimate that Lord North was in the pay of the French. The minister indignantly repelled the insinuation, and justified the war on the ground of its justice, and the proper maintenance of British rights. Upon this point he was violently assailed by Burke, who exclaimed, "Good God! are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war! Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands,⁴ one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions [three hundred and fifty millions of dollars] of money!" The younger Pitt distinguished himself in this debate, and was a powerful aid to the opposition. On the thirtieth of November, that party proposed the bold measure (last adopted during the Revolution of 1688) of not granting supplies until the ministers should give a pledge to the people that the war in America should cease. This motion, however, was lost by a vote of nearly two to one. Several conflicting propositions were made by both parties, but without any definite result,

¹ The marble for this column, like many other monuments ordered by the Continental Congress, is yet in the quarry. It was proposed to have it "ornamented with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis," to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse.—*Journals*, vii., 166.

² This is a representation of one of the flags surrendered at Yorktown, and presented to Washington. I made this sketch of the flag itself, then in the Museum at Alexandria, in Virginia. It belonged to the seventh regiment. The size of the flag is six feet long, and five feet four inches wide. The ground is blue; the central stripe of the cross red; the marginal ones white. In the center is a crown, and beneath it a garter with its inscription, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," inclosing a full-blown rose. These are neatly embroidered with silk. The fabric of the flag is heavy twilled silk.

³ Sir N. W. Wraxall, in his *Historical Memoirs of his Own Times* (page 246), has left an interesting record of the effect of the news of the surrender of Cornwallis upon the minds of Lord North and the king. The intelligence reached the cabinet on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of November, at noon. Wraxall asked Lord George Germain how North "took the communication?" "As he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast," replied Lord George; "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, 'Oh! God, it is all over!' words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." Lord George Germain sent off a dispatch to the king, who was then at Kew. The king wrote a calm letter in reply, but it was remarked, as evidence of unusual emotion, that he had omitted to mark the hour and minute of his writing, which he was always accustomed to do with scrupulous precision. Yet the handwriting evinced composure of mind.

⁴ He referred to disasters in the West Indies, and the loss of Minorca in the Mediterranean.

Designs upon Southern British Ports. St. Clair's Success. Washington's Journey to Philadelphia. Localities at Yorktown.

and on the twentieth of December, Parliament adjourned to the twenty-first of January.^a 1782.

Although the British power in America was subdued, it still had vitality. The enemy yet held important posts in the Southern States, and Washington resolved to profit by the advantage he now possessed, by capturing or dispersing the royal garrisons at Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah. For this purpose, he solicited the aid of Count De Grasse in an expedition against Charleston. He repaired on board the *Ville de Paris*, and held a personal conference with the admiral. To the urgent solicitations of Washington, De Grasse replied that "the orders of his court, ulterior projects, and his engagement with the Spaniards, rendered it impossible for him to remain on the coast during the time which would be required for the operation." He also declined conveying troops to the South for re-enforcing General Greene, but he consented to remain a few days in Chesapeake Bay, to cover the transportation of the Eastern troops and of the ordnance, to the head of Elk. These, under the command of General Lincoln, were embarked on the second of November, and from the head of Elk proceeded by land to winter quarters in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and on the Hudson River. On the fourth, St. Simon embarked his troops, and on that day the French fleet sailed out of the Chesapeake for the West Indies. Before it sailed, Washington presented Count De Grasse with two beautiful horses, as a token of his personal esteem.

The French army remained in Virginia (Rochambeau having his head-quarters at Williamsburg), ready to co-operate with the Americans North or South. There they remained until the next summer,^b when they joined the Continental army on the Hudson.^c 1782. They proceeded to New England in the autumn, and early in December embarked at Boston for the West Indies. General St. Clair, with a body of troops, was sent to re-enforce General Greene at the South. He was directed to march by the way of Wilmington, and dislodge the enemy there. This he effected, and at the close of 1781 there was not a hostile foot except those of resident Tories and prisoners of war, in all Virginia or North Carolina.

When Washington had completed all his arrangements, he left Yorktown,^c and hastened to Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett, to the bedside of Mr. Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. He arrived in time to see him die, and stayed there a few days to mingle his grief with that of the afflicted widow. Mr. Custis was a member of the Virginia Legislature, and was then only twenty-eight years of age.^d From Eltham, Washington proceeded to Philadelphia by way of Mount Vernon, receiving and answering various public addresses on the way. On the day after his arrival in Philadelphia,^d he went to the State House, and on being introduced into the hall of Congress by two members, he was greeted by a congratulatory address by the president. He remained some time in Philadelphia, and was regarded with reverence by all classes. ^{c Nov. 5, 1781. d Nov. 27.}

We will here close the chronicle, visit the historical localities about Yorktown, and then ride down to Hampton, near Old Point Comfort.

In company with Mr. Nelson, I rode to "Moore's House," where the commissioners of the two armies met to agree upon terms of capitulation. On our way we visited the site of the two redoubts (K and L, on the map) captured respectively by the Americans and French. The visible lines of the one assailed by the French cross the road leading to Moore's house. On each side of the way the embankments are quite prominent. The remains of the other one, on the river bank, are noticed and delineated on page 519. In the fields farther south, crossing the Hampton road, and extending almost to the old Jamestown road along which the American division of the allied armies approached Yorktown, might be seen a ridge, the remains of the second parallel. In a southwesterly direction, about a

¹ The order and discipline of the French army while on this march, and the deputation of Quakers who met Rochambeau at Philadelphia, are noticed on page 55.

² Mr. Custis left four infant children. Washington adopted the two younger, a son and daughter. The son still survives; the respected George Washington Parke Custis, Esq., of Arlington House, Virginia.

Moore's House and its Associations.

Place of Surrender.

Governor Nelson's House.

Departure for Hampton.

mile and a half distant, is the low ground where the armies rested before making a disposition of their forces for attacking Cornwallis.

MOORE'S HOUSE.¹

Moore's house is very pleasantly situated in the midst of a level lawn within a quarter of a mile of the banks of the York. Although so late in the season,^{Dec. 21, 1848.} it was surrounded with green shrubbery, and from a bush near the piazza I plucked a full-blown rose growing in the open air. I was shown the room in which it is asserted the capitulation was signed by Cornwallis and his conquerors. This, however, is a mistake. There is no evidence that the earl was beyond his lines until he departed for New York on parole. He signed the capitulation at his quarters in the

town; and above the signature of Washington and the French officers is written, "Done in the trenches before Yorktown," &c. Moore's house is famous only as being the place where the commissioners held their conference.

We next visited the places designated by tradition as the spot where the British laid down their arms. In a field, not more than half a mile southward of the British intrenchments, three tulip poplars were pointed out for many years as indices of the exact place of surrender. The old trees are now gone, but three small ones supply their places. This is on the east side of the Hampton road. In Trumbull's picture of the *Surrender*, the house of Governor Nelson is seen. Trumbull visited Yorktown for the purpose of sketching the ground, in 1791, and doubtless had the true location pointed out to him. From the field where the tulip poplars are, however, the house can not be seen, but from a large field on the west side of the Hampton road, sloping in the direction of the "Pigeon Quarter," and about a mile from the British lines (the distance mentioned in history), the house may be plainly seen. It is the opinion of Mr. Nelson and other intelligent gentlemen at Yorktown, that the large field, noted as the spot on the map printed on page 518, is the locality where the captive soldiers laid down their arms, and where the *marble column*, ordered by Congress, should be erected.

From the field of humiliation we rode back to the village, and after visiting the remains of the elegant dwelling of President Nelson, which was situated near that of the governor, within the British lines, I passed an hour in the venerated mansion of Governor Nelson, printed on page 521. It was erected by the first emigrant Nelson ("Scotch Tom"), and is of imported bricks. Among other relics of the past, I saw upon the walls the mutilated portraits of President Nelson and his lady, the parents of the governor. They were thus injured by the British when they rifled his house at Hanover, whither he had taken his family and furniture for security.

I left Yorktown at two o'clock for Hampton, twenty-four miles distant. Charley was invigorated by rest and abundance of oats, and the road being generally quite level, and in excellent condition, I was only about four hours on the way. The country is an inclined plane sloping toward the ocean, and quite thickly settled. The forests are chiefly of pine,

¹ This is a view from the lawn, looking south. It is a frame building with a brick foundation. At the time of the siege it belonged in fee to Governor Nelson, but its occupant, a widow Moore, had a life interest in it, and it was known as Moore's house. The narrow piazza in front is a modern addition. This house is upon the Temple Farm, so called from the fact that vestiges of a small temple or church, and the remains of an ancient settlement, are there seen, about a mile and a half south of Yorktown. Around the temple was a wall, and within are several tomb-stones. One of these bear the name of MAJOR WILLIAM GOOCH, and the date of his death, 1655.

Arrival at Hampton.	Old Point Comfort.	Early History.	Hampton Roads.	Dunmore's Attack.
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interspersed with oaks, chestnuts, tulip poplars, gums, sycamores, and occasionally an elm. The green holly with its blazing berries, and the equally verdant laurel, every where enliven the forest scenery. I crossed two considerable swamps, and at twilight reached the margin of a third, within a few miles of Hampton. The branches of the tall trees interlaced above, and the amber light in the west, failed to penetrate and mark the pathway. Suddenly the bland air was filled with chilling vapors, which came rolling up from the sea on the wings of a southeast wind, and I was enveloped in absolute darkness in the midst of the broad morass. As at Occaquan, I gave Charley a loose rein, and relied upon his instinct and better sight for safety. His faculties proved trustworthy, and at six o'clock in the evening I was at comfortable lodgings close by the beach, in the old town of Hampton, ninety-six miles southeast of Richmond.¹

Early the next morning I rode to old Point Comfort,² two and a half miles distant, notwithstanding heavy masses of clouds were yet rolling in from the ocean, and a chilling mist enveloped every thing as with a shroud. Old Point Comfort is a sandy promontory, which, with Point Willoughby opposite, forms the mouth of the James River. It is a place of public resort in summer as an agreeable watering-place. The fine sandy beach affords delightful bathing grounds, and the cool breezes from the ocean deprives summer of half of its fervor. The extremity of the point, eighty acres in extent, is covered by Fort Monroe,³ one of the most extensive fortifications in the United States. Within the area of the fort are the officers' quarters, with neat flower-gardens attached; and over the surface are scattered beautiful live-oaks, isolated and in groves, which give the place a summer aspect, even in mid-winter. Between Point Comfort and the opposite Cape the water is shallow, except in a narrow channel through the bar. Here the ocean tides and the river currents meet, and produce a continual ripple. From this circumstance the name of *Rip Raps* was given to the spot. In the midst of these, nineteen hundred yards from Fort Monroe, is the half-finished Fort Calhoun, or Castle of the Rip Raps. It was ascertained, while building it, that the ground was unstable, and the heavy masonry began to sink. Immense masses of loose stones have since been piled upon it, to sink it as deep as it will go before completing the walls. In this condition it now remains, and it is to be hoped that not another hour will be employed upon it, except to carry away the stones for the more useful and more noble purpose of erecting an iron-foundry or a cotton-mill. Henceforth our fortresses, and other paraphernalia of war, will have no other useful service to perform than to illustrate the history of a less enlightened age.

Within the bar of the Rip Raps is the spacious harbor called the Hampton Roads, wherein vast navies might ride with safety. Twice, hostile fleets have cleft those waters. The first was in October, 1775, when Lord Dunmore, driven by his fears, as we have seen, from Williamsburg, gratified his desire for revenge by destroying the property of the patriots. The people of Hampton anticipated an attack by the British fleet,⁴ and applied to the Committee of Safety for assistance. Colonel Woodford, with one hundred Culpepper men, was sent to protect them; but before their arrival, Captain Squires, of the British navy, sent by Dunmore with six tenders, appeared in Hampton Creek.⁵ He commenced a furious cannonade, and under that cover sent armed men in boats to burn the town. Virginia riflemen, concealed in the houses, soon sent so many death-shots that the boats were obliged to return. The tenders were compelled to recede beyond the reach of their rifles,

Oct. 24,
1775.

¹ Hampton, in Elizabeth City county, is one of the oldest towns in Virginia. Its site was visited by Captain John Smith in 1607, while exploring the mouth of the James River. The natives called the place *Ke-cough-tan*. The English commenced a settlement there in 1610, and in 1705 it was erected into a town by law.

² This point was Smith's first landing-place, and because he found good anchorage, a hospitable reception, and various other comforts, he gave it the name it now bears.

³ In 1630 a small fort was erected on Point Comfort; and it was there that Count De Graasse caused some fortifications to be thrown up to cover the landing of the troops under St. Simon previous to the siege of Yorktown in 1781.

⁴ Dunmore's force consisted of the Fowey, Mercury, Kingfisher, and Otter; two companies from a West India regiment, and a motley rabble of negroes and Tories.

Repulse of Dunmore.

St. John's Church.

Attack on Hampton in 1813.

Voyage to Norfolk.

and wait for re-enforcements. Woodford arrived at daybreak on the twenty-fifth, and, momentarily expecting an attack from the enemy, he immediately disposed his men for action. At sunrise the hostile fleet bore in for the shore, and, laying with springs on her cables, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the town, and greatly damaged many of the houses. Woodford commanded his men to fire with caution and sure aim, the vessels being within rifle shot. Men were picked off in every part of the ships, and great terror soon prevailed in the fleet. The cannons were deserted, for every gunner became a target for the sharpshooters. Unable to withstand such a destructive fire, the British commander ordered the cables to be slipped and the vessels to retreat. The latter movement was difficult, for men seen at the helm or aloft adjusting the sails were singled out and shot down. Many of them retreated to the holds of the vessels, and refused obedience to their commanders when ordered out on the perilous duty. Two of the sloops drifted ashore. Before the fleet could escape, the inhabitants of the town, with Woodford's corps, sunk five vessels. The victory was complete.¹

Among the buildings yet remaining, which suffered from this cannonading, is St. John's (Protestant Episcopal) Church, said to be the third oldest house of worship in the state. The earliest inscription in its grave-yard is 1701. Before the Revolution, the royal arms, handsomely carved, were upon the steeple. It is related that soon after the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, the steeple was shattered by lightning, and the insignia of royalty hurled to the ground.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.²

In 1813,³ Hampton was attacked by Admiral Cockburn, with his fleet, and by a force of two thousand men under General Beckwith, who landed at Old Point Comfort. The garrison of the slight fortification at Hampton consisted of four hundred and fifty militia. They were too weak to defend themselves, and retired. The

June 25.

town was given up to pillage at the hands of a renegade corps of French prisoners, who had been promised such a gratification. For two days they desolated Hampton without restraint. Private property was plundered or destroyed; the leading citizens were grossly insulted and abused; females were violated; and in one instance an aged sick man was murdered in the arms of his wife.⁴ When filled to satiety, the vultures left Hampton Roads to seek for prey elsewhere.

The easterly wind ceased at noon; the clouds dispersed, and the sun shone out with all the brilliancy and fervor of early June, when I rode back to Hampton from Old Point Comfort. At three o'clock a strong breeze from the west brought back the masses of vapor which had been borne toward the Blue Ridge all night. They came in heavy cumulous clouds, and when, a little before five o'clock, I embarked upon a steam-packet for Norfolk, eighteen miles distant, rain fell copiously. We entered the Elizabeth River at dusk, and arrived at Norfolk a little past six o'clock.⁴

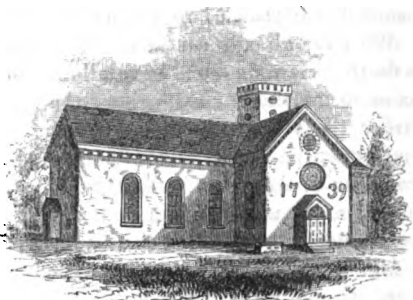
¹ Jones, p. 63-64. Howison, ii., 95.

² This view is from the church-yard looking southeast. The edifice is cruciform, and built of imported brick. It is near the head of the town, on the east side of the York road. In a field about a mile from Hampton are four black marble tablets, with arms and inscriptions upon two of them. One there, over the grave of Vice-admiral Neville, bears the date of 1697; the other, over the remains of Thomas Carle, has the date of 1700 upon it.

³ Perkins's *History of the Late War*. These outrages, so dishonorable to the British character, are facts well attested by a committee of Congress appointed to investigate the matter.

⁴ Norfolk is situated on the north bank of the Elizabeth River, at the head of steam-boat navigation. It was established by law as a town in 1705, formed into a borough in 1736, and incorporated a city by the Virginia Legislature in 1845.

The morning of the twenty-third^a was cold and blustering, like a late November day at the North. Before breakfast, I called upon the sexton of old St. Paul's Church, procured the key of the strong inclosure which surrounds it and the ancient burial-ground, and in the keen frosty air made the annexed sketch. This venerable edifice is almost the only survivor of the conflagration of the town on the first of January, 1776, an event which will be noticed presently. The church is cruciform, and built of imported bricks, the ends of which are glazed, and gives the edifice a checkered appearance like that of Carpenters' Hall, and several other buildings in Philadelphia. On the street front of the church, near the southwest corner, is a large cavity made by a cannon-ball hurled from the British shipping during the attack just alluded to. It is an honorable scar, and has been allowed to remain for the gratification of the curious, and as a mute relator of the malice of the foes to liberty. The short battlemented tower, built of wood, is a recent addition to the church. Originally there was a small tower with a spire at each corner, on the other end of the main building. With these exceptions, the exterior is the same as when Norfolk was destroyed; its interior has been entirely changed, and adorned with fresco painting. Over the principal side entrance to the church, the date of its erection (1739) is given in large figures formed by projecting bricks. I worshiped in the old fane on the Sabbath, but confess to wandering thoughts, for the associations of the place often closed the sensorium to the voice of the preacher.



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

At eight o'clock I started for the Great Bridge, and the verge of the Dismal Swamp. The country is level most of the way; and the road crosses two considerable swamps between Norfolk and the Great Bridge, wherein the dark-green gall-bush, loaded with fruit resembling whortleberries, abounds. Great Bridge is the name for a comparatively insignificant structure, unless the causeways connected with it may be included in the term.



VIEW AT THE GREAT BRIDGE.

The Great Bridge proper is about forty yards in length, and spans the south bank of the Elizabeth River, about nine miles from Norfolk. Extensive marshes, filled and drained alternately with the flow of the tide, spread out on each side of the river, making the whole breadth of morass and stream, at this point, about half a mile wide. The Great Bridge¹ extends across the main stream from two islands of firm earth, which are covered with trees and shrubbery. Each of these islands are connected with the main by a causeway and smaller bridges. On the western side of the river is the small scattered village of Great

¹ This view is from the western bank of the stream, near the tide-mill, looking north. On the left of the

Dunmore at Norfolk.

Seizure of Holt's Printing-office.

Holt's Career.

Preparations for Battle.

Bridge, not much larger now than it was at the period of the Revolution. On the island at the western end of the bridge are two or three houses and a tide-mill, and upon the one at the Norfolk side, where Dunmore cast up intrenchments, is a wind-mill, seen on the extreme left in the preceding picture. The marsh is covered with osiers, and tall coarse grass; and the whole scene, though picturesque, is rather dreary in aspect. Let us observe what history has chronicled respecting the Great Bridge and vicinity.

We have already considered the flight of Dunmore from Williamsburg, and his attempt to destroy Hampton, and have alluded to his raising the royal standard at Norfolk, and proclaiming martial law throughout the colony, and freedom to the slaves. He made Norfolk harbor the rendezvous for the British fleet, and determined there to establish the headquarters of ministerial power in the Old Dominion. Previous to making an effort to take possession of the town, he sent a few soldiers and sailors ashore, under cover of the guns of the ships, to carry off John Holt's printing establishment, which was doing good service for the patriot cause. Holt, though a high churchman, was an ardent and uncompromising Whig. This outrage was committed, and two of Holt's workmen were taken away prisoners, without resistance from the people. The Tories were numerous, and the Whigs were overawed. The corporation of Norfolk sent a letter of remonstrance to Dunmore; it was answered by insult.¹ This insult was followed by violence. Hampton was attacked, and depredations were committed upon the shores of the Elizabeth and James Rivers. Repelled with spirit, Dunmore resolved to strike a blow of terror. With his motley force he penetrated Princess Anne county, to plunder and lay waste. He was successful, and emboldened thereby, declared open war. All Lower Virginia was aroused, and the government directed its whole attention to the portion of the state thus menaced. It was at this time that Dunmore's attempt to bring the Indians upon the colonists was made known. The people burned with fierce indignation. Colonel Woodford, who afterward became a brigadier general in the Continental army, was sent with a detachment of minute-men into Norfolk county, and the militia of that section were called to arms. Adjutant Bullit accompanied him. Perceiving these preparations, Dunmore became alarmed. He constructed batteries and intrenchments at Norfolk, armed the blacks and Tories, and ordered the country people to send their cattle to the city for his use, under penalties for disobedience.

bridge are seen piles of wood and lumber, the chief articles of trade there. The causeway is seen extending on the right, to the island on the Norfolk side, whereon is a wind-mill constructed several years ago by a man whose acumen was certainly not remarkable. Placed in the midst of a morass and surrounded by trees, its sails never revolved, and it remains a monument of folly. It stands upon the site of the southern extremities of the fortifications thrown up by Dunmore, and serves the useful purpose of a guide to the remains of those works.

¹ The municipal authorities informed Dunmore that they could easily have prevented the removal of the type, but preferred a peaceable course, and asked for the immediate return of the persons and property illegally carried away. Dunmore replied that he had done the people of Norfolk good service by depriving them of the means of having their minds poisoned by rebellious doctrines, and intimated that cowardice alone prevented their interfering when the types were carried to the fleet. Holt went to Williamsburg, where he had formerly resided and held the office of mayor, and published a severe article against Dunmore. He then went to New York, where, ten years before, he had published the *New York Gazette and Post Boy*, in company with James Parker, and established a newspaper. When the British took possession of the city, he left it, and published his journal at Esopus and Poughkeepsie. While at the former place, he published Burgoyne's pompous proclamation, noticed on page 133, volume i.; and while at the latter, he sent forth to the world the dreadful account of the Wyoming massacre, which he received from the flying fugitives. Holt died January thirtieth, 1784, aged sixty-four years. His widow printed a memorial of him on cards, which she distributed among their friends.* —See Thomas's *History of Printing*, ii., 105.



WIND-MILL.

* The following is a copy of the memorial preserved in Alden's *Collection of American Epitaphs*, i., 271: "A due tribute to the memory of John Holt, printer to this state, a native of Virginia, who patiently obeyed Death's awful summons, on the thirtieth of January, 1784, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. To say that his family lament him, is needless; that his friends bewail him, useless; that all regret him, unnecessary; for that he merited every esteem, is certain. The tongue of slander can not say less, though justice might say more. In token of sincere affection, his disconsolate widow hath caused this memorial to be erected."

Fortifications at the Great Bridge. Attack on the American Redoubt. Death of Capt. Fordyce. Stratagem of Maj. Marshall.

Apprised of the movement of Woodford, and the point from whence he might expect the approach of the Virginians, Dunmore resolved to fortify the passage of the Elizabeth River at Great Bridge. His force consisting of only about two hundred regulars, and a corps of Norfolk volunteer Loyalists, he beat up for recruits among the negroes and the vilest portion of society. He cast up breast-works upon the island, on the Norfolk side of the Great Bridge, and furnished them amply with cannons. This presented a serious obstacle to the Virginians, who could approach the batteries only upon a narrow causeway. With a motley force of regulars and volunteers, negroes and vagrants, in number about six hundred, Dunmore garrisoned his fortress. The Virginians constructed a small fortification, of semicircular form, near the western end of the causeway, the remains of which were yet quite visible when I visited the spot.^a From the breast-work a street ascended about four hundred yards to a church, where the main body of the patriots were encamped. ^a December, 1848.

On Saturday morning, the ninth of December,^b before daylight, Dunmore, who remained at Norfolk, ordered Captains Leslie and Fordyce to attack the redoubt of the patriots. He had been informed that they were few in number, and weak in skill and experience; he, therefore, felt certain of success.^c When the Virginians had beaten the reveille, Captain Fordyce, with about sixty grenadiers and a corps of regulars, was ordered to the attack. After firing one or two cannons and some musketry, he pressed forward, crossed the Great Bridge, burned the houses and some shingles upon the island, on which the tide-mill now stands, and made an attack upon the guards in the breast-work. The fire of the enemy was returned, and the assailants were thrown into confusion. Fordyce rallied them, and having brought two pieces of cannon over the bridge, and placed them on the island in such a position as to command the breast-work, led his men (about one hundred and twenty in number) steadily across the causeway, keeping up a constant and heavy fire as they approached Woodford's redoubt. Lieutenant Travis, who commanded in the redoubt, ordered his men to reserve their fire until the enemy came within fifty yards, and then, with sure aim, pour volley after volley upon the assailants as rapidly as possible. Believing the redoubt to be deserted, Fordyce waved his hat over his head, shouted "The day is our own!" and rushed forward toward the breast-work. The order of Lieutenant Travis was obeyed with terrible effect. His men, about ninety in number, rose to their feet and discharged a full volley upon the enemy. The gallant Captain Fordyce, who was marked by the riflemen, fell, pierced by fourteen bullets, within fifteen steps of the breast-works. His followers, greatly terrified, retreated in confusion across the causeway, and were dreadfully galled in their rear.

Captain Leslie,^d who, with about two hundred and thirty negroes and Tories, had remained upon the island at the west end of the bridge, now rallied the regulars, and kept up the firing of the two field-pieces. Colonel Woodford, with the main body of the Virginians, left the church at the same time, and advanced to the relief of the garrison in the intrenchments. Upon his approaching line the field pieces played incessantly, but the Virginians pressed steadily forward. Colonel Stevens,^e of the Culpepper battalion, went round to the

^a Thomas Marshall, father of the late chief justice, and also the latter, then a lieutenant in the minute battalion, were among the Virginians at the Great Bridge. Thomas Marshall was major at that time. He had a shrewd servant with him, whom he caused to desert to Dunmore, after being instructed in his duty. He reported to his lordship that there were not more than three hundred *shirtmen* (as the British called the Virginian riflemen, who wore their hunting shirts) at the bridge. This emboldened Dunmore, and he sent Captains Leslie and Fordyce at once to attack the redoubt.

^b This officer, the son of the Earl of Levin, was mortally wounded at Princeton, on the second of January, 1777. See page 332, volume i.

^c Edward Stevens, who afterward became a brigadier, was a very efficient officer. His epitaph upon a monument in his family burial-ground, half a mile north of the Culpepper Court House, tells briefly the events of his public life:

"This gallant officer and upright man served his country with reputation in the field and Senate of his native state. He took an active part and had a principal share in the war of the Revolution, and acquired great distinction at the battles of Great Bridge, Brandywine, Germantown, Camden, Guilford, and the siege

Close of the Battle.

Terror of the Captives.

Norfolk entered by the Americans.

Dunmore's Threat.

left, and flanked the enemy with so much vigor that a route ensued and the battle ended. The enemy left their two field-pieces behind, but took care to spike them with nails, and fled in confusion to their fort on the Norfolk side. The battle lasted only about twenty-five minutes, but was very severe. The number of the enemy slain is not precisely known. Thirty-one killed and wounded fell into the hands of the patriots, and many were carried away by their friends. Gordon says their whole loss was sixty-two. They fought desperately, for they preferred death to captivity, Dunmore having assured them that, if they were caught alive, the savage Virginians would scalp them.¹ It is a remarkable fact that not a single Virginian was killed during the engagement, and only one man was slightly wounded in the hand, notwithstanding the two field-pieces upon the island hurled double-headed shot as far as the church, and cannonaded them with grape-shot as they approached their redoubt. The wounded who fell into the hands of the Virginians were treated with the greatest tenderness, except the Tories, who were made to feel some of the rigors of war.

The repulse of the British at Great Bridge greatly exasperated Dunmore, who had remained in safety at Norfolk; and in his rage he swore he would hang the boy that brought the tidings. The motley forces of his lordship were dispirited by the event, and the Loyalists refused further service in arms unless they could act with regulars. The Virginians, on the other hand, were in high spirits, and Colonel Woodford determined to push forward and take possession of the city. He issued a pacific proclamation to the people of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties, and many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp. Those who had joined Dunmore on compulsion, were treated kindly; those who volunteered their services were each hand-cuffed to a negro fellow-soldier and placed in confinement.

On the fourteenth,^a five days after the battle at the bridge, Woodford entered the city in triumph, and the next morning, Colonel (afterward General) Robert Howe, with a North Carolina regiment, joined them, and assumed the command of all the patriot forces. Dunmore, in the mean while, had caused the intrenchments at Norfolk to be abandoned, the twenty pieces of cannon to be spiked, and invited the Loyalists and their families to take refuge with him in the ships of the fleet. The poor negroes who had joined his standard were left without care or protection, and many starved.

Distress soon prevailed in the ships; famine menaced them with its keen fangs. Parties sent on shore to procure provisions from the neighboring country were cut off, or greatly annoyed by the Virginians, and supplies for the multitude of mouths became daily more precarious. The ships were galled by a desultory fire from the houses, and their position became intolerable. At this juncture the Liverpool frigate, from Great Britain, came into the harbor, and gave boldness to Governor Dunmore. By the captain of the Liverpool, he immediately sent a flag to Colonel Howe, commanding him to cease firing upon the ships and supply the fleet with provisions, otherwise he should bombard the town. The patriots answered by a flat refusal, and the governor prepared to execute his barbarous threat. On

the morning of the thirty-first of December,^b Dunmore gave notice of his design, in order that women and children, and the Loyalists still remaining, might retire to a place of safety. At four o'clock on the morning of the first of January,^c the Liverpool,² Dunmore, and two sloops of war, opened a heavy cannonade upon the town,

of York; and although zealous in the cause of American freedom, his conduct was not marked with the least degree of malevolence or party spirit. Those who honestly differed with him in opinion he always treated with singular tenderness. In strict integrity, honest patriotism, and immovable courage, he was surpassed by none, and had few equals."

He died on the seventeenth of August, 1820, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

¹ "The prisoners expected to be scalped," wrote a correspondent of the Virginia Gazette, and cried out, "For God's sake, do not murder us!" One of them, unable to walk, cried out in this manner to one of our men, and was answered by him, "Put your arm around my neck, and I will show what I intend to do." Then taking him, with his arm over his neck, he walked slowly along, bearing him with great tenderness, to the breast-work."—*Virginia Gazette*, December 14, 1775; Gordon, Ramsay, Botta, Girardin, Howison.

² It was a shot from this vessel which struck the corner of St. Paul's Church, referred to on a preceding page.

Destruction of Norfolk. Distress. Disposition of the American Troops. Dunmore at Gwyn's Island. General Lewis.

and parties of marines and sailors went on shore and set fire to the warehouses. The wind was blowing from the water, and the buildings being chiefly of wood and filled with pitch and turpentine, the greater part of the compact portion of the city was in flames before midnight. The conflagration raged for fifty hours, and the wretched inhabitants, Whigs and Tories, saw their property and homes licked up by the consumer, and their heads made shelterless in the cold winter air, without the power of staying the fury of the destroyer or saving the necessaries of life. Not content with laying the town in ashes, the petty Nero heightened the terror of the scene and the anguish of the people by a cannonade from the ships during the conflagration. Parties of musketeers, also, went to places where people were collected and attacked them. Horror reigned supreme, and destitution in its worst features there bore rule. Yet a kind Providence guarded the lives of the smitten inhabitants; and during the three days of terror while the fire raged, and cannon-balls were hurled into the town in abundance, not one of the patriot troops were killed, and only three or four women and children were slain in the streets. Seven persons were wounded.¹ The invading parties were uniformly driven back to their ships with loss. In these repulses the intrepid Stevens was conspicuous, and displayed all the courage of a veteran soldier.

Colonel Stevens and his little band remained upon the site of Norfolk, until February,^a when, having removed the families and appraised the dwellings which remained, he caused them to be destroyed, that the enemy might have no shelter. Thus the most flourishing town in Virginia was made an utter desolation;² but its eligible location insured its phoenix-like resurrection, and again, when peace returned, "beauty for ashes" soon characterized the spot. Howe divided his troops; some were stationed at Kemp's Landing, some at the Great Bridge, and others in Suffolk, whither most of the fugitives from the city fled, and found open-handed hospitality in the interior.

Dunmore's movements on the coast compelled the Virginians to exercise the most active vigilance. After Howe abandoned the site of Norfolk, the fugitive governor erected barracks there, but being prevented from obtaining supplies from the neighboring country, he destroyed them, sailed down the Elizabeth River, and after maneuvering for a while in Hampton Roads,^b he finally landed upon Gwyn's Island, in Chesapeake Bay, on the east side of Matthew's county, near the mouth of the Piankatank River. This island contains about two thousand acres, and was remarkable for its fertility and beauty. Dunmore's force consisted of about five hundred men, white and black. He cast up some intrenchments, and built a stockade fort, with the evident intention of making that his place of rendezvous while plundering and desolating the plantations on the neighboring coast.

General Andrew Lewis,³ then in command of a brigade of Virginia troops, was sent by the Committee of Safety to dislodge Dunmore. On the eighth of July, he erected two batteries (one mounting two eighteen pounders, and the other bearing lighter guns), nearly opposite the point on the island where the enemy was encamped. The next morning,^c at eight o'clock, Lewis gave the signal for attack, by applying a match, himself, to

¹ *Virginia Gazette*, January, 1776. Burk, iii., 451. Howison, ii., 109.

² When Dunmore destroyed Norfolk, its population was six thousand, and so rapidly was it increasing in business and wealth, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents in the city increased from forty thousand to fifty thousand dollars a year. The actual loss by the cannonade and conflagration was estimated at fifteen hundred thousand dollars; the personal suffering was inconceivable.

³ Andrew Lewis was a native of Augusta county, in Virginia. With five brothers, he was in the battle when Braddock was defeated, and continued active during the war. He was a major in Washington's Vir-

ginia regiment, and was highly esteemed by him for his courage and skill. He was the commander, as already noticed on page 487, at the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774. When Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental army, he recommended Lewis as one of the major generals, but he was overlooked. He accepted the

office of a brigadier general, and commanded a detachment of the army stationed near Williamsburg. He drove Dunmore from Gwyn's Island in 1776, and resigned his command on account of illness in 1780. He died in Bedford county, forty miles from his home, on the Roanoke, while on his way thither. General Lewis was more than six feet in height, and possessed great personal dignity.

And Lewis

Attack upon Dunmore. His Flight. Distress upon Gwyn's Island. Destruction of Property by Collier and Matthews.

an eighteen pounder. The ball passed through the hull of the Dunmore, which was lying five hundred yards distant; a second shot cut her boatswain in twain, and a third shivered one of her timbers, a splinter from which struck Lord Dunmore, wounded his leg, and smashed his china. Both batteries then opened upon the governor's fleet, camp, and works. Terror now prevailed in the fleet, and confusion in the camp. Almost every ship slipped its cables, and endeavored to escape. Dunmore's batteries were silenced; the tents of his camp were knocked down, and terrible breaches were made in his stockade. The assailants ceased firing at nine o'clock, but no signal of surrender being given, it was renewed at meridian.

Early on the following morning, having collected some small craft in the neighborhood, Lewis ordered Colonel M'Clanahan, with two hundred men, to cross to the island. The enemy evacuated before the Virginian's landed, and fled to the ships, leaving their dead and many wounded behind them. A horrible scene was there presented. Half-putrefied bodies lay in almost uncovered shallow graves, and the dying, scattered in various directions, were filling the air with their groans. The island was dotted with graves, for the small-pox and fevers had raged with great violence in the fleet and in the camp for some time. Some were burned in the brush huts, which took fire; and others, abandoned to their fate, had crawled to the sandy beach and were perishing. Only one man of the assailants was killed; Captain Arundel, who was slain by the bursting of a mortar of his own invention. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but it must have been considerable.

On leaving the island, Dunmore caused several of his vessels, which were aground, to be burned, and with the remnants of his fleet he sailed out of the Chesapeake, entered the Potomac, and, after plundering and desolating several plantations on that river, above Aquia Creek,¹ he returned to Lynn Haven Bay, where he dismissed some of the ships for the Bermudas, some to the West Indies, and some to St. Augustine, with booty, among which was almost a thousand slaves. He soon joined the naval force in New York, and toward the close of the year sailed for England.²

After the departure of Dunmore, the Virginia coast enjoyed comparative quiet ^{May 9,} until 1779,³ when a British fleet, under Admiral Sir George Collier, entered Hampton Roads. He sailed up the Elizabeth River and attacked Fort Nelson, which had been erected by the Virginians a little below Portsmouth to secure that place, Norfolk, and the navy-yard at Gosport from attack. The fort was garrisoned by about one hundred and fifty men under Major Thomas Matthews, who, on the approach of Collier, and General Matthews, who commanded the British land forces, abandoned it, and retreated to the Dismal Swamp, leaving the American flag flying from the ramparts. The British took possession of Portsmouth, Norfolk, Gosport, and Suffolk, on the eleventh, all being abandoned by the Virginians. Great quantities of stores, ammunition and cannons, fell into the hands of the invaders. A large quantity of naval stores were carried away; the residue, and a great quantity of tobacco, were burned or otherwise destroyed.⁴ After pillaging Portsmouth and destroying Suffolk, the fleet, with General Matthews and his land forces, went to sea, returned to New York, and assisted Sir Henry Clinton in taking possession of the fortresses on Stony and Verplanck's Points, on the Hudson.

¹ See page 419.

² Dunmore never returned to the United States. He went to Europe, and two years afterward was appointed governor of Bermuda. He was very unpopular, and did not long remain there. He died in England in 1809. His wife was Lady Charlotte Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway.

³ The amount of property destroyed in this expedition up the Elizabeth River was very great. Previous to the abandonment of Portsmouth and Gosport, the Americans burned a ship-of-war of twenty-eight guns, then on the stocks, and two heavily-laden French merchantmen. One of these contained a thousand hogsheads of tobacco. Several vessels of war were taken on the stocks, and also several merchantmen. The whole number of vessels taken, burned, and destroyed amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven. They were laden with tobacco, tar, and turpentine. Many privateers were captured or destroyed. At Suffolk, nine thousand barrels of salted pork, eight thousand barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, and a vast quantity of stores and merchandise, were burned.

Leslie's Expedition.

Deep Creek and Dismal Swamp.

Drummond's Lake.

Moore's Poem.

Again, in 1780, hostile vessels were in the Elizabeth River. Brigadier-general Leslie, with about three thousand troops from New York, landed at Portsmouth,^a and took possession of every kind of public property there and in the vicinity. Leslie was to co-operate with Cornwallis, who proposed to enter Virginia from the south. He did not remain long, for Cornwallis, hearing of the defeat of Ferguson at King's Mountain, hastily retreated; and Leslie, on being advised of this, left for Charleston,^b for the purpose of joining the earl in the Carolinas. Again, in 1781, hostile troops, under Arnold, were on the shores of the Elizabeth. That expedition we will consider presently.

I left the Great Bridge at noon, and rode to Deep Creek, a small village on the northern verge of the Dismal Swamp, nine miles distant.¹ There the Dismal Swamp Canal terminates, and far into the gloomy recesses this work opens an avenue for the vision. I ardently desired to go to Drummond's Lake, lying in the center of the swamp, around which clusters so much that is romantic and mysterious; but want of time obliged me to be content to stand on the rough selvedge of the morass and contemplate with wonder the magnificent cypresses, junipers, oaks, gums, and pines which form the stately columns of the grand and solemn aisles in this mysterious temple of nature.² Below waved the tall reeds, and the tangled shrubbery of the gall-bush and laurel; and up the massive trunks and spreading branches of the forest-monarchs crept the woodbine, the ivy, and the muscadine, covering with fretwork and gorgeous tracery the broad arches from which hung the sombre moss, like trophy banners in ancient halls. A deep silence prevailed, for it was winter-time, and buzzing insects and warbling birds were absent or mute. No life appeared in the vast solitude, except occasionally a gray squirrel, a partridge, or a scarlet tanager, the red plumage of the latter flashing like a fire-brand as it flitted by.

"'Tis a wild spot, and hath a gloomy look;
The bird sings never merrily in the trees,
And the young leaves seem blighted. A rank growth
Spreads poisonously 'round, with power to taint
With blustering dews the thoughtless hand that dares
To penetrate the covert."—W. GILLMORE SIMMS.

I returned to Norfolk toward evening. It was Saturday night, and as Monday would be the opening of the Christmas holidays, I met great numbers of negroes on the road, going to the country to spend their week of leisure with their friends on the plantations of their masters. They all appeared to be happy and musical as larks, and made the forest ring with their joyous laugh and melodious songs. All carried a bundle, or a basket filled with presents for their friends. Some had new hats, and others garments; others were carrying various knickknacks and fire-crackers, and a few of the men were "toting" a little too much "fire-water." From the youngest, to the oldest who rode in mule-carts, all faces beamed with the joy of the hour.

¹ The Dismal Swamp lies partly in Virginia and partly in North Carolina. Its extent from north to south is about thirty miles, and from east to west about ten miles. No less than five navigable streams and several creeks have their rise in it. It is made subservient to the wants of commerce, by furnishing the raw material for an immense quantity of shingles and other juniper lumber.

The Dismal Swamp Canal runs through it from north to south, and the Portsmouth and Roanoke railway passes across five miles of its northern border. The canal has a stage-road running parallel with it, extending from Deep Creek to Elizabeth.

² Drummond's Lake, so called after a hunter of that name who discovered it, is near the center of the swamp. A hotel has been erected upon its shore, and is a place of considerable resort. Being on the line between Virginia and North Carolina, it is a sort of Gretna Green where "runaway matches" are consummated. Tradition tells of a young man who, on the death of the girl he loved, lost his reason. He suddenly disappeared, and his friends never heard of him afterward. In his ravings he often said she was not dead, but gone to the Dismal Swamp, and it is supposed he wandered into its gloomy morasses and perished. Moore, who visited Norfolk in 1804, on hearing this tradition, wrote his touching ballad, commencing,

"They made her a grave too cold and damp
For a soul so warm and true;
And she's gone to the Lake of the Dismal Swamp,
Where all night long, by her fire-fly lamp,
She paddles her white canoe.

And her fire-fly lamp I soon shall see,
And her paddle I soon shall hear;
Long and loving our life shall be,
And I'll hide the maid in a cypress-tree
When the footsteps of Death are near."

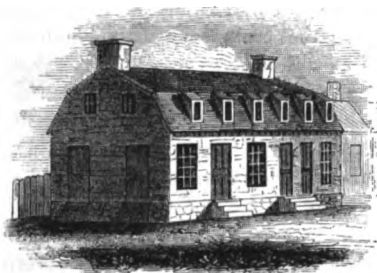
Return to Norfolk.

Portsmouth and Gosport.

French and English Fleets.

Attempt to capture Arnold.

I arrived at Norfolk in time to cross the river to Portsmouth¹ and walk to the government navy-yard at Gosport, a short distance above. It is reached by a causeway from Portsmouth, and is well worthy of a visit from the traveler. There lay the *Pennsylvania*, the largest ship-of-war in the world—a colossal monument of government folly and extravagance. She was full rigged, and near her were the frigates *Constitution* and *Constellation*, dismantled. Her timber and iron might make many comfortable dwellings, but they are allowed to rot and rust in utter uselessness. I tarried but a moment there, for the sun was going down, and I wished to sketch Arnold's head-quarters, at Portsmouth, before returning



ARNOLD'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

to Norfolk, for I expected to ascend the James River on Monday. Arnold's quarters, represented in the engraving, is a building of stone, and stands on the corner of High and Crawford Streets, a short distance from the ferry. Let us note the events connected with Arnold's residence here.

We have mentioned on page 436 the retreat of Arnold down the James River after his depredations at Richmond. He proceeded to Portsmouth, where he took post, and began to fortify on the twentieth of January.^a Generals Steuben, Nelson, Weedon, and Muhlenberg were act-
1781.

ively engaged in collecting the militia to defend the country and drive out the invaders, and Washington devised a plan for capturing the traitor. Having learned that four British ships, which had been lying in Gardiner's Bay, off the east end of Long Island, had gone eastward, and that two of them were disabled in a storm, he requested Rochambeau to send the French fleet (then commanded by D'Estouches, the successor of Admiral Ternay) and a detachment of his land forces to the Chesapeake. At the same time, he sent La Fayette thither with a detachment of twelve hundred infantry. The plan was to attack the traitor by sea and land simultaneously, so that he could not escape from the Elizabeth River. A
Feb. 9, 1781. part, only, of the French fleet was sent, under De Tilley,^b with orders to attempt the destruction of the British fleet there. They took or destroyed ten small vessels. They also captured the *Romulus*, of one hundred and fourteen guns, at the entrance of Narraganset Bay, and carried her into Newport harbor. This expedition accomplished nothing respecting Arnold; and Washington, anxious to have co-operation with La Fayette and the Virginia militia against the recreant, went to Newport and held an interview with Rochambeau. The result was that the French fleet left Newport on the eighth of March. They were followed by the British fleet, then in Gardiner's Bay, under Admiral Arbuthnot, who
Feb. 16. intercepted the French at the entrance of the Chesapeake.^c They drew up in battle order, eight ships on a side, and a partial engagement ensued. Neither party could justly claim a victory. The French abandoned their design of co-operating with the marquis, and returned to Newport. The plan, so well arranged and so nearly accomplished, was defeated. La Fayette marched back to the head of Elk, and Arnold was left to the skill and bravery of the Virginia troops near him.^d These were inadequate to drive him from Portsmouth, and he remained there until about the middle of April, when he was joined by a detachment under Major-general Phillips. The two commanders now determined to overrun all the fertile portion of Virginia lying near the James River, and on the twenty-fourth of April they reached City Point with twenty-five hundred troops. Thither we will follow them presently.

¹ Portsmouth is a considerable town on the west side of the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk. It lies upon lower ground than the latter. It was established as a town in 1752, on lands owned by William Crawford, in whose honor one of its finest streets was named. The Gosport navy-yard is within half a mile of the center of Portsmouth, and around it a little village has grown up.

² Governor Jefferson was eager to capture Arnold, and offered five thousand guineas to any of the men of General Muhlenberg's Western corps who would accomplish it.—See Jefferson's Letter to Muhlenberg, 1781.

Departure from Norfolk.

Misfortunes of an Hostler.

Forts Nelson and Norfolk.

Craney Island.

CHAPTER XXI.

"With evil omens from the harbor sails
 The ill-fated bark that worthless Arnold bears—
 God of the southern winds call up the gales
 And whistle in rude fury round his ears!
 With horrid waves insult his vessel's sides,
 And may the east wind on a leeward shore
 Her cables part, while she in tumult rides,
 And shatters into shivers every oar."—FRENEAU.

"They came, as the ocean-wave comes in its wrath,
 When the storm spirit frowns on the deep;
 They came as the mountain-wind comes on its path
 When the tempest hath roused it from sleep;
 They were met, as the rock meets the wave,
 And dashes its fury to air;
 They were met, as the foe should be met by the brave,
 With courage, and not with despair."—PROSPER M. WETMORE.



AWOKE at four o'clock on Christmas morning, and my first waking thought was of the dawn of a fourth of July in a Northern city. Guns, pistols, and squibs were already heralding the holiday; indeed the revelry commenced at dark the previous evening, notwithstanding it was the night of the Sabbath. Expecting to depart in the steam-boat for City Point at six o'clock in the morning, I had directed the hostler, a funny little negro, who was as full of promises as a bank-teller's drawer, to feed my horse at half past four. I showed him a bright coin, and promised him its possession if he would be punctual. Of course he would "be up before dat time, rely upon it;" but experience had taught me to be distrustful. At the appointed hour I went to the stable dormitory, and rapped several times before the hostler stirred. "Yes, massa," he exclaimed, "I'se jis turnin' over as you cum up de stair;" and striking a light with flint and tinder, he went down to the stable with his lantern. I stood in the door watching the breaking of the clouds and the peeping forth of the stars after a stormy night, when a clatter in the stall attracted my attention. Upon looking in, I discovered the little hostler under the manger, with his tin lantern crushed beneath him, but the candle still burning. "Ki!" he exclaimed, scrambling to regain his feet, "Ki! how like de debble he butt! Mos knock my brains out!" I soon perceived the cause of the trouble. A large black goat, with a beard like a Turk, which I had seen in the stable the previous evening, observing the negro's motions while rubbing Charley's legs, and interpreting them as a challenge, had played the battering-ram with the hostler, and laid him sprawling under the manger. "Did he hit you?" I inquired, gravely, trying to suppress laughter. "Hit me, massa!" he exclaimed; "why he most ruin me, I reckons. See dar!" and with all the dramatic gravity of Anthony when he held up the robe of Cæsar, and exclaimed, "See what a rent the envious Casca made!" the hostler exhibited a "rent" in his nether garment at least an ell in length. Notwithstanding his mishap, Billy insisted that "de goat is healthy for de hosses, and musn't be turned out any how;" but he promised to give him a "licken de fus time he ketch him asleep." Charley had his oats in time, and at six o'clock we embarked on the *Alice* for James River and City Point.

Going out of the harbor at Norfolk we passed the United States Marine Hospital, on the western bank of the river, a spacious building standing upon the site of Fort Nelson of the Revolution. On the opposite side I perceived the ruins of Fort Norfolk, erected in 1812. We passed Craney Island¹ before sunrise, and leaving Hampton and its noble harbor on the

¹ Craney Island is at the mouth of the Elizabeth River. The Americans erected fortifications there in 1812, which commanded the entrance to Norfolk harbor. On the twenty-second of June, 1813, a powerful British fleet made an attack upon these works. A part of the hostile force landed on Nansemond Point,

Voyage up the James River.

City Point.

Petersburg.

Blandford Church.

Founding of Petersburg.

right entered the broad mouth of the James River. A strong breeze, warm as the breath of May, came from the southwest and dispersed the moving clouds. I have seldom experienced a more delightful voyage than on that genial Christmas day upon the ancient Powhatan, whose shores are so thickly clustered with historical associations. Jamestown, the Chickahominy, Charles City, Westover, and Berkley, were all passed before noon; and at one o'clock we landed at City Point, at the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers, about forty miles below Richmond.¹ Here the British army, under Phillips and Arnold, debarked on the twenty-fourth of April, 1781, and proceeded to Petersburg.

An intelligent mulatto, enjoying his holiday freedom, took a seat with me for Petersburg. He was a guide on the way, and gave me considerable information respecting localities around that town, where his master resided. We passed through Blandford, an old town separated from Petersburg² only by a deep ravine and a small stream, and at a little after three o'clock I was dining at the Bollingbrook. At four, accompanied by a young man acquainted with the way, I went up to the old

BLANDFORD CHURCH.³

Blandford Church, one of the most picturesque and attractive ruins in Virginia. It stands in the midst of a burial-ground upon an eminence overlooking the ancient village of Blandford and its younger sister at the falls of the Appomattox, with an extensive and diversified landscape for scores of miles around. The edifice is cruciform, and was built of imported bricks about one hundred and fifty years ago. Some of the noblest and wealthiest of Virginia's aristocracy worshiped within its walls; for Blandford was the focus of fashion and refinement, while Peters-

burg was rudely struggling for its present pre-eminence. But the glory of the town and its church departed; Blandford is now only a suburban hamlet of Petersburg, and the old temple, dismantled of its interior decorations, is left to the occupancy of the bats and the owls.

"Lonely relic of the past, old moldering pile,
Where twines the ivy round thy ruins gray,
Where the lone toad sits brooding in the aisle,
Once trod by "ladye fayre" and gallant gay!

Before my gaze altar and chancel rise,
The surplised priest, the mourner bowed in pray-
Fair worshipers, with heaven-directed eyes, [er,
And manhood's piety, and pride are there!

Knights of the olden time perchance are kneeling,
And choristers pour forth the hallowed hymn;

And hark! the organ's solemn strains are pealing,
Like songs of seraphs, or rapt cherubim!

But no! 'tis but my fancy, and I gaze
On ruined walls, where creeps the lizard cold;
Or dusky bats beneath the pale moon's rays
Their solemn, lonely midnight vigils hold.

Yet they are here! the learned and the proud,
Genius, and worth, and beauty—they are here!
I stand rebuked amid the slumbering crowd,
While time-past voices touch the spirit's ear."

JOHN C. McCABE.

and a part attempted to reach the island in barges. The former were driven off by the Virginia militia, and the latter were so galled by the guns of a battery, that those who were not destroyed retreated to the ships. The repulse was decisive. More than two hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded. Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport were saved.

¹ City Point is in Prince George county. It is a post village and a port of entry. A rail-way connects it with Petersburg.

² Fort Henry, erected for a defense of the people south of the James River, was built on the site of Petersburg in 1646. Colonel Bolling, a gentleman of taste and fortune, settled there early in the last century. Colonel Byrd, of Westover, mentions him as living in fine style there in 1728. Peter Jones was the first settler, having established a trading-house there soon after the erection of Fort Henry. The locality was first called *Peter's Point*, and afterward *Petersburg*. Jones was a friend of Colonel Byrd, and accompanied that gentleman to the Roanoke in 1733. He says in his journal, "When we got home we laid the foundation of two large cities; one at Shacco's, to be called *Richmond*; and the other at the point of Appomattox, to be called *Petersburg*. The latter and Blandford were established towns in 1748. Blandford was then the most flourishing settlement of the two.

³ This view is from the outside of the old inclosure, looking south.

Sudden Storm.

Services of Steuben.

Military Operations between City Point and Williamsburg.

While sketching the venerable ruin, a heavy black cloud, like the chariot of a summer tempest, came up from the southwest. I tarried a moment at the reputed grave of General Phillips, and then hurried across the ravine to Petersburg; but I was too late to escape the shower, and was so thoroughly drenched that I was obliged to exchange every garment for a dry one. A cool drizzle continued throughout the evening, and gave a deeper coloring to the disappointment I felt on being denied the privilege of passing an hour with Charles Campbell, Esq., one of Virginia's best local historians. He was twenty miles away; so I employed that hour in jotting down the incidents of the day, and in turning over the leaves of the old chronicle. Petersburg is a central point of view, and here, before we cross the Roanoke, we will consider the remainder of the Revolutionary annals of the "Old Dominion."

We have already noticed the invasion under Arnold; the destruction of Richmond, and the founderies and magazines at Westham, at the head of the falls of the James River; and at Yorktown observed the concluding scenes of Cornwallis's operations in Virginia. It was a fortunate circumstance for that state, that the Baron Steuben, the veteran disciplinarian from the armies of Frederick the Great, was detained in Virginia, while on his way southward with General Greene. His services in disciplining the militia, and organizing them in such order as to give them strength to beat back the invaders at various points, were of incalculable value. During Arnold's invasion, they were led against his disciplined parties on several occasions, and with success. On one occasion, General Smallwood, with three hundred militia, drove the traitor's boats out of the Appomattox, and sent them in confusion far below City Point; and Steuben himself, with George Rogers Clarke, the hero of the Ohio Valley, led a considerable force to strike the enemy between Westover and the Chickahominy.

It being evident that the entire subjugation of Virginia was a part of the plan of the British for the campaign of 1781,¹ Washington early turned his attention to that point, and concerted measures to avert the blow. La Fayette sought and obtained the honor of commanding the Continental forces destined for that theater of action. Washington gave him his instructions on the twentieth of February,^a and with about twelve hundred troops, detached from the forces then at New Windsor and Morristown, he marched southward. The first object of this expedition, as we have seen, was to co-operate with the French fleet against Arnold. That portion of the general plan failed, and the marquis, as we have observed, returned to the head of Elk.^b

General Phillips, in command of the united forces under Arnold and himself, landed at City Point on the twenty-fourth of April,^b where he remained until the next morning, when they marched directly upon Petersburg. On his way up the James River, he sent Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers, to attack a body of Virginia militia at Williamsburg, and to get possession of Yorktown. The expedition landed near Burwell's Ferry, a little below Williamsburg, on the nineteenth,^c at which place the Americans had thrown up some intrenchments. The Virginians fled at the approach of Simcoe, and General Phillips, with the army, landed. Simcoe marched that night toward Williamsburg. It was a night of tempest and intense darkness, and it was not until the morning of the twentieth when he entered the town. The militia also fled from Williamsburg, and the enemy took possession of the place. It being ascertained that a large garrison would be necessary for Yorktown, if taken, the project of its capture was abandoned, and the troops proceeded up the river.^c

Baron Steuben, with one thousand militia, had taken post near Blandford Church, and

¹ Cornwallis had overrun the Carolinas, and the security of his conquests depended, in a measure, upon the subjugation of Virginia, and the establishment of royal power upon the shores of the Chesapeake from the Capes to the Elk. Cornwallis expressed to Sir Henry Clinton a hope that the Chesapeake might become the seat of war for that campaign, even at the expense of abandoning New York, if necessary. "Until Virginia is in a manner subdued," he said, "our hold upon the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious."

² See page 540.

³ Simcoe's Journal, 189-192

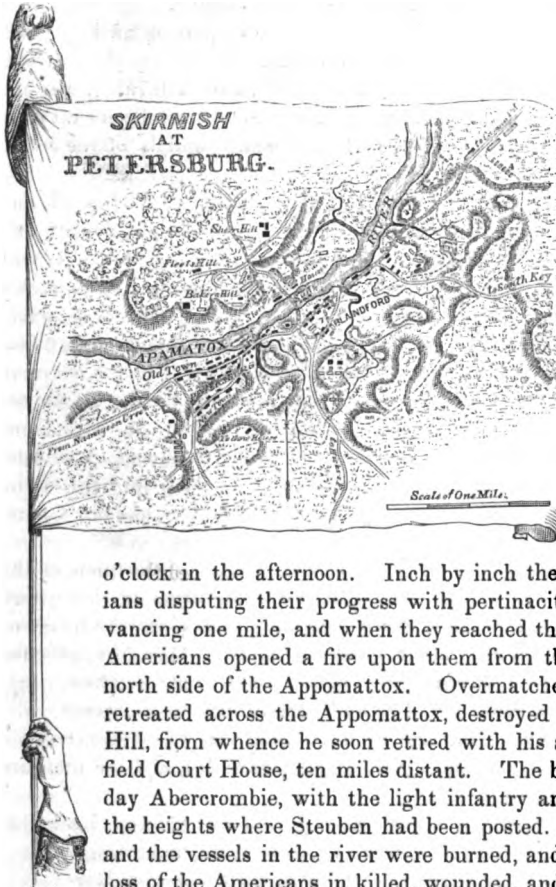
Skirmish near Petersburg.

Retreat of the Americans.

British Occupation of the Town.

Mrs. Bolling.

was ready to receive the British. Notwithstanding his force consisted of less than one third of the number of the enemy, he determined to dispute the ground. The British came in sight toward noon, and formed, with their line extended to the left, upon the plain near Blandford. Phillips and Simcoe reconnoitered, and having satisfied themselves that Steu-



ben's force was not very large, prepared to attack him. The ground was broken where the Americans were posted. A party of yagers passing through a gully behind an orchard, got upon the flank of the patrols, and fired with such effect as to cause their retreat to an eminence in their rear. Phillips now ordered his artillery to be secretly drawn up. As soon as it opened upon the Virginians, Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie advanced in front, while Simcoe with his rangers, and Captain Boyd with light infantry, passed through the wood to turn their left flank. Steuben perceived this movement, and ordered his troops to fall back. It was now between three and four

o'clock in the afternoon. Inch by inch the British made their way, the Virginians disputing their progress with pertinacity. The enemy were two hours advancing one mile, and when they reached the heights near Blandford Church, the Americans opened a fire upon them from their cannon on Archer's Hill, on the north side of the Appomattox. Overmatched both by skill and numbers, Steuben retreated across the Appomattox, destroyed the bridge, and took post on Baker's Hill, from whence he soon retired with his arms, baggage, and stores, to Chesterfield Court House, ten miles distant. The bridge was soon repaired, and the next day Abercrombie, with the light infantry and rangers, crossed over and occupied the heights where Steuben had been posted. Four hundred hogsheds of tobacco and the vessels in the river were burned, and other property was destroyed. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and taken in this skirmish of nearly three hours, was between sixty and seventy; that of the enemy was probably about the same.¹

The British now prepared for offensive operations in the vicinity. Phillips and Arnold quartered at the spacious mansion of Mrs. Bolling, known as Bollingbrook, and yet standing upon East Hill, in the south part of the town.² Other officers also occupied the two man-

NOTE.—*Explanation of the Plan.*—1, Yagers; 2, four pieces of cannon; 3, British Light Infantry; 4, Queen's Rangers; 5, Riflemen; 6, first position of the Americans; 7, second position; 8, third position, across the Appomattox; 9, second position of the Queen's Rangers; 10, their third position. This plan is copied from Simcoe's *Journal*.

¹ Jefferson's letter to Washington.

² There are here three eminences which overlook the town, East Hill, Center Hill, and West Hill. Mrs. Bolling was a widow, and one of the largest land-holders in Virginia. She owned the tobacco warehouses at Petersburg, and nearly one half of the town. These were probably spared because Mrs. Bolling treated Phillips and Arnold courteously. De Chastellux, who afterward visited Petersburg, has the following notice of the building seen in the engraving upon the next page. "Her house, or rather houses—for she has two on the same line resembling each other, which she proposes to join together—are situated on the summit of a considerable slope which rises from the level of the town of Petersburg, and corresponds so exactly with the course of the river, that there is no doubt of its having formerly formed one of its banks. This slope and the vast platform on which the house is built are covered with grass, which affords excellent pasturage, and are also her property." Speaking of the family, he continues: "On our arrival, we were saluted by Miss Bowling [Bolling], a young lady of fifteen, possessing all the freshness of her age; she was

British Occupation of Bollingbrook.

Skirmish at Osborne's.

Destruction of the American Flotilla

sions; and Mrs. Bolling was allowed the use of only the room in the rear of the east building. The soldiery often set fire to the fences which surrounded Bollingbrook, and the amiable lady was kept in a state of continual alarm, notwithstanding the efforts of the usually discourteous Phillips to soothe her. Arnold had apprised her of the irritability of that officer's temper, and by her mildness she secured his esteem and favor.¹

On the morning of the twenty-seventh, April, 1781, Arnold, with one division of the army, consisting of the eightieth and seventy-sixth regiments and the Rangers, proceeded to

a place called Osborne's, a short distance from Petersburg, where, rumor asserted, the Americans had considerable stores, and near which was anchored a marine force to oppose the further progress of vessels coming up the James River. At the same time, General Phillips, with the other division, marched to Chesterfield Court House. The patriots at Osborne's were not advised of the approach of the enemy until they appeared in force. Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of the fleet for a surrender, but he boldly re-

set fire to others to prevent their falling into the traitor's hands. One of the vessels returned the fire from the enemy's artillery with much spirit, but was finally disabled. The militia were driven from the opposite shore, and the whole fleet was either captured or destroyed. Two ships and ten smaller craft were captured, and four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were either burned or sunk.²

The quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed, exceeded two thousand hogheads.

followed by her mother, brother, and sister-in-law. The mother, a lady of fifty, has but little resemblance to her countrywomen; she is lively, active, and intelligent; knows perfectly well how to manage her immense fortune, and what is yet more rare, knows how to make good use of it. Her son and daughter-in-law I had already seen at Williamsburg. The young gentleman appears mild and polite; but his wife, of only seventeen years of age, is a most interesting acquaintance, not only from the face and form, which are exquisitely delicate, and quite European, but from her being also descended from *Pocahontas* [Pocahontas], daughter of King Powhatan." The engraving presents a view of Mrs. Bolling's houses, looking southwest.

¹ Campbell's *Reminiscences of Bollingbrook*, in the Southern Literary Messenger, January, 1840.

NOTE.—*Explanation of the Plan.*—A, B, the Queen's Rangers; C, the eightieth and seventy-sixth regiments; D, E, the British artillery, two six and two three pounders; F, Yagers; G, the American vessels; H, the American militia.

² It was to one of the prisoners, taken at this time, that Arnold put the question, "If the Americans



BOLLINGBROOK.



Troops of Arnold and Phillips. Depredations at Manchester and Warwick. La Fayette at Petersburg. Death of Phillips.

Phillips and Arnold joined their divisions on the thirtieth, after having burned the barracks and a quantity of flour at Chesterfield Court House, and then pushed forward toward Richmond, where a large quantity of military stores were collected. At Manchester, opposite Richmond, they burned twelve hundred hogsheds of tobacco and other property, and were preparing to cross the river, when information reached them that La Fayette, with a body of Continental troops, had arrived the evening previous. The marquis had received orders at the head of Elk to go to Virginia and oppose Phillips and Arnold, and had made a forced march of two hundred miles in order to save the stores at Richmond. The depredators knew too well the spirit of the marquis to venture another marauding visit to Richmond while he was there, and, wheeling their columns, they proceeded down the river to Bermuda Hundred, at the mouth of the Appomattox, opposite City Point, and embarked. On their way, they passed through Warwick, a town on the James River, then larger than Richmond, where they destroyed ships on the stocks, a range of rope-walks, a magazine of flour, warehouses filled with tobacco and other merchandise, tan-houses filled with hides, and some flouring mills belonging to Colonel Carey, whose splendid mansion was near.¹ In one general conflagration, the thriving town, with all its industrial appurtenances, was destroyed.²

The British fleet with the land forces then sailed down the James River, when, a little below Burwell's Ferry, they were met^a by a boat from Portsmouth, bearing a messenger with intelligence for General Phillips that Cornwallis was on his way north, and wished to form a junction with him at Petersburg. The whole fleet was immediately ordered to return up the James River, and late at night, on the ninth,^b the British army again entered Petersburg. So secret was their entrance, that ten American officers who were there to prepare boats for La Fayette to cross the river, were captured. Phillips was very sick of a fever on his arrival, and was carried to the house of Mrs. Bolling, where he died four days afterward.³

The presence of La Fayette inspired the militia of Virginia with high hopes, and they flocked to his standard in considerable numbers. When informed of the return of the British fleet, he suspected the object to be a junction with Cornwallis at Petersburg. It was known that the earl had left Wilmington, and was on his way to Virginia. The marquis immediately pressed forward to take possession of the town before the arrival of Phillips and Arnold. He was too late, and after cannonading the British quarters, particularly Bollingbrook,⁴ from Archer's Hill, and thoroughly reconnoitering the place, he returned to Osborne's,

should catch me, what would they do with me?" The soldier promptly replied, "They would bury with military honors the leg which was wounded at Saratoga, and hang the remainder of you upon a gibbet."

¹ Anburey, one of the officers who surrendered to Gates at Saratoga, in his *Travels in America* (ii., 312), speaks highly of Colonel Carey's hospitality. ² Gordon, iii., 205; Girardin, 460; Jefferson, i., 420.

³ William Phillips, it will be remembered, was one of Burgoyne's general officers, who was made prisoner at Saratoga. He commanded the "Convention Troops," as those captives were called, while on their march to Virginia. On being exchanged, he was actively engaged at the South until his death. He was possessed of an exceedingly irritable temper, which often led him into difficulty. He was very haughty in his demeanor, especially toward the Americans, whom he affected to hold in great contempt. While lying sick at Petersburg, he dictated a letter to Governor Jefferson, and addressed it to "Thomas Jefferson, Esq., American governor of Virginia," and when speaking of the American commander-in-chief, he called him "Mr. Washington." General Phillips was buried in the old Blandford church-yard, where his remains yet repose. His disease was bilious fever.

⁴ La Fayette was probably not aware that General Phillips was dying at Bollingbrook, or he would not have cannonaded it. British writers have charged La Fayette with inhumanity. Anburey (ii., 446) says, "A circumstance attended Phillip's death, similar to the inhumanity that the Americans displayed at the interment of General Frazer." He further asserts, that a flag was sent to the marquis, acquainting him with the condition of Phillips, but that he paid no attention to it, and continued the firing. He said a ball went through the house, just as Phillips was expiring, when the dying man exclaimed, "My God! 'tis cruel they will not let me die in peace." This assertion proves its own inconsistency. The cannonade occurred on the tenth, and General Phillips did not die until the thirteenth.*

* Campbell says that, according to tradition, Arnold was crossing the yard when the cannonade commenced. He hastened

Entrance of Cornwallis into Virginia.

The State in Danger.

Retirement of Governor Jefferson.

Monticello.

and there crossed the James River to the easterly side. Arnold took the chief command, on the death of General Phillips, and just one week after that event,^a Cornwallis, with a large force, entered Petersburg. That officer, after fighting the battle with General Greene at Guilford Court House, had retired to Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River. Perceiving the advantages to be derived by invading Virginia at separate points, he ordered General Phillips, as we have seen, to return up the James River, while he hastened to enter the state from the south and form a junction with him at Petersburg. He marched directly north, nearly on a line with the present rail-road from Wilmington, and reached the Roanoke at Halifax, seven miles below the Great Falls, where he crossed, and entered Virginia. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a corps of one hundred and eighty cavalry and sixty mounted infantry, was sent forward as an advance guard to disperse the militia and overawe the inhabitants. The outrages committed by some of these marauding troops were pronounced by Stedman, an officer of Cornwallis's army, "a disgrace to the name of man."¹ Simcoe had been sent by Arnold to take possession of the fords on the Nottaway and Meherrin Rivers, the only considerable streams that intervened, and the two armies, unopposed, effected a junction at Petersburg, where Cornwallis assumed the command of the whole.

Virginia now seemed doomed to the alternative of submission or desolation. On the seventh of May, the Legislature, uneasy at the proximity of General Phillips and his army, adjourned to meet at Charlottesville, in Albemarle county, on the twenty-fourth. There, eighty-five miles from Richmond, in the bosom of a fertile and sheltered valley, on the banks of the Rivanna, they hoped to legislate undisturbed. Mr. Jefferson, the governor, feeling his incompetency, on account of his lack of military knowledge, to administer the affairs of the state with energy, declined a re-election on the first of June, and indicated General Nelson, of Yorktown, as a proper successor. At his elegant seat, called Monticello (Little Mountain), situated three miles south-east of Charlottesville, far from the din of actual hostilities, Jefferson sought repose for a season in the bosom of his family. His dream of quiet was soon broken, as we shall presently perceive.

Cornwallis, unlike most of the other British generals, was seldom inert. Although, from the western part of the Carolinas to Wilmington, and from thence to Petersburg, he had journeyed nearly fifteen hundred miles in his marches and counter-marches, he did not halt long. Four days after his ar-

MONTICELLO.²

¹ *American War*, ii., 385. It is just to the memory of Cornwallis to say, that the enormities committed were without his sanction. Near the Roanoke, a sergeant and private of Tarleton's legion violated the person of a young girl, and robbed the house where she lived. The next morning Cornwallis ordered Tarleton to draw up his men in line. Some country people pointed out the miscreants. They were tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and hung on the spot. This example had a good effect.

² This venerated mansion is yet standing, though somewhat dilapidated and deprived of its former beauty by neglect. The furniture of its distinguished owner is nearly all gone, except a few pictures and mirrors, otherwise the interior of the house is the same as when Jefferson died. It is upon an eminence, with many aspen-trees around it, and commands a view of the Blue Ridge for one hundred and fifty miles on one side, and on the other one of the most beautiful and extensive landscapes in the world. Wirt, writing of the interior arrangements of the house during Mr. Jefferson's life time, records that, in the spacious and lofty hall which opens to the visitor on entering, "he marks no tawdry and unmeaning ornaments; but before, on the right, on the left, all around, the eye is struck and gratified by objects of science and taste, so classed and arranged as to produce their finest effect. On one side, specimens of sculpture, set out in such order

into the house, and directed the inmates to go to the cellar for safety. General Phillips was taken there, followed by Mrs. Bolling and her family. An old negro woman, who was standing in the kitchen door, was killed by one of the balls.

Cornwallis's unsuccessful Pursuit of La Fayette. Expeditions Westward. Jefferson's Seal and Monument, and Inscriptions

rival, he marched down the James River to Westover, where he was joined by a regiment from New York.¹ He crossed,^a and pushed on toward Richmond. La Fayette,^a with nearly three thousand troops, continental and militia, lay about half way between Richmond and Wilton. Cornwallis knew the inferiority of the marquis's force to his own, and felt so sure of success that he wrote to the British secretary, from Petersburg, saying, "The boy can not escape me." La Fayette had wisdom as well as zeal, and instead of risking a battle at that time, he cautiously retreated northward, pursued by the earl. A retreat to avoid the engagement was not the only object to be obtained by La Fayette. Wayne was on his march through Maryland with a re-enforcement of eight hundred men, and a junction was important. Cornwallis was advised of the approach of these troops, and sought, by rapid marches, to outstrip La Fayette and prevent the union. But the marquis was too agile; and after pursuing him to the North Anna, beyond Hanover Court House, plundering and destroying a vast amount of property on the way, the earl halted and encamped. La Fayette passed through Spottsylvania county to the Raccoon Ford, on the Rappahannock, in Culpepper, where he was joined by General Wayne.^b

Unsuccessful in his pursuit, Cornwallis now directed his attention to other points. In the southern part of Fluvanna county, at a place called Point of Fork,^c on the James River, the Americans had an arsenal and a large quantity of military stores. Baron Steuben, with six hundred raw militia, had charge of this post. The dispersion of the Americans, and the capture of the stores were objects of importance to Cornwallis, and for that purpose he sent Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe with his rangers, and other troops under Captain Hutchinson, to surprise the baron. At the same time, the earl dispatched Tarleton, with one hundred and eighty cavalry, and seventy mounted infantry under Captain Champagne,^d to attempt the capture of Jefferson and the members of the Legislature at Charlottesville,

as to exhibit at a *coup d'œil* the historic progress of that art, from the first rude attempts of the aborigines of our country, up to that exquisite and finished bust of the great patriot himself, from the master-hand of Carracci. On the other side, the visitor sees displayed a vast collection of specimens of the Indian art, their paintings, weapons, ornaments, and manufactures; on another, an array of fossil productions of our country, mineral and animal; the polished remains of those colossal monsters that once trod our forests, and are no more; and a variegated display of the branching honors of 'those monarchs of the waste' that still people the wilds of the American Continent." In a large saloon were exquisite productions of the painter's art, and from its windows opened a view of the surrounding country, such as no painter could imitate. There, too, were medallions and engravings in great profusion. Among Mr. Jefferson's papers was



found, after his death, a very perfect impression in wax, of his famous seal, bearing his monogram and the motto, *Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God*. That impression is in the present possession of Mr. Bancroft, the historian, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the privilege of making the annexed representation. I have endeavored to produce a perfect fac simile, so far as the pictorial art will allow, even to the fractures in the wax.

Monticello was a point of great attraction to the learned of all lands, when traveling in this country, while Jefferson lived. His writings made him favorably known as a scholar, and his public position made him honored by the nations.

The remains of Mr. Jefferson lie in a small family cemetery, by the side of the winding road leading to Monticello. Over them is a granite obelisk eight feet high, and on a tablet of marble inserted in its southern face is the following inscription, which was found among Mr. Jefferson's papers after his death:

"HERE LIES BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE;
OF THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM;
AND FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA."

¹ This was the forty-third regiment. The convoy also brought another regiment, and two battalions of Anspachers, to strengthen the garrison at Portsmouth. Arnold, despised by Cornwallis, who no longer needed his services, was sent to New York on the first of June.

² This locality is at the confluence of the Fluvanna and Rivanna rivers, two great branches of the James River.

³ From the stables of the planters Cornwallis procured excellent horses, on which these and other troops were mounted.

Expedition of Simcoe against Steuben.

Attempt to Capture Jefferson and the Legislators.

Destruction of Property.

Steuben was advised of the approach of Tarleton, and believing his post to be the object of the expedition, he conveyed his stores to the south side of the Fluvanna and prepared to withdraw his troops thither. Simcoe's march was unknown, but when he arrived at the Point of Fork, he had nothing to surprise or capture, except about thirty Americans who were waiting the return of boats to cross the river. Simcoe, by an advantageous display of his force, and lighting numerous fires at night upon the hills along the Rivanna, deceived Steuben with the belief that the main army of Cornwallis was close upon him. Influenced by this idea, the baron hastily retreated during the night, leaving such stores behind as could not readily be removed. In the morning, Simcoe sent Captain Stephenson to destroy them, and also ordered Captain Wolsey to make a feigned pursuit upon the track of the retreating Americans.

In the mean while, Tarleton and his legion pushed forward with their accustomed speed, to catch the Virginia law-makers at Charlottesville. On their way toward the Rivanna, they destroyed twelve wagon-loads of clothing, destined for Green's army in North Carolina. On reaching that stream, they dashed into its current, and before seven o'clock in the morning^a they were within ten miles of Charlottesville. There Tarleton detached Captain M'Leod, with a party of horsemen, to capture Governor Jefferson, at Monticello, while himself and the remainder of his forces pushed on to the residence of two brothers, named Walker, where he understood many influential Virginians were assembled. Several of these were captured, among whom was Colonel John Simms, a member of the Legislature, and William and Robert, brothers of General Nelson. After partaking of a tardily prepared breakfast at Dr. Walker's,¹ Tarleton pursued his rapid march, and rode up the hill into the village of Charlotte, under full gallop, expecting to take the legislators by surprise. He was disappointed. While passing through Louisa county, a Mr. Jouitte, suspecting Tarleton's design, mounted a fleet horse, and reached Charlottesville in time to give the alarm. The delay for breakfast at Dr. Walker's was sufficient to allow most of the members to mount fresh horses and escape. Only seven fell into the hands of the British.

M'Leod's expedition to Monticello was quite as unsuccessful. The governor was entertaining several members of the Legislature, including the speakers of both Houses, and was not aware of the proximity of an enemy, until the invaders were seen coming up the winding road leading to his mansion. His wife and children were hurried off to Colonel Carter's, six miles southward, whither Mr. Jefferson followed on horseback, making his way among the dark recesses of Carter's Mountain. The speaker hurried to Charlottesville to adjourn the Legislature, to meet at Staunton on the seventh,² and then, with several others, mounted fleet horses and escaped. Mr. Jefferson had not been gone ten minutes when M'Leod and his party rode up and found the mansion deserted. Books, papers, and furniture were untouched by the enemy, and not a particle of the governor's property was destroyed, except a large quantity of wine in his cellar, drank and wasted by a few soldiers, without the knowledge of their commander.

After destroying one thousand new muskets, four hundred barrels of powder, several hogsheads of tobacco, and a quantity of soldier's clothing, Tarleton, with his prisoners, rejoined Cornwallis, who had advanced to Elk Hill, a plantation belonging to Governor Jefferson, near the Point of Fork. There the most wanton destruction of property occurred. They cut the throats of the young horses, carried off the older ones fit for service, slaughtered the

¹ Observing a delay in the preparation of breakfast, Tarleton impatiently demanded the reason. He was informed by the cook that his subalterns had already devoured two breakfasts. A guard was placed at the kitchen door, and it was not until a third breakfast was cooked that Tarleton was able to obtain his meal.

² The members of the Legislature were terribly frightened, and were not at ease even at Staunton. On the morning when they convened, Colonel Brookes, with a small company of mounted Virginians, rode into Staunton at a rapid pace, bearing a message from Baron Steuben. The members, believing them to be a part of Tarleton's legion, took to their heels, and it was some time before they could be coaxed back to their duties. On the twelfth they elected General Nelson governor of the state.

Cornwallis baffled by La Fayette. His Retreat toward the Coast. Detention of the Convention Troops. Their Parole.

cattle, burned the barns with the crops of the previous year, with all the fences on the plantations near, and captured many negroes.¹

One more prize attracted the attention of Cornwallis. At Albemarle Old Court House, above the Point of Fork, the Virginians had collected a large quantity of valuable stores, most of which had been sent from Richmond. The earl determined to capture or destroy them; La Fayette, who, after his junction with Wayne, had moved cautiously through Orange and the upper part of Louisa to Boswell's tavern, near the Albemarle line, resolved to protect them. Tarleton was sent to force La Fayette either to hazard a battle with the whole British army, or abandon the stores. The marquis did neither. He had discovered a rough, unused road, leading directly to the Court House. Early in the evening he set his pioneers at work, and before morning his whole force had traversed the opened way, and, to the astonishment of Cornwallis, were strongly posted upon high ground, between the British forces and the American stores. Again baffled, the earl wheeled his army, and moved toward the eastern coast, closely watched and followed by the vigilant marquis. He entered Richmond on the seventeenth, and evacuated it on the twentieth. Steuben had now joined La Fayette, and Cornwallis, believing the strength of the Americans to be much greater than it really was, hastened to Williamsburg, where, under the protection of his shipping, and re-enforced by troops from Portsmouth, he encamped.² His subsequent movements, until his surrender at Yorktown, have been noticed in preceding chapters.

Before leaving Virginia, let us consider that important event in the history of the Revolution, the residence of the "Convention Troops" (as Burgoyne's captured army were called), in the vicinity of Charlottesville.

In a note on page 82 of the first volume of this work, I have given briefly the principal reasons why the captive army of Burgoyne was not allowed to go to England on parole. The action of Congress on the subject was technically dishonorable, and not in accordance with the letter and spirit of the *convention* signed by Gates and Burgoyne. So General Washington evidently thought when he wrote to General Heath respecting the detention of that body, and said, "By this step General Burgoyne will, it is more than probable, look upon himself as released from all former ties, and consequently at liberty to make use of any means to effect an escape."³ The suspected perfidy of the British commander, the fact that the enemy often acted upon the principle that "faith was not to be kept with rebels," and the consideration that these troops, though they might not again "serve against America," would supply the places of soldiers at home who would, partially justified the bad faith of Congress. Having resolved to keep them here, the next consideration was their maintenance. The difficulty of procuring an ample supply of food in New England, and the facilities of a sea-coast for their escape, induced Congress to order them to be sent into the interior of Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton had been applied to^a for passports for American vessels to transport fuel and provisions to Boston for the use of the prisoners, but refused. Congress, therefore, directed^b them to be removed to Charlottesville, in Albemarle county, Virginia. Pursuant to this direction, the whole body of captives, English and Germans, after the officers had signed a parole of honor^c respecting

^a Sept., 1778.

^b Oct. 15.

¹ It is estimated that, during the invasion of the state which we have been considering, thirty thousand slaves were carried off, of whom twenty-seven thousand are supposed to have died of small-pox or camp-fever in the course of six months.—*Howison*, ii., 270.

² Gordon, Ramsay, Jefferson's *Letters*, Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, Girardin, Howison, &c

³ Sparks's *Washington*, v., 221.

^c The following is the form of the parole: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed being under the restrictions of the convention of Saratoga, and ordered, by a resolution of Congress of the fifteenth ultimo, to remove from the State of Massachusetts Bay, to Charlottesville, in the State of Virginia, do severally promise and engage on our word and honor, and on the faith of gentlemen, that on our march from this place to Charlottesville, we, or either of us, will not say or do any thing injurious to the United States of America, or either of them, nor at any time exceed such limits or distances from the troops as may be assigned us by the commanding officer who may have the charge and escort of the troops of convention to Virginia, or on any other part of the route.

Given under our hands in the State of Massachusetts Bay, this day of November, A.D. 1778."

March of the Convention Troops to Virginia. Their Route to Charlottesville. Sufferings. Riedesel and his Family

their conduct on the way, took up their line of march from Cambridge and Rutland' on the tenth of November. Burgoyne having been permitted to return to England in May, the command of the convention troops devolved upon Major-general Phillips. Colonel Theodorick Bland, of the first regiment of light dragoons, was appointed by Washington to superintend the march of the captives; and Colonel James Wood was appointed to command at Charlottesville. It was a dreary winter's journey of seven hundred miles, and occupied about three months in its accomplishment.* The Baroness Riedesel, in her charming *Letters and Memoirs*, gives graphic pictures of events on the way, and of her residence in and departure from Virginia. Anburey, a captive officer, also records many incidents of interest connected with the journey; and in his *Travels*, publishes a map of the Eastern and Middle States, on which is denoted, by colored lines, the direction of the march, and the extent of the paroles of the English and German prisoners after their arrival in Virginia.†

The troops were, at first, all stationed at Charlottesville. That town then contained only a court-house, one tavern, and about a dozen houses. These were crowded with the English officers, and many sought quarters on neighboring plantations. The soldiers suffered dreadfully. Not expecting the captives before spring, barracks were not erected, and the only shelter that was vouchsafed them, after their fatiguing march through mud and snow, were a few half-finished huts in the woods. These, not half covered, were full of snow, and it was three days before they were made habitable. No provisions had arrived for the troops, and for a week they subsisted upon corn meal made into cakes. The officers, by signing a parole, were allowed to go as far as Richmond for quarters, and in a short time both officers and soldiers were rendered quite comfortable. General Phillips made his quarters at the plantation of Colonel Carter,‡ and General Riedesel and his family resided upon the estate of Mr. Mazzei, an Italian gentleman at Colle, a few miles distant from Charlottesville.¶ Mr. Jefferson, who was then at Monticello, did every thing in his power to render

H. Gerlach. Deputé G. R. M. G. R.
Arch. Edmonstone Aids-de-camp.
Frederic Cleve Aid. de Camp.

I have before me the original parole of the Germans, with the autographs of the ninety-five officers who signed it. It is headed by the names of Baron Riedesel, the commander of the Brunswick forces, and of those of his military family, Gerlach, Edmonstone, and Cleve. The first was deputy quarter-master general; the last two were aids-de-camp. Edmon-

stone, who was a Scotchman, was General Riedesel's secretary, and wrote all his English letters.

§ During the summer and autumn of 1778, the English captives were quartered at Rutland, in Worcester county, fifty-five miles northwest of Boston. A portion of them were marched thither on the fifteenth of April.

¶ Anburey expressed his belief that the chief advantage which the Congress sought to obtain by this journey in the winter, was the desertion of troops, believing that the privations on the march would drive hundreds to that step. There were a great many desertions during the march.

§ The principal places through which the troops passed, were as follows: Weston, Marlborough, Worcester, Leicester, and Enfield, in *Massachusetts*; Suffield, Sunbury, New Hartford, Norfolk, and Sharon, in *Connecticut*; Nine Partners, Hopewell, Fishkill, Newburgh, Little Britain, and Goshen, in *New York*; Wallins, Sussex Court House, Hacketstown, and Sherwood's Ferry, in *New Jersey*; Tinicum, Hilltown, North Wales, Valley Forge, Lancaster, and York, in *Pennsylvania*; Hanover, Tawneytown, and Frederickstown, in *Maryland*; Little London, Neville Plantation, Farquier Court House, Carter's Plantation, Orange, Walker's Plantation to Charlottesville, in *Virginia*.

¶ Anburey says, "the house and plantation where General Phillips resides is called *Blenheim*. The house was erected shortly after that memorable battle in Germany, by a Mr. Carter, who was secretary to the colony." He mentions the fact that Colonel Carter possessed fifteen hundred slaves.—*Travels*, ii., 327.

¶ Madame Riedesel says, "the house where we were lodged, and indeed the whole estate, belonged to an Italian, who hired it to us, as he was about setting out on a journey. We looked impatiently forward to the time of his departure, and that of his wife and daughter, on account of the smallness of the house and the scarcity of provisions. In respect to the latter, our landlord voluntarily assumed a kind of tutorship over us. Thus, when he killed a calf, he gave us on the first day only the head and the tripe, though we represented that this was not enough for twenty persons. He replied that we could make a very good soup of it. He then added to the meat two cabbages and some stale ham; and this was all we could obtain from him.

Jefferson's Hospitality.

Erection of Barracks.

Extensive Gardening.

General Condition of the Troops.

the situation of the officers and troops as pleasant as possible. To the former, the hospitalities of his mansion and the use of his choice library were freely proffered; and when, in the spring of 1779, it was proposed to remove the troops to some other locality, he pleaded earnestly, and argued forcibly, in a letter to Governor Henry^a against the measure, on

March 27. the grounds of its inhumanity, expense, and general inexpediency. For these attentions, the officers and troops often expressed their warmest gratitude toward Mr. Jefferson. The kindness of Colonel Bland, on their march, also excited their affection, and made him a favorite.

Early in the spring, comfortable barracks for the troops were erected, under the direction



VIEW OF THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE CONVENTION TROOPS.
(From a picture in Anburey's Travels.)

of Colonel Harvey. They were upon the brow and slopes of a high hill, on Colonel Harvey's estate, five miles from Charlottesville. They cost the government about twenty-five thousand dollars. A large portion of the land was laid out into gardens, fenced in and planted. General Riedesel spent more than five hundred dollars for garden seeds for the German troops, and when autumn advanced there was no scarcity of provisions. According to Mr. Jefferson, the location was extremely healthy.¹ It being the universal opinion that they would remain prisoners there until the close of the war, the officers spent a great deal of money in the erection of more suitable dwellings, and in preparing rough land for cultivation. They settled their families there, built a theatre, a coffee-house, and a cold bath; and in general intercourse with the families of neighboring gentlemen, and the pursuits of music and literature, their captivity was made agreeable to them, and profitable to the province.² Notwithstanding this apparent quiet on the surface, there was turbulence below. Captivity under the most favorable circumstances is galling. A large number deserted, and made their way to British posts at the North. On one occasion nearly four hundred eluded the vigilance of their guards, and escaped. When, in October, 1780, General Leslie with a strong force took possession of Portsmouth, great uneasiness was observed

¹ "Of four thousand people (the number of the captives) it should be expected, according to ordinary calculations, that one should die every day; yet in the space of near three months there have been but four deaths among them; two infants under three weeks old, and two others by apoplexy. The officers tell me the troops were never before so healthy since they were imbedded."—*Letter to Governor Patrick Henry*.

² It can not be wondered at, that Mr. Jefferson and other agriculturists should have been opposed to their removal, when it was estimated that forty-five thousand bushels of grain from the harvest fields of Virginia were consumed by them in a year, and that thirty thousand dollars were circulated weekly in consequence of their presence.—See Jefferson's *Letter to Governor Henry*. Anburey, noticing their departure from the barracks, says, "I am apt to think that Colonel Harvey, the proprietor of the estate, will reap great advantage, if the province should not, as the army entirely cleared a space of six miles in circumference round the barracks."—*Travels*, ii., 414.

Removal of Troops from Charlottesville.

Their Final Dispersal.

The Germans.

Departure from Petersburg

among the British troops, and just fears were entertained that they might rise upon and overpower their guard, and join their countrymen on the Elizabeth River. The Germans were less impatient, for they were enjoying life better than at home;¹ yet it was thought expedient to remove the whole body of prisoners to a place of greater security. Accordingly, the British were marched across the Blue Ridge,^a at Wood's Gap, and through the Great Valley to Fort Frederick, in Maryland;² the Germans followed soon after-
a Nov. 20,
1780.

ward, and were quartered at Winchester (then containing between three and four hundred houses), in the northern part of Virginia. Deaths, desertion, and partial exchanges had now reduced their numbers to about twenty-one hundred. Afterward they were removed to Lancaster, and some to East Windsor, in Connecticut. In the course of 1782, they were all dispersed, either by exchange or desertion. A large number of the Germans, remembering the perfidy of their rulers at home, and pleased with their national brethren who were residents here, remained at the close of the war, and many became useful citizens.

Let us resume our journey.

I arose at daybreak, on the morning after my arrival in Petersburg.^b The clouds were broken, and a keen breeze from the north reminded me of the presence of winter. Accompanied by one of the early risers of the town, I crossed the fine bridge over the Appomattox, and strolled over Archer's Hill, whereon the Americans planted their cannon and disturbed the inmates of Bollingbrook. The little village on that side

^b Dec. 26,
1848.



POCAHONTAS'S BASIN.

retains its original name of Poeahunta or Poeahontas, and presents a natural curiosity which tradition has connected with the memory of that princess. It is a large stone, hollowed like a bowl by the hand of Nature, and is never without water in it, except in times of extreme drought. It is called *Pocahontas's Wash-basin*; and the vulgar believe that the "dearest daughter" of Powhatan actually laved her limbs in its concavity. It was formerly several rods from its present position at the northwest corner of the bridge,

and was broken in its removal. Strong cement keeps it whole, and it is regarded with considerable interest by the curious visitor.

Returning to Petersburg, we ascended to Bollingbrook, and just as the sun came up from the distant hills, I sketched the view on page 545. At nine o'clock, after receiving minute directions respecting my future route for a hundred miles, I took the reins and started for the Roanoke. For the first sixteen miles, to the banks of Stony Brook, the country is sandy and quite level, and the roads were fine. I crossed that stream at Dinwiddie Court House, the capitol of the county of that name, where, a few days before, Society, by the use of a sheriff and strong cord, had strangled William Dandridge Eppes, for the murder of a

¹ I have mentioned, on page 21, the bargain entered into by the British ministry and some German princes for the furnishing of troops, by the latter, to fight the Americans. That bargain was rendered more heinous by the methods used to obtain the requisite number of men. Laborers were seized in the fields and work-shops, and large numbers were taken from the churches while engaged in their devotions, and hurried to the barracks without being allowed a parting embrace with their families. That this was the method to be employed was evidently known to the British government several months before the bargain was consummated; for on the fourteenth of November, 1775, the honest-hearted king wrote as follows to Lord North: "The giving commissions to German officers to get men I can by no means consent to, for it in plain English amounts to making me a kidnapper, which I can not think a very honorable occupation."* Throughout Europe the whole transaction was viewed with horror as a great crime against humanity. Frederick the Great took every occasion to express his contempt for the "scandalous man-traffic of his neighbors." It is said that whenever any of those hired Brunswickers and Hessians had to pass through any portion of his territory, he claimed to levy on them the usual toll for so many head of cattle, since, he said, they had been sold as such!†

² Fort Frederick is yet a well-preserved relic of colonial times. It is upon the north bank of the Potomac, in Washington county, Maryland, about fifty miles below Cumberland. It was built in 1755-6, under the direction of Governor Sharpe. The material is stone, and cost about thirty thousand dollars. The fort is quadrangular, and contained barracks sufficient for seven hundred men. This was one of the six forts built as frontier defenses against the encroachments of the French and Indians.

* Lord Mahon's *History of England*, Appendix, vol. vi., page 31: London, 1851.

† Mahon, vi., 131.

young man. The first murder was sufficiently horrid ; the second was doubly so, because Christian men and women and innocent children saw it done in cool blood, and uttered not a word of remonstrance or reprobation ! It had evidently been a holiday for the people ; and all the way from Petersburg to the Meherrin, it was a stock subject for conversation. A dozen times I was asked if I saw " the hanging ;" and a dozen times I shuddered at the evidence of the prevailing savagism in the nineteenth century, even in the heart of our republic. But the gallows is toppling, and another generation will be amazed at the cruelty of their fathers.

From Stony Brook to the Nottaway River, a distance of fifteen miles, the country is broken, and patches of sandy soil with pine forests, alternated with red clay, bearing oaks, chestnuts, and gum-trees. Worse roads I never expect to travel, for they would be impassable. Oftentimes Charley would sink to his knees in the soft earth, which was almost as adhesive as tar. The country is sparsely populated, and the plantations generally bore evidences of unskillful culture. Although most of the soil is fertile, and might be made very productive, yet so wretchedly is it frequently managed that twenty bushels of wheat is considered a good yield for an acre, and corn in like proportion. A large number of negroes are raised in that section, and constitute the chief wealth of the inhabitants ; for the land, within thirty miles of the fine markets of Petersburg and City Point, averages in value only about five dollars an acre. Good roads would increase its value, but the spirit of internal improvement is very weak there. I was informed by a gentleman with whom I passed the night within a mile of the Nottaway, that several plantations in his neighborhood did not yield corn and bacon sufficient for the negroes, and that one or two men or women were sold annually from each to buy food for the others. " Thus," as he expressively observed, " they eat each other up !" Tobacco is the staple product, yielding from five hundred to one thousand pounds per acre ; but, in the absence of manure, it destroys the vitality of the soil. During a ride of seventy or eighty miles toward the Roanoke, I saw hundreds of acres thus deadened and yellow with " poverty grass," or green with shrub pines. Many proprietors are careless or indolent, and leave the management of their estates to overseers. These, in turn, lacking the stimulus of interest, seem to leave affairs in the hands of the negroes, and the negroes are always willing to trust to Providence. The consequence is, fitful labor, unskillfully applied ; and the fertile acres remain half barren from year to year. To a Northern man accustomed to pictures of industry and thrift, directed and enjoyed by enlightened workers, these things appear big with evil consequences. They are the fruits of the social system in the Southern States, which has grown reverend with years ; a system deprecated by all sound thinkers there, particularly in the agricultural districts, as a barrier to progress, and inimical to genuine prosperity. This subject involves questions proper for the statesman, the political economist, and the moralist to discuss. They are irrelevant to my theme, and I pass them by with this brief allusion, while resting firmly upon the hope that, through equity and wisdom, a brighter day is about to dawn upon the rich valleys and fertile uplands of Virginia and the Carolinas.

I crossed the Nottaway into Brunswick county, at Jones's Bridge. The river is narrow, and lying in a deep bed, its current is often made swift by rains. Such was its condition when I passed over ; for rain had been falling since midnight, and when I resumed my journey, it was mingled with snow and hail, accompanied by a strong northwest wind. All day the storm continued, but happily for me I was riding with the wind, and kept dry beneath my spacious wagon top. The red clay roads prevailed, occasionally relieved by a sandy district covered with pines, beautified by an undergrowth of holly and laurel.¹ My

¹ In many places between Petersburg and Hillsborough, in North Carolina, I observed dead trees covering several acres in patches throughout the pine forests. From one eminence I counted six of these patches in different directions, made visible by their yellow foliage in the midst of the surrounding dark green forest. I was told that they were killed by a worm, which perforates and traverses the bark in every direction. I observed these perforations, appearing like the wounds of buck shot in the bark four or five inches apart. From these, turpentine often oozed in profusion. These worms are very fatal to the trees. A tree that

Gee's Bridge.

Capture of Colonel Gee.

A Yankee Overseer.

Passage of the Roanoke into Carolina.

goal was Gee's Bridge over the Meherrin River, which I expected to reach by three o'clock in the afternoon, but a divergence into a wrong road for the space of three or four miles, delayed my arrival there until sunset. Nor was delay the only vexation, for, to regain the right road, I had to wheel and face the driving storm until I was thoroughly drenched. In this condition I was obliged to travel a red clay road four miles after crossing the Meherrin, to obtain lodging for the night.

Gee's Bridge was a rickety affair, and was used only when the Meherrin, which is similar in volume and current to the Nottaway, was too much swollen to allow travelers to ford it. On its southern side, the road ascends at an angle of forty-five degrees, and, to make it passable, is filled with small boulders near the bridge, and logs laid transversely up the steeper portion. For the use of this bridge, the stones and logs, the traveler is taxed a "levy" at the top of the hill by the overseer of Gee's plantation.¹ At dark I reached the house of Dr. Gregory, who entertains strangers, and under his comfortable roof I rested, after a most wearisome day's travel for man and horse. The doctor was absent, and I passed an hour after supper with his overseer, an intelligent young man from New London, Connecticut. He had peddled wooden clocks through that region, and having sold many on credit, he settled there eight years before to collect his dues. He hired himself as an overseer, and there he yet remained, full of faith that he would ultimately collect all that was due to him. From him I obtained a good deal of information respecting the husbandry of Lower Virginia; the sum of his testimony was, "The people seem to try how soon they can wear out the soil, and then abandon it."



GEE'S BRIDGE.

The storm was over in the morning,^a and a cold, bracing air came from the north. ^{a Dec. 22, 1848.} Ice skimmed the surface of the pools by the road side, and all over the red earth the exhalations were congealed into the most beautiful creations of frost-work I ever beheld. There were tiny columns an inch in height, with gorgeous capitals like tree-tops, their branches closely intertwined. These gave the surface the appearance of a crust of snow. Art, in its most delicate operations, never wrought any thing half so wonderful as that little forest, created within the space of an hour, and covering tens of thousands of acres. The road was wretched, and it was almost two hours past meridian when I reached St. Tammany, on the Roanoke, a small post station in Mecklenburg county, about eighty miles from Petersburg, and about thirty below the confluence of the Dan and Staunton. The Roanoke is here almost four hundred yards wide, with an average depth of about thirteen feet, and a strong current.² I crossed upon a bateau, propelled by means of a pole worked by a single stout negro. When the stream is much swollen, three or four men are necessary to manage the craft, and even then there is danger. After ascending the southern bank, the road passes over a marsh of nearly half a mile, and then traverses among gentle hills. Two

has been girdled, though its leaves fall, is good timber for three or four years; but a tree attacked by these worms loses all vitality at once, and in twelve or fourteen months is useless for timber purposes. It rapidly decays, and falls to the ground. I was informed that in some instances, where pines constituted the chief value of plantations, this blight had caused the owners to abandon them.

¹ Mr. Gee, I was informed, is a descendant of Colonel Gee, who commanded a militia regiment when the British invaded Virginia. He resided further down, between the Meherrin and the Nottaway, and was captured by Colonel Simcoe's cavalry while that officer was securing the fords of the river for the passage of Cornwallis's army. "We proceeded," says Simcoe, "with the utmost expedition, to the Nottaway River, twenty-seven miles from Petersburg, where we arrived early the next morning. The bridge had been destroyed, which was easily repaired, and Major Armstrong was left with the infantry. The cavalry went on to Colonel Gee's, a rebel militia officer. He attempted to escape, but was secured, and, refusing to give his parole, was sent prisoner to Major Armstrong."—*Journal*, page 207.

² The Roanoke is formed by the junction of the Dan and Staunton Rivers, near the south boundary of Virginia, and flows into the head of Albemarle Sound. It is navigable to the falls, at Halifax, seventy-five miles, for small vessels.

miles from the river I passed some fields of cotton not yet garnered, and the wool, escaped from the bolls, looked like patches of snow upon the shrubs. These were the first cotton plantations I had seen. I was surprised to learn that the cotton harvest may begin in September, and yet, at the close of December, much, here and elsewhere at the South, was in the fields, and injured by exposure to the taints produced by rains. Better husbandry seemed to prevail on this side of the Roanoke, and neat farm-houses gave the country a pleasing appearance of thrift. I was now on one of the great routes of travel from Central Virginia to Hillsborough, the seat of the Provincial Congress at the opening of the war of the Revolution. It was also the great route of emigration from Virginia when the wilderness upon the Yadkin was first peopled by white men. I had intended to follow the track of Greene and his army while retreating before Cornwallis in the spring of 1781, but in so doing I should omit other places of paramount interest. That track lay between forty and fifty miles northwest of my route to Hillsborough.

The pine forests now became rare, and the broken country was diversified by well-cultivated plantations, and forests of oaks, chestnuts, gum, and a few catalpas. Toward evening I arrived at Nut Bush Post Office, in Warren county (formerly a part of Granville), a locality famous in the annals of that state as the first place in the interior where a revolutionary document was put forth to arouse the people to resist the government.¹ The postmaster (John H. Bullock, Esq.) owned a store and an extensive tobacco plantation there. Under his roof I passed the night, in the enjoyment of the most cordial hospitality, and was warmly pressed to spend several days with him, and join in the seasonable sports of turkey and deer hunting in the neighboring forests. But, eager to complete my journey, I declined, and the next morning, notwithstanding another strong northeast gale was driving a chilling sleet over the land, I left Nut Bush, and pushed on toward Oxford. The staple production of this region appears to be tobacco; and drying-houses and presses composed the principal portion of the outbuildings of the plantations.²

¹ On the sixth of June, 1765, when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached the interior of the province, a paper was circulated at Nut Bush, entitled, "A Serious Address to the Inhabitants of the County of Granville, containing a brief Narrative of our Deplorable Situation and the Wrongs we suffer, and some necessary Hints with respect to a Reformation." This paper had for its epigraph the following line:

"Save my country, heavens, shall be my last."

The paper was prepared by an illiterate man, but it was so forcibly and clearly expressed that it had a powerful effect on the people.—Martin, ii., 197; Caruthers's *Life of Caldwell*, 107.

² To the Northern reader a brief general description of the tobacco culture may not be uninteresting. The ground for germinating the seed is prepared by first burning a quantity of wood over the space to be sown. This process is to destroy all the roots of plants that may be in the soil. The ashes are then removed, and the earth is thoroughly digged and raked until it is like a bed in a garden prepared for seed. The tobacco-seed (which appears like mustard-seed) is then mixed with wood-ashes and strown in drills a few inches apart. This is generally done in February. When the plants are grown two or three inches in height, they are taken up and transplanted into little hillocks in the fields. This is done at about the first of May. From that time the crop demands unceasing attention. These plants will grow about a foot high within a month after the transplanting. They are then topped; the suckers and lower leaves are pruned off, and about twice a week they are cleaned from weeds and the large and destructive worms which infest them. They attain their full growth in about six weeks after the first pruning, and begin to turn brown—an evidence of ripening. As fast as they ripen they are cut and gathered into the barns or drying-houses. This operation commences about the first of September. The plants, after being cut, are left upon the ground to sweat for a night, and then taken to cover. There they are hung up separately to dry for four or five weeks. The tobacco-houses are made as open as possible, for the circulation of air, but so as to avoid the rain. When sufficiently dry, the plants are taken down and dampened with water, to prevent their crumbling. They are then laid upon sticks, and covered up close to sweat for a week or two longer. The top part of the plant is the best, the bottom the poorest for commerce. When thus prepared, the leaves are stripped from the stalk, and pressed hard into boxes or hogsheads for market.

The presses used in the tobacco districts are of two kinds; one is a lever, the fulcrum being two rude upright posts. The hogshead or box is placed near the posts. The smaller end of the lever is forked, or has a slot, through which passes another upright stick with a series of holes. Weights are attached to that end, and as it is gradually brought down



LEVER PRESS.

Williamsburg and Oxford.

Tar River.

Fording Streams.

The Princely Domain of Mr. Cameron.

I passed through the little village of Williamsborough, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived at Oxford at dark. The latter is a pleasant village of some five hundred inhabitants, situated near the center of Granville county, and its seat of justice. It is a place of considerable business for an inland town; but my favorable impressions, after an hour's inspection before breakfast on the morning after my arrival, were marred by the discovery of relics of a more barbarous age, standing upon the green near the jail. They were a *pilory* and a *whipping-post*, the first and only ones I ever saw. I was told by a resident that the more enlightened people of the town were determined to have them removed, and it is to be hoped that those instruments for degradation no longer disfigure the pretty little village of Oxford.

The morning of the thirtieth^a was clear and warm, after a night of heavy rain. ^{a Dec. 1848.} I left Oxford early, resolved to reach Hillsborough, thirty-six miles distant, at evening. But the red clay roads, made doubly bad by the rain, impeded my progress, and I was obliged to stop at the house of a Yankee planter, four miles short of Hillsborough. In the course of the day, I forded several considerable streams, all of them much swollen, and difficult of passage, for a stranger. The Flat Creek, near Oxford, a broad and shallow stream, was hub-deep, and gave me the first unpleasant experience of fording. A few miles further on, I crossed the Tar River, over a long and substantial bridge. This is a rapid stream, and now its muddy and turbulent waters came rushing like a mountain-torrent, bearing large quantities of drift-wood in the midst of its foam.¹ Soon after crossing the Tar, I forded a small tributary called the Cat Tail Creek. It was not more than two rods wide, but was so deep that the water dashed into my wagon, and the current lifted it from the ground, for a moment. The Knapp-of-Reeds was broader, and but a little less rapid and dangerous; and when, at three o'clock, I crossed the Flat River, I came very near being "swamped." A bridge spanned the stream, but the ground on either side is so flat that, during floods, the river overflows its banks and expands into a lake. I reached the bridge without difficulty, but, when leaving it, found the way much impeded by drift-wood and other substances that came flowing over the banks. Charley was not at all pleased with these frequent fordings, and the masses of drift alarmed him. While my wagon-hubs were under water, and he was picking his way carefully over the submerged stones, a dark mass of weeds and bushes came floating toward him. He sheered suddenly, and for a moment the wagon was poised upon two wheels. I was saved from a cold bath by springing to the opposite side, where my weight prevented its overturning, and we were soon safe upon firm land. This was the last contest with the waters for the day, for the next stream (the Little River) was crossed by a bridge, a good distance above the less rapid current. Between the Flat and the Little Rivers, and filling the whole extent of four miles, was the immense plantation of Mr. Cameron, a Scotch gentleman. This plantation extends parallel with the rivers, a distance of fifteen miles, and covers an area of about sixty square miles. It is well managed, and yields abundant crops of wheat, corn, oats, cotton, tobacco, potatoes, and other products of the Northern and Middle States. One thousand negroes were upon it, under the direction of several overseers. Its hills are crowned with fine timber, and I observed several large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle upon the slopes. It is probably the largest landed estate in the Carolinas, perhaps in the Union.

it is secured by a strong pin to the upright post. The other and more efficient presses have a wooden or iron screw for leverage, like the cider presses of the North, or the common standing presses in manufactories. These are more expensive, and are used only on plantations of considerable extent.

The tobacco plant, when full grown, is four or five feet in height. The stalk is straight, hairy, and very clumsy. The leaves grow alternately, are of a faded yellowish green, and are very large toward the lower part of the plant. There is scarcely a vegetable on the face of the earth more really nauseous and filthy in taste and the effects of use, than tobacco, and yet hundreds and thousands of the most fertile acres of our country are devoted to the cultivation of this noxious weed, which is good for none, but injurious to many, where millions of bushels of nutritive grain might be raised.

¹ The Tar is about one hundred and eighty miles long. At the town of Washington, toward the coast, it expands, and is called Pamlico River, and flows into Pamlico Sound.

Night at a Yankee's Farm-house.

Arrival at Hillsborough.

Early Settlements in North Carolina.

It was very dark when I reached the dwelling of Mr. Bacon (a farmer from Connecticut), four miles from Hillsborough, a small, neat, and comfortable log-house. Furniture and food were of the most humble kind, but cheerful contentment made the inmates rich. The thankful *grace* at table, and the prayer and praise of family worship afterward, gave light to that dwelling, where deep affliction was coming on apace. A daughter of fourteen years (one of nine children), who sat wrapped in a blanket in the corner of the huge fire-place, was wasting with consumption. She was a beautiful child, and her mother spoke of her piety, her tenderness, and sweet affection, until emotion pressed her lips into silence. She was the picture of patient suffering.

"Around her brow, as snow drop fair,
The glossy tresses cluster,
Nor pearl nor ornament was there,
Save the meek spirit's luster;
And faith and hope beamed in her eye;
And angels bowed as she passed by."

SARAH JOSEPHA HALE.

Ere this her body doubtless reposes in the orchard, by the side of that of her little brother who had gone before.

The next day was the Sabbath. Leaving Mr. Bacon's at dawn, I rode into Hillsborough¹ in time for breakfast and comfortable quarters at the Union Hotel, where I spent the day before a glowing wood fire. On Monday morning I called upon the Reverend James Wilson, D.D., with a letter of introduction, and to his kind courtesy I am much indebted. He accompanied me to places of interest in the town, and gave me all the information I desired concerning the history of the vicinity. Before noticing these strictly local matters, let us open the records of North Carolina, and take a brief general view of the history of the state, from its settlement until the war of the Revolution commenced.

The principal discoveries on the coast of the Carolinas have already been noticed in the introduction to this work and in the account of the first efforts at settlement in Virginia, by which it appears that to North Carolina belongs the honor of having had the first English settlement in America, within its domain. We will now consider, briefly, the progress of settlement below the Nansemond and Roanoke.

We have seen the difficulties which attended the first explorations of the Roanoke, and the abandonment of the Carolina coast after the failure of Raleigh's expeditions. Notwithstanding a fertile region was here open for the labor and enterprise of the English, who were rapidly populating Virginia along the banks of the Powhatan and other large streams, yet no permanent settlement appears to have been attempted south of the Dismal Swamp, until nearly fifty years after the building of Jamestown. As early as 1609, the country on Nansemond River, on the southern frontier of Virginia, had been settled; and in 1622, Porey, then Secretary of Virginia, and a man of great courage and perseverance, penetrated the country southward to the Chowan River.² The kindness of the natives, and the fertility and beauty of the country, were highly extolled by Porey, and new desires for extending settlements southward were awakened. The vigilance with which the Spaniards watched the coast below Cape Fear, and the remembrance of their cruelty in exercising their power at an earlier day against the French in Florida, doubtless caused hesitation on the part of the English. But persecution during the administration of Berkeley, at length drove some of Virginia's best children from her household, and they, with others who were influenced by lower motives than a desire for religious liberty, began the work of founding a new state. New England, also, where persecution was not a stranger, contributed essential aid in the work.

¹ Hillsborough was laid out in 1759 by W. Childs, and was first called Childsburg, in honor of the then Attorney General of the province. Its name was afterward changed to Hillsborough, in compliment, according to Martin (ii., 104), to the Earl of Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the colonies.

² The Chowan is formed by the union of Nottaway, Meherrin, and Blackwater Rivers, which flow from Virginia into Albemarle Sound, a little north of the mouth of the Roanoke.

First Charter of North Carolina.

Early Settlements on the Chowan and Cape Fear.

Planters from Barbadoes.

In 1630, a patent was granted to Sir Robert Heath for the whole of the country extending from Virginia, southward, over six degrees of latitude, to the rather indefinite boundary of Florida, then in possession of the Spaniards. The region was named Carolina in honor of the sister of Charles the First, of that name. Heath was unable to fulfill the conditions of his charter, and it was forfeited before any settlements were made. In 1663,^a Charles the Second granted a charter to a company, among whom were ^a March 24. General George Monk (the Duke of Albemarle), Lord Clarendon, Sir George Carteret, Lord Ashley Cooper (afterward Earl of Shaftesbury), Lord Berkeley, and his brother Sir William, the governor of Virginia. The region under this grant extended from the thirty-sixth degree to the River San Matheo in Florida, now the St. John's. Ten years earlier than this, a permanent settlement had been formed upon the northern banks of the Chowan. Roger Green, an energetic man, led a company across the wilderness from the Nansemond to the Chowan, and settled near the present village of Edenton.^b There they flourished; ^b 1653. and in the same year, when the charter was granted to Clarendon and his associates, a government, under William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian, was established over that little territory. In honor of the Duke of Albemarle, it was called *Albemarle County Colony*. In 1662, George Durant purchased from the Indians the Neck, which still bears his name;^c and the following year George Cathmaid received a large grant of land, for having settled sixty-seven persons south of the Roanoke. Two years later, it being discovered that the settlement on the Chowan was not within the limits of the charter, Charles extended the boundaries of that instrument, so as to include northward the region to the present Virginia line, southward the whole of the present Carolinas and Georgia, and extending westward, like all of that monarch's charters, to the Pacific Ocean. These charters were liberal in the concession of civil privileges, and the proprietors were *permitted* to exercise toleration toward non-conformists to the Church of England, if it should be thought expedient. Great encouragement was offered to immigrants, from home, or from the other colonies, and settlements steadily increased.

In 1661 some New England adventurers entered Cape Fear River,² purchased a tract of land from the Indians on Old Town Creek, about half way between Wilmington and Brunswick, and planted a settlement there. The Virginians looked upon them as rivals, for the latter claimed a right to the soil, having settled prior to the grant to Clarendon and his associates. Difficulties arose. A compromise was proposed, but the New Englanders were dissatisfied. The colony did not prosper; the Indians lifted the hatchet against them, and in less than three years the settlement was abandoned. Two years later,^c sev- ^c 1665. eral planters from Barbadoes purchased of the Indians a tract of land, thirty-two miles square, near the abandoned settlement. They asked of the proprietaries a confirmation of their purchase, and a separate charter of government. All was not granted, yet liberal concessions were made. Sir John Yeamans, the son of a cavalier, and then a Barbadoes planter, was, at the solicitation of the purchasers, appointed their governor. His jurisdiction was from Cape Fear to the San Matheo (the territory now included in South Carolina and Georgia), and was called *Clarendon county*. The same year the Barbadoes people laid the foundation of a town on the south bank of the Cape Fear River. It did not flourish, and its site is now a subject for dispute.

Settlements now began to increase south of the Roanoke; and as the proprietors of *Albemarle county* saw, in anticipation, a powerful state within the limits of their fertile ter-

¹ It is said that Durant's Neck has the honor of having furnished the first seed for the *Timothy Grass* which is in such high repute among farmers. Among the first settlers was a Quaker named Timothy somebody, who observed the grass growing wild, and supposed it would be good for cultivation. He sent some of the seed to his friends in England, who, having found the grass to be valuable, called it *Timothy Grass*, in honor of his friend in Carolina.—*Caruthers's Life of Caldwell*, page 52. A Bible brought from England by Durant (and probably the first brought into North Carolina), is now in the library of the Historical Society of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill.

² The Cape Fear is formed by a union of the Haw and Deep Rivers, about one hundred and twenty-five miles northwest from Wilmington, and enters the Atlantic a little more than twenty miles below that city.

The absurd "Fundamental Constitutions" of Shaftesbury and Locke.

Sketch of the Authors.

Extent of the Province.

ritory, and dreamed of a grand American empire, they took measures to establish a government with adequate functions, and to transport into the New World the varied ranks and aristocratic establishments of Europe. The Earl of Shaftesbury,¹ the ablest statesman of his time, and John Locke,² the illustrious philosopher, were employed to frame a Constitution.³ They completed their labor in the spring



of 1669,⁴ after exercising great care. The instrument was composed of one hundred and twenty articles, and was called the *Fundamental Constitutions*. These were in the highest degree monarchical in character and design.

Indeed, the proprietors avowed their design to "avoid making too numerous a Democracy." Two orders of nobility were to be instituted; the higher to consist of landgraves or earls, the lower of caciques or barons. The territory⁵ was to be divided into counties, each county containing four hundred and eighty thousand acres, with one landgrave and two caciques, a number never to be increased or diminished. There were also to be lords of manors, who like the nobles were entitled to hold courts and exercise judicial functions. Persons holding fifty acres were to be freeholders; the tenants held no political franchise, and could never attain any higher rank. The four Estates of Proprietors, Earls, Barons, and Commons were to sit in one legislative chamber. The proprietors were always to be eight in number; to possess the whole judicial power, and have the supreme direction of all tribunals. None but large property holders were eligible for a seat in the Legislature, where the commons were to have four members for every three of the nobility. An aristocratic majority was thus always secured. In trials by jury, the oppressed had but little hope, for the majority were to decide. Every religion was professedly tolerated,⁶ yet the Church of England only was declared to be orthodox, and the national religion of Carolina.⁷ Such is an outline of the principal features of the Constitution by which the proprietaries proposed to govern free colonists in America. It seems very strange that minds like those of Locke and Shaftesbury should have committed such an egregious blunder;

¹ Anthony Ashley Cooper was born at Winborne, in Dorsetshire, in 1621. He was educated at Oxford, studied law, and when in his nineteenth year, he was chosen representative for Tewksbury. He was hostile to Cromwell, and took an active part in the restoration of Charles the Second. For his services Charles made him Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord of the Treasury, and created him Lord Ashley. In 1672 he was made Earl of Shaftesbury, and appointed Lord Chancellor. He resigned his office within a year, but held it again in 1679. During that year he conferred on his country the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act. He afterward opposed the unconstitutional measures of the king, and was twice committed to the Tower. He finally withdrew to Holland, where he died, January 22, 1683.

² John Locke was born at Wrington, near Bristol, England, in 1632. He was educated at Westminster school. He studied the science of medicine and became eminent, but he was more noted for his proficiency in polite literature. His health would not allow him to practice the medical art, and in 1664 he accepted the secretaryship to Sir William Swan, who was sent envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg. He turned his attention to politics and jurisprudence, and because of his skill and knowledge on such subjects, Shaftesbury employed him to assist him in drawing up a charter for North Carolina. While at Montpellier, for the benefit of his health, he commenced his celebrated *Essay on the Human Understanding*. When Shaftesbury went to Holland, Locke accompanied him. There, on the death of the earl, envy and malice persecuted him. He was accused of treason, and for twelve months he kept himself concealed. He returned to England after the Revolution in 1688, and was honored by government appointments. He was a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations for five years, when declining health made him resign the office in 1700. He died on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704, in the seventy-third year of his age.

³ This document is supposed to be chiefly the work of Shaftesbury.

⁴ The territory comprising more than seven degrees of latitude from the Nansemond, south, included the whole of the present North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, a good portion of Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, a large portion of Mexico, and the whole of Upper and Lower California.

⁵ There were some Quakers in the Albemarle colony, and when, in 1672, William Edmunson and George Fox visited that settlement, many were added to that persuasion. Near the Roanoke, in that region, and in the counties of Orange, Guilford, and Randolph, are the only settlements of that sect in North Carolina. The Quakers were the first to organize a religious government in that state.

⁶ Bancroft, ii., 136-150. Chalmers, 517-526. Locke's Works, x., 194. Martin, i., 148-150. This instrument is published at length in the Appendix to the first volume of Martin's *History of North Carolina*.

Abrogation of the Constitutions.

Government Officers imprisoned.

Governor Sothel banished.

John Archdale.

that men so wise and sagacious should have attempted such a solemn farce. Albemarle, the chief settlement, had only about fourteen hundred "working hands," and the habitations in Carolina were chiefly log huts. The whole population was hardly four thousand in number. Where were the landgraves, and caciques, and lords of manors to be found among them? and where were mansions for the nobility and aristocracy? The error was soon perceived, yet the proprietaries insisted upon commencing the system with a view to its further accomplishment. But the spirit of the whole thing was adverse to the feelings of the people; and, after a contest of twenty years, these *Constitutions* were abrogated, and the people were allowed to be governed by their earlier and more simple and appropriate code under Stevens, the successor of Drummond—a governor with his council of twelve, six appointed by the proprietaries, and six chosen by the Assembly; and a House of Delegates chosen by the freeholders.

While the contest was going on between the proprietaries and the people, temporary laws were established. The harmony which prevailed before the magnificent scheme of government was proposed, was disturbed, and both counties were shaken by internal commotions. Disorders prevailed most extensively in the Albemarle or Northern colony, the population of which was far more numerous than the Clarendon or Southern colony. Excessive taxation and commercial restrictions occasioned discontent, while the influence of refugees from Virginia, the participators in Bacon's rebellion there, who were sheltered in Carolina, ripened the people for resistance to monarchical schemes to enslave or oppress them. A year after the death of Bacon, a revolt occurred in Albemarle. Miller, the secretary of the colony, acting governor before Eastchurch arrived, and the collector of customs, attempted to enforce the revenue laws against a vessel from New England. Led by John Culpepper, a refugee from Clarendon, the people seized Miller and the public funds, imprisoned him and six of his council, appointed new magistrates and judges, called a Parliament, and took all the functions of government into their own hands. Thus matters remained for two years.¹ Culpepper went to England to plead the cause of the people. He was arrested for treason,^a but, through Shaftesbury, he was acquitted, that statesman justly pleading that in Albemarle there had been no regular government; that the disorders were but feuds among the people. Thus early, that feeble colony of North Carolina asserted the same political rights for which our fathers so successfully contended a hundred years later.

Seth Sothel, one of the corporators, an avaricious and dishonest man, arrived in the Albemarle province in 1683, as governor. He plundered the people, and prostituted his office to purposes of private gain. According to Chalmers, "the annals of delegated authority include no name so infamous" as Sothel. The people, after enduring him for six years, seized him, and were about sending him to England^b to answer their accusations before the proprietors, when he asked to be tried by the Colonial Assembly. Such trial was granted, and he was sentenced to banishment for one year, and was forever deprived of the privilege of holding the office of governor. He withdrew to South Carolina, where we shall meet him again. The proprietors acquiesced in the proceedings of the colonists, and sent over Philip Ludwell as their representative,^c who, by wisdom and justice, soon restored order. He was succeeded by Thomas Harvey in 1692, and, two years later, Henderson Walker succeeded Harvey.

In 1695, two years after the splendid *Fundamental Constitutions* of Locke and Shaftesbury were abrogated, and landgraves and caciques, and lords of manors, were scattered to the winds, John Archdale, a Quaker, and one of the proprietors, arrived as governor of both Carolinas. From that period until the partition of the provinces in 1729, it is difficult to separate their histories, although governed by distinct magistrates. In 1698 the first settlement was made on the Pamlico or Tar River, the Pamlico Indians having been nearly all destroyed two years previously by a pestilence. Population rapidly increased under the liberal administration of Archdale. The first church in Carolina was built in Chowan county in 1705, and religion began to be respected.

¹ Williamson, i., 132.

Settlements in the Interior. Indian Hostilities. Flight of the Tuscaroras. Pirates. First Royal Governor.

The colonists now began to turn their attention to the interior. In 1707, a company of French Protestants came from Virginia and settled in Carolina; and in 1709, one hundred German families, driven from their home on the Rhine by fierce persecutions and devastating war, sought a refuge in the free, tolerant, and peaceful soil of North Carolina. Already the Huguenots were settling in South Carolina, and were planting the principles of civil liberty there. The French immigrants were not favorably received by the English, and disputes occurred. Archdale managed with prudence for a year, and then left affairs in the hands of Joseph Blake, afterward governor of South Carolina. The difficulties between the English and French were settled, and the latter were admitted to all the rights of citizenship. The Indians along the sea-coast were melting away like frost in the sunbeams. The powerful tribe of the Hatteras, which numbered three thousand warriors in Raleigh's time, were reduced to fifteen bowmen; another tribe had entirely disappeared; and of all the aborigines, but a small remnant remained. They had sold their lands, or had been cheated out of them, and were driven back to the deep wilderness. Strong drink and other vices of civilization had decimated them, and their beautiful land, all the way to the Yadkin and Catawba, was speedily opened to the almost unopposed encroachments of the white man. Yet, before their power was utterly broken, the Indians made an effort to redeem their losses. The Tuscaroras of the inland region, and the Corees southward, upon whom their countrymen of the coasts had retreated, resolved to strike a blow that should exterminate the intruders. Upon the scattered German settlements along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound, they fell like lightning from the clouds. In one night one hundred and

^a Sept. 22, thirty persons perished by the hatchet.^a The savages also scoured the country on

^{1711.} Albemarle Sound, burning dwellings and massacring the inhabitants for three days, until disabled by drunkenness and fatigue. To the Southern colony the people of Albemarle looked for aid. Nor was it withheld. Captain Barnwell, with six hundred white men, and three hundred and sixty Indians of the tribes of the Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbias,

^b 1712. and Yamasees,¹ as allies, marched against the Tuscaroras,^b and, driving them back

to their fortified town near the Neuse, a little above Edenton, in the upper part of Craven county, forced them to make a treaty of peace. Both parties soon violated this treaty, and the Indians commenced hostilities. Colonel Moore, of South Carolina, with forty white men, and eight hundred friendly Indians, arrived in December, 1713, besieged the savages in their fort, and took eight hundred of them prisoners. The hostile Tuscaroras soon afterward migrated northward, and joining the Five Nations on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, formed a part of the powerful confederacy of the *Six Nations* in New York. In 1715 peace was concluded with the Corees, and Indian wars ceased.

From this period until 1729, when the two provinces were surrendered to the crown, and were permanently separated, the colonists enjoyed comparative prosperity. The people had some difficulties with the Indians; were troubled with a swarm of pirates on the coast, under *Teach*, the famous "Black Beard;" and disputed, with the vehemence of men determined to remain free, with all unwise and aristocratic governors sent to rule them. Perceiving that the expenses which had attended the settlement of the Carolinas were hardly productive of any advantage, the lords proprietors offered to surrender the provinces to the crown. This was effected,^c and each proprietor received twelve thousand five hundred

^c 1729. dollars, as the consideration of the surrender. Their charter had been in existence sixty-six years.

The population of both provinces, including negroes, did not exceed twenty-five thousand persons, ten thousand in North Carolina, and fifteen thousand in South Carolina. The last proprietary governor was Sir Richard Everard, successor to Charles Eden.

George Burrington was the first royal governor of North Carolina, and took his seat without difficulty, in February, 1730.² His first important act was to announce a remission of

¹ These tribes, and others from Cape Fear to the Gulf of Mexico, numbering about six thousand warriors, soon afterward confederated, with the design of exterminating the white people on the Atlantic coast. This event will be noticed hereafter.

² The general form of the Colonial government was not materially changed. The governor could do

First Legislative Assembly. The Governor and People at Variance. Removal of the Seat of Government to Wilmington.

arrears of quit-rent. This was highly satisfactory. His second, under instructions, was to send a deputation into the interior to conciliate the Indians, particularly the Cherokees. The first Legislative Assembly was convened at Edenton in April, 1731,^a where the future policy of the royal government was unfolded by Burrington. The representatives of the people were dissatisfied with its aspect, and when, in the king's name, the governor demanded of them a sufficient revenue for defraying the expenses of the local government, and a sufficient salary for the governor, his council, and the officers employed in the administration of justice, they murmured. In these requisitions they could not recognize the promised advantages of a change in ownership, and they early showed a disposition to pay very little attention to these demands of the chief magistrate. Three years afterward, commercial restrictions, hitherto unknown, increased the discontents of the people,¹ and the seeds of revolution were planted in a generous soil. The Assembly uttered the old complaint of exorbitant fees on the part of public officers; the governor rejected their remonstrance with contempt. The former refused to vote a revenue or to pass any acts, and sent a complaint to England of Burrington's "violence and tyranny in the administration of government." The Board of Trade reprimanded and deposed him, and then appointed in his place Gabriel Johnston,^b late steward of Lord Wilmington, a prudent and cunning Scotchman. April 13.
Nov., 1734.

The new governor encountered quite as much trouble as his predecessor. The Assembly were refractory, and Johnston attempted to collect the rents^a on his own authority. Payment was resisted, and the Assembly not only denied the legality of the governor's proceedings,^c but imprisoned the officers who had distrained for quit-rents. Johnston made concessions to the people, but his arrangements were rejected by the home government, as yielding too much to the popular will. For nearly ten years the quarrel concerning rents continued between the governor and the Assembly, and, in the mean while, the salaries of government officials remained in arrears, for the rents, which produced the sole fund for the payment of the royal officers, were inadequate. The governor now resorted to cunning management as a last effort to sustain his authority. The province had been divided into several counties. The southern counties, lately settled, were more tractable than the northern ones, but they had only two members each in the Assembly, while the others had five. The governor, at a time when several of the northern members were absent, procured the passage of an act, placing all the counties upon an equal footing as to representation, and also for the removal of the seat of government from Edenton to Wilmington, a new town, lately established at the head of ship navigation, on the Cape Fear River, and named in honor of Lord Wilmington, Johnston's patron. The six northern counties refused to acknowledge the newly-organized Assembly as legal, and carried their complaint to England. They were obliged to submit, and at last the governor procured the passage of an act,^d by which the expenses of government were provided for. March, 1737.
1748.

It was during the administration of Governor Johnston that two important occurrences

nothing legally without the assent of his council. With them, he was authorized to establish courts of justice, and to hold a Court of Error. The governor, members of the council, commander of the king's ships in the province, chief-justices, judges of the Vice-admiralty, secretary, and receiver-general, were constituted a court for the trial of pirates.

¹ The settlers procured furs from the Indians with great facility, and the manufacture of hats from this material was becoming a source of considerable revenue to several of the colonists. They exported hats to the West India Islands, Spain, and Portugal. The jealousy of England was awakened, and to secure those markets for her home manufactures, Parliament forbade the exportation of hats from the American colonies. They were not allowed to send them from one colony to another. None but persons who had served seven years apprenticeship to the trade were allowed to make hats, and no master was permitted to have more than two apprentices at a time. The business was soon confined within narrow limits, for severe penalties accompanied these enactments. Obstacles were also thrown in the way of the manufacture of ropes and cordage in America, and other kinds of business soon felt the checks of a narrow and unjust commercial policy.

^a The whole soil belonged to the crown. The people were required, by the governor, to pay the expenses of the government, in addition to the stipulated rents.

Immigration of Scotch Highlanders. *The Rebellion of '45.* Peril and Flight of *The Pretender.* Extinction of his Family.

took place, which, though separate and dissimilar, tended, in a remarkable degree, toward a union of the provinces in political and social interest, and in fostering that spirit of civil and religious freedom which prevailed in the South, and particularly in North Carolina, where the oppressive measures of the first ten years of the reign of George the Third produced rebellion in America. I allude to the commencement of hostilities between France and England in 1745; and the immigration hither of a large number of Presbyterians from Scotland and the north of Ireland, the former on account of their participation in the famous rebellion of that year.¹

¹ The Scottish insurrection, known as *The Rebellion of '45*, was in favor of Charles Edward, the son of James II., who shared his father's exile in France. Claiming the throne of England as his right, and regarding George of Hanover as a usurper, he determined to make an effort for the crown. In June, 1745, he embarked in an eighteen-gun frigate, and landed at Borodale, in the southwest part of Scotland, with a few Scotch and Irish followers. His arms were chiefly on board another vessel, which had been obliged to put back to France. The Highlanders in the vicinity arose in his favor, and in a few days fifteen hundred strong men surrounded his standard—a piece of taffeta which he brought from France. The Pretender (as he was called) marched to Perth, where he was joined by some Scotch lords and their retainers. With his increasing army, he entered Edinburgh in triumph, though the castle held out for King George. All England trembled with alarm. The premier (the king was in Hanover) offered a reward of \$750,000 for the person of the PRETENDER. From Edinburgh the insurgents marched toward the border, and were every where successful, until encountered by the Duke of Cumberland, at Culloden, where, on the sixteenth of April, 1745, they were defeated and dispersed. The jails of England were soon filled with the prisoners. Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Mr. Radcliffe, a brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, were beheaded, the last who suffered death, in that way, in England. Many others were executed, and a large number of the Highlanders were transported to America, and became settlers in North Carolina. The PRETENDER was the last to leave the field at Culloden. For almost five months he was a fugitive among the Highlands, closely scented by the officers of government. After various concealments by the people, he escaped to the Isle of Skye, in the character and disguise of Betty Bourke, an Irish servant to Miss Flora M'Donald, daughter of a Highlander. After several perilous adventures, he reached the Continent in September, 1746. He died at Rome in 1784. His brother, Cardinal York, the last representative of the house of Stuart, died in 1807 and the family became extinct.

CHAPTER XXII.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her;
While we live we will cherish, and love, and defend her;
Though the scorner may sneer at, the wittings defame her,
Our hearts swell with gladness whenever we name her.

Though she envies not others this merited glory,
Say, whose name stands the foremost in Liberty's story?
Though too true to herself, e'er to crouch to oppression,
Who can yield to just rule more loyal submission?
Hurrah! hurrah! the Old North State forever!
Hurrah! hurrah! the good old North State!"

WILLIAM GASTON.



HE settlement of the Scotch refugees at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville), at the head of navigation on the Cape Fear River, is an important point to be observed, in considering the history of the progress of free principles in North Carolina. These settlers formed a nucleus of more extensive immigrations subsequently. They brought with them the sturdy sentiments of the Covenanters, and planted deeply in the interior of that province the acorns of civil freedom, which had grown to unyielding oaks, strong and defiant, when the Revolution broke out. The sentiment of loyalty, kindred to that of patriotism, was an inherent principle in their character, and this was first displayed when Donald M'Donald called upon his countrymen to remember their oath of allegiance to King George and his successors, and to assist the royal governor in quelling rebellion.^a But as that rebellion assumed the phase of righteous resistance to tyranny, many of those who followed their chief to Moore's Creek, under the banner of the house of Hanover, afterward fought nobly in defense of the principles of the Covenanters under the stars and stripes of the Continental Congress. Other immigrants, allied to them by ties of consanguinity and religious faith, had already planted settlements along the Cape Fear and its tributaries, and in the fertile domain between the Yadkin and Catawba; and in those isolated regions, far removed from the petty tyrannies of royal instruments, they inhaled the life of freedom from the pure mountain air, and learned lessons of independence from the works and creatures of God around them. These were chiefly Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, commonly called Scotch-Irish, or the descendants of that people already in Virginia. Their principles bore the same fruit in Carolina, as in Ulster two centuries earlier; and long before the Stamp Act aroused the Northern colonies to resistance, the people of Granville, Orange, Mecklenburg and vicinity, had boldly told the governor upon the coast that he must not expect subservience to unjust laws upon the banks of the rivers in the upper country.¹ There was another class of emigrants whose religious principles tended to civil freedom. These were the *Unitas Fratrum*—the Moravians—who planted settlements in North Carolina in the middle of the last century.^b These, with other German Protestants, were firmly attached, from the commencement, to the principles which gave vitality to our

^a 1776.

^b 1749.

¹ In the upper part of the state, in the vicinity of the route traversed by the armies of Cornwallis and Greene during the memorable retreat of the latter, there were above twenty organized churches, with large congregations, and a great many preaching places. All of these congregations, where the principles of the Gospel independence had been faithfully preached by M'Aden, Patillo, Caldwell, M'Corkle, Hall, Craighead, Balch, M'Caule, Alexander, and Richardson, were famous during the struggle of the Revolution, for skirmishes, battles, loss of libraries, personal prowess, individual courage, and heroic women. In no part of our republic was purer patriotism displayed, than there.

Declaration of Independence a quarter of a century afterward.¹ We will not stop to examine the philosophy of religious influence in the formation of our civil government. It is a broad and interesting field of inquiry, but not within the scope of this work; yet so deeply are the principles of the various phases of Protestantism—the Puritans, the Scotch-Irish,² and the Huguenots—impressed upon the Constitutions of every state in our union, that we must not, we can not, lose sight of the fact that the whole superstructure of our laws and government has for its basis the broad postulate of religious freedom asserted by the Puritans and the Covenanters—FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN MATTERS OF BELIEF—FREEDOM OF ACTION ACCORDING TO FAITH—FREEDOM TO CHOOSE TEACHERS AND RULERS IN CHURCH AND STATE.

Two years after the settlement of the Highlanders under the general direction of Neil McNeil, the first printing-press was brought into the province, from Virginia, by James Davis, and set up at Newbern.³ This was an important event in the political history of the province. Hitherto the laws had been in manuscript, and it was difficult for the people to obtain knowledge, even of the most essential enactments. In the course of 1751, the printing of the first revision of the acts of the Assembly was accomplished, and by the multiplication of copies, the people generally became acquainted with the laws, and learned their rights and duties. It was not until 1764 that a periodical paper was published in North Carolina, and then the want of good postal arrangements, and, indeed, the character of the paper itself, made it of little service as a messenger with news. The same year another paper was commenced, much superior in its character, and from that time the influence of the press and popular education began to be felt in that state.⁴

In expectation of hostilities between the French and English in America, all of the colonies turned their attention to the subject of defenses, and pecuniary resources. Magazines were established in the different counties of North Carolina, two or three forts were erected, and emissions of bills of credit were authorized by the Legislature. When hostilities commenced, and Governor Dinwiddie asked the other colonies to assist in driving the French from the Ohio, North Carolina was the only one that responded promptly, by voting a regiment of four hundred and fifty men,⁵ and an emission of paper money where-

¹ The Moravians purchased a tract of one hundred thousand acres between the Dan and the Yadkin Rivers, about ten miles eastward of the Gold Mountain. They gave to their domain the name of *Wachovia*, the title of an estate belonging to Count Zinzendorf, in Austria.—See Martin, ii., 57. Much earlier than this (1709), a colony of Swiss and Germans, under Baron De Grafenreidt, settled on the Neuse and Cape Fear Rivers. They founded a city, and called it New Berne (at present Newbern), after Berne, in Switzerland.

² Henry the Eighth of England forced the people of Ireland to accept the rituals of the Reformed Church. Elizabeth, his daughter, pursued the same policy, and reaped the abundant fruit of trouble brought forth by the discontents of the Irish people. In consequence of the failure of a rebellion against the authority of James the First, in the province of Ulster, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nearly six counties, embracing half a million of acres, became the property of the king, by confiscation. Thither James sent Protestant colonies from England and Scotland (chiefly from the latter), hoping thereby to fix the principles of the reformation there, and thus to subdue the turbulence of the people. The Scotch settlers retained the characteristic traits of their native stock, but were somewhat molded by surrounding influences. They continued to call themselves Scotch, and, to distinguish them from the natives of Scotland, they received the name of *Scotch-Irish*. From the beginning they were Republicans. They demanded, and exercised the privilege of choosing their own ministers and spiritual directors, in opposition to all efforts of the hierarchy of England to make the choice and support of their clergy a state concern. From the descendants of these early Republicans came the Scotch-Irish immigrants who settled in the interior of North Carolina.—See *History of Religious Principles and Events in Ulster Province*.

³ The first periodical paper, called *The North Carolina Magazine, or Universal Intelligencer*, was published by Davis, at Newbern, on a demi sheet, in quarto pages. It was filled with long extracts from the works of theological writers, or selections from British magazines. The second newspaper was called the *North Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*. It was printed at Wilmington, by Andrew Stewart, a Scotchman, and contained intelligence of current events. The first number was published in September, 1764. The Assembly that year passed an act for the erection of a school-house at Newbern; the first legislative movement in the province in favor of popular education. The Cape Fear Mercury was established by Adam Boyd, in October, 1767. Boyd was a zealous patriot, and was an active member of the Committee of Safety, of Wilmington.

Carolina Troops in Virginia.

Governors Dobbs and Tryon.

Opposition to the Stamp Act.

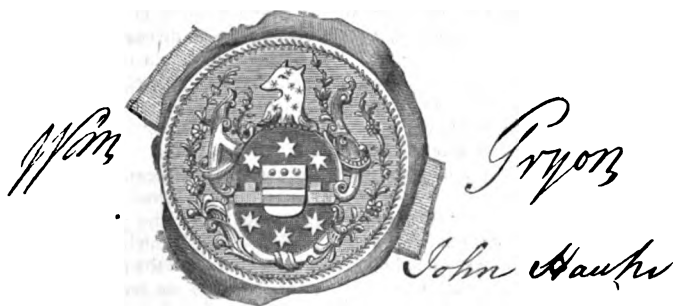
The Enfield Riot

with to pay them. This movement was made at the instigation of Governor Rowan. These troops marched to Virginia under Colonel James Jones, of Hanover; but by the time they reached Winchester, the appropriation for their pay being exhausted, they were disbanded, and only a few of them followed Washington toward the Monongahela.

The following year,^a North Carolina voted forty thousand dollars as further aid toward "repelling the encroachments of the French." Arthur Dobbs, an aged Irish-^{a 1755.} man of "eminent abilities," was then governor, but his usefulness was impaired by attempting to exercise undue authority, and in too freely bestowing offices upon his relatives and countrymen. He was a thorough aristocrat, but his feelings became much softened by surrounding democratic influences, and he held the office until succeeded by William Tryon, in 1766. Dobbs attended the meeting of colonial governors convened at Alexandria by Braddock, in April, 1755. Impressed with the importance of frontier defenses against the Indians, he recommended the erection of forts on the Yadkin. Governor Glenn, of South Carolina, at the same time caused forts to be erected on the borders of the Cherokee country along the Savannah River. With the exception of occasional Indian hostilities, and a sort of "anti-rent" outbreak,¹ nothing disturbed the tranquillity of the province from that period, until two or three years after the signing of the treaty of peace at Paris, in 1763.

The passage of the Stamp Act produced great uneasiness in the public mind in North Carolina, as well as in the other provinces. Already the extortions of public officers in the exaction of fees for legal services had greatly irritated the people, and they regarded the requirements of the Stamp Act as a more gigantic scheme for legal plunder. The first published murmurs, as we have seen, was at Nut Bush^b (see page 556), then in Gran-^{b June.} ville county. At about the same time, the inhabitants of Edenton, Newbern, and^{1765.} Wilmington, assembled in their respective towns, and asserted their hearty concurrence in the sentiments expressed by the people of the Northern colonies unfavorable to the Stamp Act. During the summer and autumn, denunciations of the measure were boldly expressed at public meetings, notwithstanding the presence of Tryon, the lieutenant governor. Tryon

had been acting governor and commander-in-chief of the province from the death of Governor Dobbs, on the first of April of that year, and now began his career of misrule in America. He was appointed governor toward the close of the year. This was the same Tryon, afterward governor of

SEAL AND SIGNATURE OF TRYON.²

¹ The outbreak alluded to is known as the *Enfield Riot*. It occurred in 1759. Extortion had become rife in every department of government. Deputy-surveyors, entry-takers, and other officers of inferior grade, became adepts in the chicanery of their superiors. The people finding their complaints unavailing, and that Corbin, who had the chief direction of the land-office, was increasing his fees without authority, resolved to redress their grievances themselves. Fourteen well-mounted men crossed the Chowan, a few miles above Edenton, by night, seized Corbin, took him to Enfield, and kept him there until he gave a bond in forty thousand dollars, with eight sureties, that he would produce his books within three weeks and return all his illegal fees. As soon as released, he commenced suits against four of the men who seized him, and they were committed to Enfield jail. The next day an armed posse cut down the prison doors, and released them. Corbin was obliged to discontinue his suits and pay the costs.

In Mecklenburg county, in May, 1765, a number of people, with their faces blackened, forcibly compelled John Frohock, a surveyor, to leave the lands of George A. Selwyn, who possessed large tracts in that county, and who had sent him there to survey them.

² William Tryon was a native of Ireland, and was educated to the profession of a soldier. He was an officer in the British service. He married Miss Wake, a relative of the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary for the colonies. Thus connected, he was a favorite of government, and was appointed lieutenant governor of

New York, whom we have already met at the conflagrations of Danbury, Continental Village, and other places. Haughty, innately cruel, fond of show, obsequious when wishing favors, and tyrannical when independent, he was entirely incompetent to govern a people like the free, outspoken colonists of the Upper Carolinas. Fearing a general expression of the sentiments of the people, through their representatives, on the subject of the odious act,

Tryon issued a proclamation in October^a proroguing the Assembly, which was to
^a Oct. 25. meet on the thirtieth of November, until the following March. This act incurred the indignation of the people; and when, early in January, the sloop of war Diligence arrived in Cape Fear River, having stamps on board for the use of the province, the militia of New Hanover and Brunswick, under Colonels Ashe and Waddell, marched to the village of Brunswick,¹ and notified the commander of their determination to resist the landing of the stamps. Earlier than this, Colonel Ashe, who was the speaker of the Lower House, had informed Tryon that the law would be resisted to the last. Tryon had issued his proclamation,^b directing the stamp distributors to make application for them, but the
^b Jan. 6, 1766. people were too vigilant to allow these officials to approach the vessel. Taking one of the boats of the Diligence, and leaving a small party to watch the movements of the

Moses John De Rosset

sloop, the remainder of the little army of volunteers proceeded to Wilmington. Hav-

ing placed a flag in the boat, they hoisted it upon a cart, and with the mayor (Moses John De Rosset, Esq.) and principal inhabitants, paraded it through the streets. At night the town was illuminated, and the next day a great concourse of people, headed by Colonel

North Carolina, in 1765. On the death of Governor Dobbs, he succeeded him in office, and exercised its functions until called to fill the same office in New York, in 1771. The history of his administration in North Carolina is a record of extortion, folly, and crime. During his administration in New York, the Revolution broke out, and he was the last royal governor of that state, though nominally succeeded in office in 1780 by General Robertson, when he returned to England. His property in North Carolina and in New York was confiscated. The public acts of Governor Tryon, while in America, are recorded upon various pages of these volumes. The seal and signature on the preceding page are referred to on page 570.

¹ The village of Brunswick, once a flourishing town, but now a desolation, was situated upon a sandy plain on the western side of the Cape Fear, on New Inlet, in full view of the sea, fifteen miles below Wilmington. It enjoyed considerable commerce; but Wilmington, more eligibly situated, became first its rival,

and then its grave-digger. Little now remains to denote the former existence of population there, but the grand old walls of "St. Philip's Church, of Brunswick," which was doubtless the finest sacred edifice in the province at the time of its erection, about one hundred years ago. I am indebted to Frederick Kidder, Esq., of Boston, who visited the ruins in 1851, for the accompanying drawing and general description of the present appearance of the church. It is situated within a thick grove of trees, chiefly pines, about an eighth of a mile from the river bank, and its massive walls, built of large English bricks, seem to have been but little effected by time. They exhibit "honorable scars" made by cannon-balls hurled from British ships in the Cape Fear to cover the landing of Cornwallis, when, in the spring of 1776, he desolated the plantation of Colonel Robert Howe, and other Whigs in the neighborhood of that patriot's estate.



RUINS OF ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH.

The edifice is seventy-five feet in length from east to west, and fifty-four feet in width. The walls are about three feet in thickness, and average about twenty-eight feet in height. The roof, floor, and windows have long since perished; and where the pulpit stood, upon its eastern end, a vigorous cedar spreads its branches. Nine of these green trees are within its walls, and give peculiar picturesqueness to the scene. On the top of the walls is flourishing shrubbery, the product of seeds planted by the winds and the birds. Around the church are strewn the graves of many of the early settlers, the names of some of whom live in the annals of the state. The view here given is from the east. About a quarter of a mile northeast from the church, are remains of the residence of Governor Tryon at the time of the Stamp Act excitement.

Resignation of the Wilmington Stamp Master. Unpopularity of Tryon. Discontents in the Interior. "Regulators."

Ashe, proceeded to the governor's house and demanded James Houston, the stamp master. Houston appeared, and going to the market-place, he voluntarily took a solemn oath not to perform the duties of his office. The populace, satisfied with their triumph, gave three cheers, conducted him back to the governor's house, and then dispersed.

Tryon was alarmed at this demonstration of the popular temper, and endeavored to conciliate the militia of New Hanover, at a general muster, by treating them to a barbecued ox and a few barrels of beer.^a The insulted people cast the ox into the river, poured the beer upon the ground, and mocked the governor. The officers of the ^{a Feb., 1766.} Diligence espoused the cause of the chief magistrate, and a general fight ensued. The riot continued several days, and during the excitement one man was killed.¹ The Stamp Act was repealed shortly afterward, and the province became comparatively tranquil.

For several years previous to the Stamp Act excitement rebellion had been ripening among the people in the western counties. The rapacity of public officers, and the corrupt character of ministers of justice, weighed heavily upon the property and spirits of the people. The most prominent evils complained of were the exorbitant charges of the clerks of the Superior Courts, whereby those courts had become instruments of oppression; and oppressive taxes exacted by the sheriffs, and the outrages committed by those officers when their authority was questioned in the least. These evils every where existed, and every petition of the people (who began to assemble for consultation) for redress appeared to be answered by increased extortions. At length the inhabitants resolved to form a league, take power into their own hands, and regulate matters.² Herman Husband, "one of those independent Quakers who was taught in the honest school of William Penn, and refused to pull off his hat and bow before the minions of despotism,"³ a man of grave deportment, superior mind, and of great influence,⁴ but evidently without education,⁵ drew up a written complaint. It was carried to Hillsborough, during the sitting of the court,^b by a number of ^{b Oct., 1766.} firm men, who requested the clerk to read it aloud. The preamble asserted that "The Sons of Liberty would withstand the Lords in Parliament," and it set forth that evils of great magnitude existed. It recommended a general meeting of delegates, appointed by each militia company in Orange county, to be held at some suitable place, *where there was no liquor*, to "judiciously inquire whether the freemen of this county labor under any abuse of power," &c., &c. The proposition being considered reasonable, a meeting was appointed to be held at Maddock's Mills, on the Eno, two or three miles west of Hillsborough. The meeting was held on the tenth,^c but not many delegates attended. They discussed various topics fairly and dispassionately. Another meeting was held on ^{c October.} the fourth of April following,^d at the same place, and the resolutions passed at that time were almost equivalent to a declaration of independence of the civil power of the ^{d 1767} state. From that time THE REGULATION was a permanent and powerful body.⁶

¹ Martin, 210-12. The man who was killed was Thomas Whitehurst, a relative of Mrs. Tryon. He fell in a duel with Simpson, master of the sloop of war *Viper*, who took the side of the colonists. Simpson was tried for murder and acquitted. Tryon charged Chief-justice Berry with partiality, and severely reprimanded him. The judge was very sensitive, and, under the impression that he was to be suspended from office, committed suicide in the most horrible manner.

² Those who associated for the purpose assumed the name of REGULATORS, and the confederacy was called THE REGULATION. ³ *North Carolina Weekly Times.* ⁴ Caruthers, 120.

⁵ The deficiency in Husband's education, and his ignorance of the proper construction of language, is evinced in a pamphlet prepared chiefly by himself, entitled "An Impartial Relation of the first Rise and Cause of recent differences in Public Affairs," which was printed for the "compiler" in 1770. The only copy of this rare and curious pamphlet which I have seen is in the possession of the Reverend Francis Hawks, D.D., of New York City.

⁶ These resolutions were drawn by Herman Husband. The signers agreed to form an association to regulate public affairs in Orange county. They resolved to pay no more taxes until satisfied that they were legal; to pay officers no more fees than the strict letter of the law required, unless forced to, and then to show open resentment; to be cautious in the selection of representatives, and to petition the governor, council, king, and Parliament for a redress of grievances; to keep up a continual correspondence with each other; to defray all necessary expenses; all differences in judgment to be submitted to the whole REGULATION, the judgment of the majority to be final; and closed by a solemn oath or affirmation to "stand

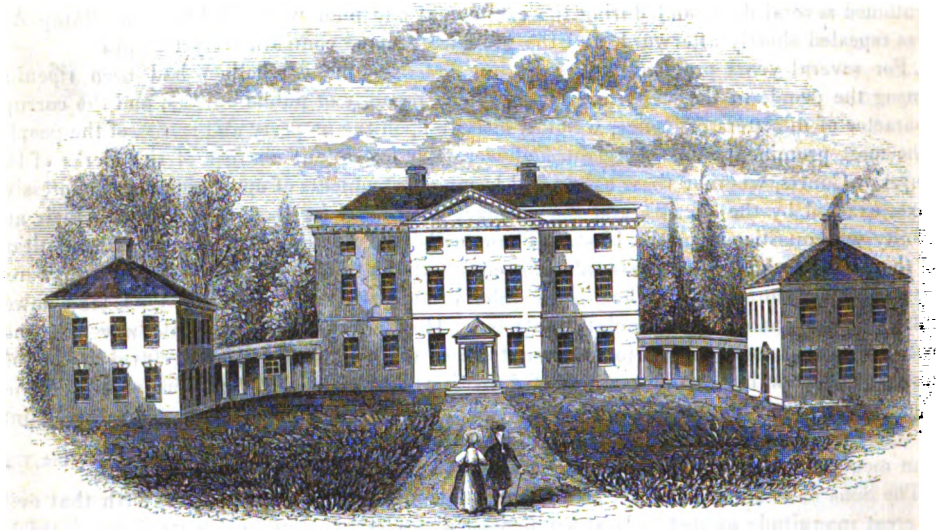
Tryon's Request for a Palace.

Maneuvers of his Family.

Heavy Appropriation.

View and Description of the Palace.

It was at about this time that the pride and folly of Governor Tryon led him to make a demand upon the Assembly for an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars for the purpose of building a palace at Newbern "suitable for the residence of a royal governor." To obtain this appropriation, Lady Tryon, and her sister Esther Wake,¹ both beautiful and accomplished women, used all the blandishments of their charms and society to influence the minds of the burgesses. Lady Tryon gave princely dinners and balls, and the governor finally succeeded in obtaining, not only the first appropriation asked, but another of fifty thousand dollars, to complete the edifice. It was pronounced the most magnificent struc-

FRONT VIEW OF TRYON'S PALACE.²

true and faithful to this cause, until we bring things to a true *regulation*." These REGULATORS were also styled "Sons of Liberty."

¹ Wake county was so named in honor of this accomplished lady. Afterward, when party zeal changed the name of Tryon county, and it was proposed to alter that of Wake also, the gallantry of the Assembly overruled their feelings of hostility to the governor and his family, and the name was retained.

² This picture of the *palace* I made from the original drawings of the plan and elevation, by John Hawks, Esq., the architect. These drawings, with others of minor details, such as sections of the drawing-room, chimney-breasts for the council-chamber and dining-hall, sewers, &c., are in the present possession of a grandson of the architect, the Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D.D., L.L.D., rector of Calvary Church, in the city of New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for their use. With the drawings is the preliminary contract entered into by the governor and the architect, which bears the private seal of Tryon and the signatures of the parties, from which I made the fac simile printed upon page 567. The contract is dated January 9th, 1767, and specifies that the main building should be of brick, eighty-seven feet front, fifty-nine feet deep, and two stories in height, with suitable buildings for offices, &c., and was to be completed by the first day of October, 1770. For his services, Mr. Hawks was to receive an annual salary of "three hundred pounds proclamation money."

The view here given was the north front, toward the town. The center edifice was the palace. The building on the right was the secretary's office and the laundry; that upon the left was the kitchen and servant's hall. These were connected with the palace by a curviform colonnade, of five columns each, and covered. Between these buildings, in front of the palace, was a handsome court. The rear of the building was finished in the style of the Mansion-House in London.

The interior of the palace was elegantly finished. "Upon entering the street door," says Ebenezer Hazzard, in his journal for 1777, when he visited it, "you enter a hall in which are four niches for statues." The chimney-breasts for the council-chamber, dining-hall, and drawing-room, and the cornices of these rooms, were of white marble. The chimney-breast of the council-chamber was the most elaborate, being ornamented by two Ionic columns below, and four columns, with composite capitals, above, with beautiful entablature, architrave, and frieze.* Over the inner door of the entrance-hall or ante-chamber was a tab-

* Among the colonial documents at Raleigh is an account of this chimney-piece. The paper bears the date of December 6, 1769. It is one of several manuscripts deposited there by Dr. Hawks, which he found among his grandfather's papers.

Excessive Taxation.

Tryon's Proclamation against the Regulators.

His bad Faith.

Extortions of Officers.

ture in America. The pride of the governor and his family was gratified; the people, upon whom the expense was laid, were highly indignant.

The inhabitants of North Carolina were now thoroughly awakened to the conviction that both the local and the imperial government, were practically hostile to the best interests of the colonists. The taxes hitherto were very burdensome; now the cost of the palace, and an appropriation to defray the expenses of running the dividing line between their province and the hunting-grounds of the Cherokees, made them insupportable.¹ The rapacity of public officers appeared to increase, and the people saw no prospect of relief. Current history reports that, among the most obnoxious men, who, it was alleged, had grown rich by extortionate fees,² was Edmund Fanning, a lawyer of ability. He was regarded as a co-worker with the government; haughty in demeanor, and if common report spoke truth, was immoral. The people, excited by their leaders, detested him, and avoided no occasion to express their displeasure. His first open rupture with the Regulators was in the spring of 1768.^a Tryon issued a proclamation, half menacing and half persuasive, evidently intended to awe the REGULATION and persuade the other inhabitants to avoid that association. He sent his secretary, David Edwards, to co-operate with Fanning in giving force to the proclamation among the people. They directed the sheriff to appoint a meeting of the vestry-men of the parishes and the leading Regulators, to consult upon the public good and settle all differences. Fair promises dispelled the suspicions of the Regulators, and their vigilance slumbered while awaiting the day of meeting.^b They were not yet fully acquainted with the falsity of their governor, or they would never have heeded the fair words of his proclamation. They were soon assured of the hollowness of his professions; for, while they were preparing, in good faith, to meet government officers in friendly convention, the sheriff, at the instigation of Fanning, proceeded, with thirty horse-

^a April 27.^b May 30, 1768.

let, with a Latin inscription, showing that the palace was dedicated to Sir William Draper,* "the Conqueror of Manilla;" and also the following lines, in Latin, which were written by Draper, who was then on a visit to Governor Tryon:

"In the reign of a monarch, who goodness disclod'd,
A free, happy people, to dread tyrants oppos'd,
Have to virtue and merit erected this dome;
May the owner and household make this their loved home—
Where religion, the arts, and the laws may invite
Future ages to live in sweet peace and delight."

The above translation was made by Judge Martin, the historian of North Carolina, who visited the edifice in 1783, in company with the unfortunate Don Francisco de Miranda. That gentleman assured Martin that the structure had no equal in South America.† The palace was destroyed by fire about fifty years ago, and the two smaller buildings, only, remain.

¹ The appropriations made by the province on account of the French and Indian war had founded a heavy public debt. These, with the palace debt and the appropriation for the boundary commission, together with the unredeemed bills and treasury-notes, amounted to almost half a million of dollars. This burden upon the common industry became greater in consequence of the depreciation of the paper money of the colony in the hands of the people, at least fifty per cent. at the period in question. To sink this public debt, a poll tax of about a dollar and a half was levied upon every male, white and black, between the ages of sixteen and sixty years. This bore heavily upon the poor, and awakened universal discontent. The running of the western boundary line was an unnecessary measure, and the people were convinced that Tryon projected it for the purpose of gratifying his love of personal display. Commissioners were appointed, and at a time of profound peace with the Indians on the frontier, Tryon marched at the head of a military force, "ostensibly to protect the surveyors." He made such a display of himself before the grave sachems and warriors of the Cherokees, that they gave him the just, though unenviable title of "*The great wolf of North Carolina!*"

² The legal fee for drawing a deed was one dollar. Many lawyers charged five dollars. This is a single example of their extortion. Thomas Frohock, who held the office of clerk of the Superior Court in Salisbury, was another extortioner, who was detested by the people. He frequently charged fifteen dollars for a marriage license. When we consider the relative value of money at that time, it was equal to forty or fifty dollars at the present day. Many inhabitants along the Yadkin dispensed with the license, took each other "for better, or for worse," unofficially, and considered themselves as married, without further ceremony.

* Sir William was an excessively vain man. Upon a cenotaph, at his seat at Clifton Down, near Bristol, England, he had this inscription placed: "*Here lies the mother of Sir William Draper.*"

† *History of North Carolina*, ii, 226.

Arrest of Regulators.

Hillsborough menaced.

Forbearance of the People.

Legal Trials

men, to arrest Herman Husband and William Hunter, on a charge of riotous conduct. These, the most prominent men among the Regulators, were seized and cast into Hillsborough jail.^a The whole country was aroused by this treachery, and a large body of the people, led by Ninian Bell Hamilton, a brave old Scotchman of three-score-and-ten years, marched toward Hillsborough to rescue the prisoners.

Fanning and Edwards, apprised of the approach of Hamilton, were alarmed, and released the prisoners just as the people reached the banks of the Eno, opposite Hillsborough. Fanning, with a bottle of rum in one hand, and a bottle of wine in the other, went down to the brink of the stream, urged Hamilton not to march into the town, and asked him to send a horse over that he might cross, give the people refreshments, and have a friendly talk. Hamilton was not to be cajoled by the wolf in sheep's clothing. "Ye're nane too gude to wade, and wade ye shall, if ye come over!" shouted Hamilton. Fanning did wade the stream, but his words and his liquor were alike rejected.¹ Edwards then rode over, and solemnly assured the people that if they would quietly disperse, all their grievances should be redressed. The confiding people cried out, "Agreed! agreed!" and, marching back toward Maddock's Mills, they held a meeting at George Sally's the next day,^b to consult upon the public good. They drew up a petition, and sent Rednap Howell and James Hunter to lay it before the governor, at Brunswick. It was most respectful, yet Tryon, in imitation of his royal master, haughtily spurned it. He commanded the deputies to return to their houses, warn their associates to desist from holding meetings, disband the association, and be content to pay the taxes! He then graciously promised them to visit Hillsborough within a month, and listen to the complaints of the people.

Tryon and some of his council met at Hillsborough early in July. He issued a proclamation, which, for a moment, deceived the people into a belief that justice was about to bear rule, and that the infamous system of extortion was to be repressed. They were again deceived. Instead of mediator, the governor appeared as a judge; instead of defending the oppressed, he encouraged the oppressors. He went into Mecklenburg, raised a large body of troops, and marched from Salisbury to Hillsborough with the parade of a conqueror. But this display did not frighten the people. He sent the sheriff to collect the taxes; that officer was driven back to Hillsborough by the excited populace. The governor was execrated for his false and temporizing conduct, and a general rising of the Regulators was apprehended. From the eleventh of August until the twenty-second of September, when Husband and others would be tried before the Superior Court, the militia were held in readiness to oppose any insurgents, and Tryon remained until the trials were over. On the opening of the court, three thousand people from the surrounding country encamped within half a mile of the town, but, true to a promise they had made² not to obstruct the course of justice, they were quiet. Husband was acquitted; Hunter and two others were heavily fined and imprisoned; while Fanning, who was tried under seven indictments for extortion, and was found guilty, was fined one penny on each!³ The judges upon the bench, on this occasion, were Martin Howard, chief justice, and Maurice Moore and Richard Henderson, associates. The governor, perceiving the indignation of the populace at this mockery of justice, speedily issued a proclamation of a general pardon to all the Regulators except thirteen whom he consid-

Maurice Moore

¹ Dr. Caruthers, in his *Life of Caldwell*, has preserved the two following verses of a doggerel poem of eight stanzas, composed on the occasion:

"At length their head man they sent out
To save their town from fire:
To see Ned Fanning wade Eno,
Brave boys, you'd all admire.

With hat in hand, at our command,
To salute us every one, sir,
And after that, kept off his hat,
To salute old Hamilton, sir."

² The governor had demanded that twelve wealthy men should meet him at Salisbury, on the twenty-fifth of August, and execute a bond, in the penalty of \$5000, as security that the Regulators should keep the peace during the trials. This request was refused, but a promise to abstain from violence was made and faithfully kept.

³ Statement of Herman Husband. Record of the Superior Court at Hillsborough.

Tryon's Return to Newbern.

Prevalence of Quiet.

New Outbreaks.

Riots at Hillsborough.

ered as the principal leaders.¹ By this act of apparent clemency he hoped to pacify the disturbed public mind. Satisfying himself that quiet would now prevail, he returned to his palace at Newbern, neither a wiser nor a better man.

For almost two years comparative quiet prevailed; not the quiet of abject submission on the part of the people, but the quiet of inactive anarchy. The sheriffs dared not enforce their claims, and the evident impuissance of government made the Regulators bold. Finally, many unprincipled men, who espoused their cause in order to benefit by change, committed acts of violence which all good patriots deplored. The records of the Superior Court at Hillsborough show evidence of a lawlessness, in 1770, quite incompatible with order and justice; and yet, from the character of some of the men engaged in breaking up the court at the September term of that year, it must be inferred that sufficient cause existed to warrant, in a great degree, their rebellious proceedings.² An excited populace gathered there at the opening of the court, and committed acts which Husband and Howell, and their com-

patriots, would doubtless have prevented, if in their power. But reason and prudence are alike strangers to a mob. Not content with impeding the course of justice by driving the judge from the bench and the advocates from the forum, the Regulators severely beat a lawyer in the street, named John Williams, and dragged Fanning out of the court-house by his heels, beat him with rods, and kept him in confinement dur-

FANNING'S AUTOGRAPH.

¹ The names of these "outlaws" were James Hunter, Ninian Bell Hamilton, Peter Craven, Isaac Jackson, Herman Husband, Matthew Hamilton, William Payne, Malichi Tyke, William Moffat, Christopher Nation, Solomon Goff, and John O'Neil. These were some of the "Sons of Liberty" of western North Carolina.

² While in Hillsborough, in January, 1849, I was permitted by the Clerk of the Superior Court, to make the following extracts from the old records: "Monday, September 24th, 1770. Several persons styling themselves Regulators, assembled together in the court-yard, under the conduct of Herman Husband, James Hunter, Rednap Howell, William Butler, Samuel Divinny, and many others, insulted some of the gentlemen of the bar, and in a riotous manner went into the court-house and forcibly carried out some of the attorneys, and in a cruel manner beat them. They then insisted that the judge (Richard Henderson being the only one on the bench) should proceed to the trial of their leaders, who had been indicted at a former court, and that the jury should be taken out of their party. Therefore, the judge finding it impossible to proceed with honor to himself, and justice to his country, adjourned the court till to-morrow at ten o'clock, and took advantage of the night, and made his escape." The court, of course, did not convene on the next day, and instead of a record of judicial proceedings, I found the following entry: "March term, 1771. The persons styling themselves Regulators, under the conduct of Herman Husband, James Hunter, Rednap Howell, * William Butler, and Samuel Divinny, still continuing their riotous meetings, and severely threatening the judges, lawyers, and other officers of the court, prevented any of the judges or lawyers attending. Therefore, the court continues adjourned until the next September term." These entries are in the handwriting of Fanning.

* Rednap Howell was from New Jersey, and was a brother of Richard Howell a patriot of the Revolution, and governor of that state. Like his brother (who wrote the ode of welcome to Washington printed on page 245), he was endowed with poetic genius, and composed about forty songs during the Regulator movements. He taught school somewhere on the Deep River, and was a man of quite extensive influence. Like Freneau, at a later day, he gave obnoxious officials many severe thrusts. He thus hits Frohock and Fanning:

"Says Frohock to Fanning, to tell the plain truth,
When I came to this country I was but a youth;
My father sent for me; I wa'n't worth a cross,
And then my first study was to steal for a horse.
I quickly got credit, and then ran away,
And hav'n't paid for him to this very day

In a song which became very popular, Howell thus lampooned Colonel Fanning:

"When Fanning first to Orange came,
He looked both pale and wan;
An old patched coat upon his back—
An old mare he rode on.

Says Fanning to Frohock, 'tis a folly to lie;
I rode an old mare that was blind of an eye;
Five shillings in money I had in my purse,
My coat it was patched, but not much the worse;
But now we've got rich, and 'tis very well known
That we'll do very well if they'll let us alone."

Both man and mare wa'n't worth five pounds,
As I've been often told,
But by his civil robberies
He's laced his coat with gold."

In 1771, a pamphlet was published in Boston, entitled "A Fan for Fanning, and a Touch for Tryon; containing an Impartial Account of the Rise and Progress of the so-much-talked-of Regulators in North Carolina. By Regulat." In this pamphlet, Tryon and Fanning were sufficiently scorched to need a "fan."

Outrages upon Fanning.

Sketch of his Public Life.

Mock Court and Trials.

Yorke

ing the night. On the following morning, when they discovered that the judge had escaped, they beat Fanning again, demolished his costly furniture, and pulled down his house. They intended to burn it, but the wind was high, and they apprehended the destruction of other property.¹ These proceedings were highly disgraceful, and the harsh treatment of Fanning was condemned by all right-minded men.

When this violence was completed, they repaired to the court-house, and appointed a schoolmaster of Randolph county, named Yorke, clerk; chose one of their number for

Fanning pays, but loses nothing.

YORKE'S AUTOGRAPH.

judge; took up the several cases as they appeared upon the docket, and adjudicated them, making Fanning plead law; and then decided several suits. As the whole proceedings were

intended as a farce, their decisions were perfectly ridiculous, while some of the "remarks" by Yorke were vulgar and profane.²

¹ Fanning's house was upon the site of the present *Masonic Hall*, a handsome brick building within a grove on King Street. On the opposite side of the street is his office, too much modernized for a drawing of it to possess any interest.

EDMUND FANNING was a native of Long Island, New York, son of Colonel Phineas Fanning. He was educated at Yale College, and graduated with honor in 1757. He soon afterward went to North Carolina, and began the profession of a lawyer at Hillsborough, then called Childsborough. In 1760, the degree of L.L.D. was conferred upon him by his *alma mater*.



EDMUND FANNING.

In 1763, he was appointed colonel of Orange county, and in 1765 was made clerk of the Superior Court at Hillsborough. He also represented Orange county in the Colonial Legislature. In common with other lawyers, he appears to have exacted exorbitant fees for legal services, and consequently incurred the dislike of the people, which was finally manifested by acts of violence. He accompanied Governor Tryon to New York, in 1771, as his secretary. Governor Martin asked the Legislature to indemnify Colonel Fanning for his losses; the representatives of the people rebuked the governor for presenting such a petition. In 1776, General Howe gave Fanning the commission of colonel, and he raised and commanded a corps called the *King's American Regiment of Foot*. He was afterward appointed to the lucrative office of surveyor general, which he retained until his flight, with other Loyalists, to Nova Scotia, in 1783. In 1786 he was made lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, and in 1794 he was appointed governor of Prince Edward's Island. He held the latter office about nineteen years, a part of which time he was also a brigadier in the British army, having received his commission in 1808. He married

in Nova Scotia, where some of his family yet reside. General Fanning died in London, in 1818, at the age of about eighty-one years. His widow and two daughters yet (1852) survive. One daughter, Lady Wood, a widow, resides near London with her mother; the other, wife of Captain Bentwick Cumberland, a nephew of Lord Bentwick, resides at Charlotte's Town, New Brunswick. I am indebted to John Fanning Watson, Esq., the Annalist of Philadelphia and New York, for the portrait here given.

General Fanning's early career, while in North Carolina, seems not to have given promise of that life of usefulness which he exhibited after leaving Republican America. It has been recorded, it is true, by partisan pens, yet it is said that he often expressed regrets for his indiscreet course at Hillsborough. His after life bore no reproaches, and the Gentlemen's Magazine (1818), when noting his death, remarked, "The world contained no better man in all the relations of life."

² The fac similes here given of the writing of Fanning and Yorke are copies which I made from the original in the old record book. The first shows the names of parties to the suit entered by Fanning on the record. The mock court, of course, decided in favor of the defendant, Smith, and opposite these names and the record of the verdict, Yorke wrote, with a wretched pen, the sentence here engraved: "*Fanning pays cost, but loses nothing.*" He being clerk of the court, and the lawyer, the costs were payable to himself, and so he lost nothing. Yorke was a man of great personal courage, and when, a few years later, the war of the Revolution was progressing, he became the terror of the Loyalists in that region. An old man on the banks of the Allamance, who knew him well, related to me an instance of his daring. On one occasion, while Cornwallis was marching victoriously through that section, Yorke, while riding on horseback in the neighborhood of the Deep River, was nearly surrounded by a band of Tories. He spurred his horse toward

Military Expedition against the Regulators. Bad Treatment of Husband. Tryon's March to Hillsborough. His Officers.

Judge Henderson, who was driven from the bench, called upon Tryon to restore order in his district. The governor perceived that a temporizing policy would no longer be expedient, and resolved to employ the military force to subdue the rebellious spirit of the Regulators. He deferred operations, however, until the meeting of the Legislature, in December. Herman Husband was a member of the Lower House, from Orange, and there were others in that body who sympathized with the oppressed people. Various measures were proposed to weaken the strength of the Regulators; and among others, four new counties were formed of portions of Orange, Cumberland, and Johnson.¹ Finally, when the Legislature was about to adjourn without authorizing a military expedition, information came that the Regulators had assembled in great numbers at Cross Creek (Fayetteville), with the intention of marching upon Newbern, having heard that their representative (Husband) had been imprisoned.² The Assembly immediately voted two thousand dollars for the use of the governor. The alarmed chief magistrate fortified his palace, and placed the town in a state of defense. He also issued a proclamation,³ and orders to the colonels of the counties in the vicinity, ^{a Feb. 7, 1771.} to have the militia in readiness. These precautions were unnecessary, for the Regulators, after crossing the Haw, a few miles above Pittsborough, to the number of more than one thousand, met Husband on his way home, and retraced their steps.

The governor soon issued another proclamation, prohibiting the sale of powder, shot, or lead, until further notice. This was to prevent the Regulators supplying themselves with munitions of war. This measure added fuel to the flame of excitement, and finally, the governor becoming again alarmed, he made a virtual declaration of war, through his council. That body authorized him to raise a sufficient force to march into the rebellious districts and establish law and order. The governor issued a circular^b to the colonels, ^{b March 19, 1771.} ordering them to select fifty volunteers from their respective regiments and send them to Newbern. With about three hundred militia-men, a small train of artillery, some baggage wagons, and several personal friends, Tryon left Newbern on the twenty-fourth of April. On the fourth of May he encamped on the Eno, having been re-enforced by detachments on the way.^c General Hugh Waddel was directed to collect the forces from the western counties, rendezvous at Salisbury, and join the governor in Orange (now Guilford) county. While he was waiting at Salisbury for the arrival of powder from Charleston, a company of men assembled in Cabarras county, blackened their faces, intercepted the convoy with the ammunition, between Charlotte and Salisbury, routed the guard, and destroyed the powder.

the river, his enemies in hot pursuit. Reaching the bank, he discovered he was upon a cliff almost fifty feet above the stream, and sloping from the top. The Tories were too close to allow him to escape along the margin of the river. Gathering the reins tightly in his hands, he spurred his strong horse over the precipice. The force of the descent was partially broken by the horse striking the smooth sloping surface of the rock, when half way down. Fortunately the water was deep below, and horse and rider, rising to the surface, escaped unhurt. It was a much greater feat than Putnam's at Horse Neck.

¹ These were Guilford, Chatham, Wake, and Surrey.

² Tryon, who feared and hated Husband, procured the preferment of several charges against him, and he was finally arrested, by order of the council, and imprisoned for several days. The charges, on investigation, were not sustained, and he was released.

³ Colonel Joseph Leech commanded the infantry, Captain Moore the artillery, and Captain Neale a company of rangers. On his way to the Eno, he was joined by a detachment from Hanover, under Colonel John Ashe; another from Carteret, under Colonel Craig; another from Johnston, under Colonel William Thompson; another from Beaufort, under Colonel Needham Bryan; another from Wake, under Colonel Johnson Hinton; and at his camp on the Eno, he was joined by Fanning, with a corps of clerks, constables, sheriffs, and other materials of a similar kind. The signatures here given, of two of Tryon's officers on this occasion, I copied from original committee reports to the Colonial Legislature, now in possession of the Rever-

Joseph Leech
Chris^r Neale

end Dr. Hawks. Some of these officers were afterward active patriots. Several other signatures of North Carolina men given in this work, I copied from the same documents.

Dispersion of Waddel's Troop.

Tryon's March toward the Allamance.

Dr. Caldwell's Mediation.

Battle.

General Waddel crossed the Yadkin on the morning of the tenth of May,^a intending to join Governor Tryon. He had advanced but a short distance, when he received a message from a body of Regulators, warning him to halt or retreat. Finding that many of his men were averse to fighting, and that others were favorable to the Regulators, and were thinning his ranks by desertions, he retreated across the Yadkin, hotly pursued by the insurgents. They surrounded Waddel's small army, and took several of them prisoners, after a slight skirmish. The general and a few followers escaped to Salisbury.

Tryon, informed of the disaster of Waddel, broke up his camp on the Eno, crossed the Haw just below the Falls,^b and pressed forward toward the Allamance, where he
^c May 13. understood the Regulators were collecting in force on the Salisbury Road. He encamped very near the scene of Colonel Pyles's defeat in 1781, within six miles of the insurgents, just at sunset, and during the night sent out some scouts to reconnoiter.¹ On the fifteenth he received a message from the Regulators, proposing terms of accommodation, and demanding an answer within four hours.² He promised a response by noon the next day.

At dawn the following morning^c he crossed the Allamance, a little above the present site of Holt and Carrigan's cotton factory, and marched silently and undiscovered along the Salisbury Road, until within half a mile of the camp of the Regulators, where he formed his line in battle order. Dr. Caldwell, who was there, with many of his parishioners, now visited the governor a second time, and obtained a renewal of a promise made the night before to abstain from bloodshed; but Tryon demanded unconditional submission. Both parties advanced to within three hundred yards of each other, when Tryon sent a magistrate, with a proclamation, ordering the Regulators to disperse within an hour. Robert Thompson, an amiable, but bold, outspoken man, who had gone to Tryon's camp to negotiate, was detained as a prisoner. Indignant because of such perfidy, he told the governor some plain truths, and was about to leave for the ranks of the Regulators, when the irritated governor snatched a gun from the hands of a militia-man and shot Thompson dead. Tryon perceived his folly in a moment, and sent out a flag of truce. The Regulators had seen Thompson fall, and, deeply exasperated, they paid no respect due to a flag, and immediately fired upon it.³ At this moment Dr. Caldwell rode along the lines and urged his people and their friends to disperse; and had an equal desire to avoid bloodshed guided the will of Tryon, valuable lives might have been spared. But he took counsel of his passions, and gave the word "*Fire!*" The militia hesitated, and the Regulators dared them to fire. Maddened with rage, the governor rose in his stirrups and shouted "*Fire!* fire on them, or on me!" A volley ensued, and the cannons were discharged with deadly effect. The fire was returned, and the governor's hat was pierced by a musket-ball. He sent out a flag of truce, but the bearer immediately fell. Some young men among the Regulators rushed forward and took possession of the cannons. They did not know how to manage them, and soon abandoned them. The military now fired with vigor, and the Regulators fell back to a ledge of rocks on the verge of a ravine, not, however, until their scanty supply of ammunition was exhausted. They had no acknowledged leader;⁴ for as soon as it was evident

¹ Colonel Ashe and Captain John Walker, who were out reconnoitering, were caught by the Regulators, tied to a tree, severely whipped, and detained as prisoners. The great body of the Regulators in camp censured this cruelty and disclaimed approval.

² The Reverend David Caldwell, D.D., of Orange, many of whose congregation were with the Regulators, was the messenger on this occasion, and received from Tryon the most positive assurances that no blood should be shed unless the insurgents should be the first aggressors. Dr. Caldwell was a pure patriot, and during the war which ensued a few years later, himself and family were great sufferers for "conscience's sake."

³ Tradition currently reported that Donald Malcolm, one of Governor Tryon's aids, and who was afterward a very obnoxious under-officer of the customs at Boston, was the bearer of the flag. When the firing commenced, he retreated with safety to his person, but had the misfortune to have the buttons of his small clothes leave their fastenings. Trumbull, in his *M'Fingall*, with rather more wit than modesty, notices the circumstance in four lines.

⁴ Captain Montgomery, who commanded a company of Mountain Boys, was considered the principal leader, if any might be called by that name. He was killed by the second fire of the cannon, when most of the Regulators fled. James Pugh, a young gunsmith from Hillsborough, and three others, shielded by

Flight of Husband.

Defeat of the Regulators.

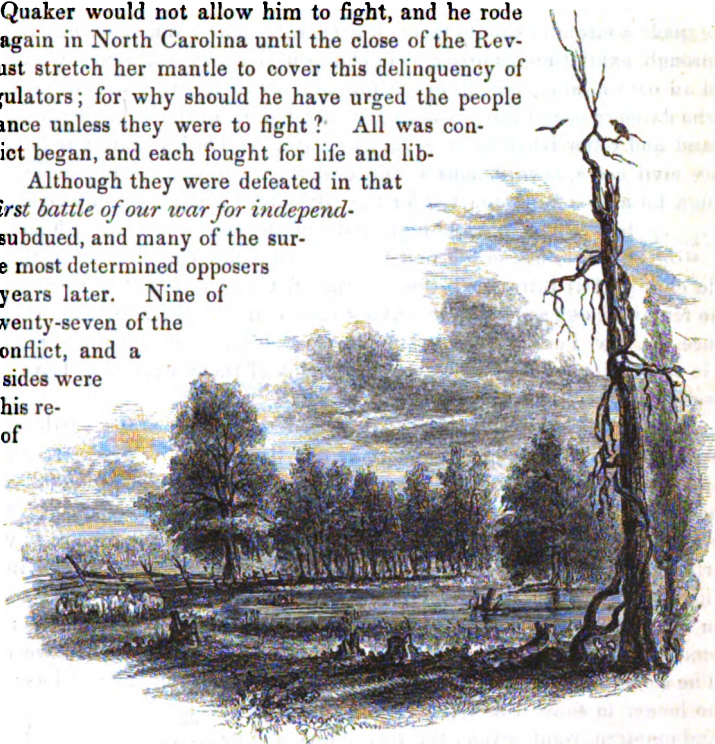
The Battle-ground.

Cruelty of Tryon.

that blood would be shed, Herman Husband, the soul of the agitation, declared that his peace principles as a Quaker would not allow him to fight, and he rode off, and was not seen again in North Carolina until the close of the Revolution. Charity must stretch her mantle to cover this delinquency of the leader of the Regulators; for why should he have urged the people to assemble for resistance unless they were to fight? All was confusion when the conflict began, and each fought for life and liberty in his own way. Although they were defeated in that early conflict—that *first battle of our war for independence*—they were not subdued, and many of the survivors were among the most determined opposers of Cornwallis a few years later. Nine of the Regulators and twenty-seven of the militia fell in that conflict, and a great number on both sides were wounded.¹ Tryon, in his report, said, "The loss of our army in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about sixty men."

The admitted excesses of the Regulators afford no excuse for the cruelty of Tryon after the battle on the Allamance. With the implacable spirit of

revenge, he spent his wrath upon his prisoners, and some of his acts were worthy only of a barbarian.² Having rested a few days near the battle-ground, he went on as far as the Yadkin,

THE REGULATOR BATTLE-GROUND.³

a ledge of rocks on the edge of a ravine, did great execution with rifles. Pugh fired while the others loaded, and he killed fifteen men. He was made prisoner, and was one of six who were hung at Hillsborough.

¹ Martin, Williamson, Caruthers, Foote.

² This view is from the south side of the Salisbury Road, which is marked by the fence on the left. The belligerents confronted in the open field seen on the north of the road, beyond the fence. Between the blasted pine, to which a muscadine is clinging, and the road, on the edge of a small morass, several of those who were slain in that engagement were buried. I saw the mounds of four graves by the fence, where the sheep, seen in the picture, are standing. The tree by the road side is a venerable oak, in which are a few scars produced by the bullets.

³ Among his victims was a young carpenter of Hillsborough, named James Few. He was the sole support of his widowed mother, and had suffered greatly, it is said, at the hands of Fanning. Young Few alleged that he had not only made him feel the curse of his exactions, but had actually seduced a young girl who was his betrothed. Driven to madness, he joined the Regulators, was taken prisoner, and was hung on the night after the battle, without trial, and without witnessing friends.* Justice to the dead, and a regard for the truth of history, demand the acknowledgment that this story, like the apocryphal one that the Regulators cut off Fanning's ears,† needs confirmation, and rests solely upon uncertain tradition. It is further related that Tryon destroyed the property of Few's mother when he reached Hillsborough!

Captain Messer, who was made prisoner, was sentenced to be hanged the day after the battle. His wife, informed of his intended fate, hastened to him with her little son, a lad ten years old. She pleaded for her husband's life in vain. Messer was led to execution, while his wife lay weeping upon the ground, her boy by her side. Just as Messer was to be drawn up, the boy went to Tryon and said, "Sir, hang me, and let my father live." "Who told you to say that?" said the governor. "Nobody," replied the lad. "And why," said the governor, "do you ask that?" "Because," the boy replied, "if you hang my father, my mother will die, and the children will perish." The heart of the governor was touched, and he said,

* Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, pages 61, 62.

† See Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution*, page 573.

Tryon's Prisoners exhibited in Chains. Execution of Six of them. Effect of the Regulator Movement. Career of Husband.

and, after issuing a proclamation^a of pardon to all who should lay down their arms
^a May 17, 1771. and take the oath of allegiance before the tenth of July, except a few whom he named, he made a circuitous route through Stokes, Rockingham, and Guilford counties, back to Hillsborough, exhibiting his prisoners in chains in the villages through which he passed. He exacted an oath of allegiance from the people; levied contributions of provisions; chastised those who dared to offend him; and at Hillsborough he offered a large reward for the bodies of Husband and other Regulators, "dead or alive."¹ On his march he held courts-martial for trying civil cases, burned houses, and destroyed the crops of inoffensive people. At Hillsborough he held a court-martial for the trial of his prisoners. Twelve were condemned to suffer death; six were reprieved, and the others were hung,^b among whom was Captain
^b June 19, 1771. Messer, whose life had been spared a few days before by the intercession of his little child. His thirst for revenge satiated, Tryon returned to his palace at Newbern, where he remained but a short time, having been called to the administration of affairs in the province of New York. Joseph Martin succeeded him as governor, and acted with judgment. He so conciliated the Regulators that many of them were firm Loyalists when the governor was finally driven away by the Whigs.

The movements of the Regulators and the result of the battle on the Allamance, form an important episode in the history of our Revolution. Their resistance arose from oppressions more personal and real than those which aroused the people of New England. It was not wholly the abstract idea of freedom for which they contended; their strife consisted of efforts to relieve themselves of actual burdens. While the tea-duty was but a "pepper-corn tribute," imposing no real burden upon the industry of the people in New England, extortion in every form, and not to be evaded, was eating out the substance of the working-men in North Carolina. Implied despotism armed the New Englanders; actual despotism panicked the Carolinians. Each were equally patriotic, and deserve our reverent gratitude. The defeat on the Allamance did not break the spirit of the patriots; and many, determined no longer to suffer the oppressions of extortioners, abandoned their homes, with their wives and children, went beyond the mountains, and began settlements in the fertile valleys of Tennessee. As Mr. Bancroft, in a letter to the Honorable David L. Swain, happily expressed it, "Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow, and crossed the mountains."

While the Regulator movement planted deep the seeds of resistance to tyranny, the result of the battle on the Allamance was disastrous in its subsequent effects. The people, from whom Tryon wrung an oath of allegiance, were conscientious, and held a vow in deep reverence. Nothing could make them swerve from the line of duty; and when the hostilities of the Revolution fully commenced, hundreds, whose sympathies were with the patriots, felt bound by that oath to remain passive. Hundreds of men, with strong hearts and hands, would have flocked around the standards of Gates and Greene, in Guilford, Orange, and the neighboring counties, had not their oath been held too sacred to be violated, even when it was evident that the king could no longer protect them. Loyalty to conscience, not opposition to the principles of the Revolutionists, made these men passive; for their friends and neighbors on the other side of the Yadkin, where Tryon's oath was not exacted, were among those who earliest cast off their allegiance to the British crown.

The course of Governor Martin was generally so judicious, that the people of North Car-

"Your father shall not be hanged to-day." Messer was offered his liberty if he would bring Husband back. He consented, and his wife and children were kept as hostages. He returned in the course of a few days, and reported that he overtook Husband in Virginia, but could not bring him. Messer was immediately bound, and, after being exhibited with the other prisoners, was hung at Hillsborough.

¹ Husband fled to Pennsylvania, and settled near Pittsburgh. He went to North Carolina on business soon after the close of the war, but did not remain long. In 1794 he was concerned in the "Whisky Insurrection," in Western Pennsylvania, and was appointed on the Committee of Safety with Brackenridge, Bradford, and Gallatin. Husband was arrested, and taken a prisoner to Philadelphia, where he was pardoned, through the interposition of Dr. Caldwell who happened to be there, Dr. Rush, and the North Carolina senators. He met his wife on his return home, and died at an inn before he reached his own neighborhood. Husband was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature for some years.

Committees of Correspondence.

Difficulties between the Governor and People.

Conventions of the Patriots.

olina were not very restive, while the Northern colonies were all on fire with rebellion in 1774. Yet sympathy for the people of Boston, suffering from the effects of the Port Bill, was general and sincere, and the inhabitants of Wilmington and other towns made large contributions for their relief. When the final decision was to be made respecting allegiance to, or independence of the British crown, very many remained loyal, and the ardent Whigs required the full exercise of all their zeal to leaven the inactive population of the state. The efficient machinery of corresponding committees was put in operation early. In December, 1773, the resolution of the House of Burgesses, of Virginia, recommending the appointment of committees of correspondence, was received by the Assembly of North Carolina and approved of. A committee was appointed, and instructed to be vigilant and industrious in the performance of their duties.¹ Governor Martin was then in New York, and the duties of his office devolved upon James Hasell, the president of the council. Hasell was rather favorably inclined toward republicanism, and opposed the patriots only so far as his official duty demanded action. The proceedings of that short session were quite offensive to the governor and most of his council, as representatives of the imperial government, and the amity of the provincial legislation was disturbed. The governor soon returned home, and prorogued the Assembly until March following,² that the members might "reflect upon their proceedings, learn the sentiments of their constituents, and adopt a more loyal course." When they again met, strengthened by the approval of their constituents, they were firmer than ever in their opposition to some of the measures of government; and that the sincerity and courage of those who professed patriotic proclivities might be tested, the Yeas and Nays were taken upon the adoption of an important bill.³ A committee was appointed to address the king, and on the twenty-fifth of March the Assembly was again prorogued. Four days afterward, it was dissolved by the governor's proclamation; an act considered unconstitutional, and which highly offended the people.

During the summer of 1774, a majority of the inhabitants, in primary meetings assembled, openly avowed their approval of a Continental Congress, as proposed by Massachusetts. A general meeting of delegates from the several towns was proposed to be held at Newbern on the twenty-fifth of August. On the thirteenth of that month, the governor issued his proclamation, disapproving of the district meetings, and requiring the people to forbear sending delegates to the general convention. The people did not heed his proclamation, and the delegates met on that day. John Harvey, of Perquimans, the late speaker of the Assembly, was chosen moderator. The council convened by the governor, seeing the gathering of the people's representatives, decided that "nothing could be done." The convention expressed its firm loyalty to the king; claimed only the common rights of Englishmen; asserted the doctrine that they ought not to be taxed without their own consent; reprobated the tea and other duties; expressed great sympathy for the people of Massachusetts; condemned the Boston Port Bill, as a "cruel infringement of the rights and privileges of the people," and other measures of government as unrighteous; signed a non-importation

¹ The committee consisted of John Harvey (speaker of the Assembly), Robert Howe (afterward a general in the Continental army), Cornelius Harnett, William Hooper (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), Richard Caswell, Edward Vail, John Ashe, Joseph Hewes (another signer), and Samuel Johnson.

JOHN HARVEY was an active citizen in public life, before the war of the Revolution began. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature for a number of years, and in 1766 succeeded John Ashe as speaker of the House. He presided with dignity for three years, and at the close of each session received the unanimous thanks of the House for his impartiality. He early espoused the patriot cause; was active in the first Revolutionary movements in his state, but died before the struggle had advanced far toward a successful issue.

² A bill for the establishment of Superior Courts upon a new basis, which was calculated to remove the powers of the judiciary further from the control of the people.

Approval of a General Congress, and Appointment of Deputies.

Provincial Congress.

Maneuvers of Governor Martin.

agreement, and expressed their hearty approval of the proposition for a general Congress. This approval was further manifested by the choice of deputies to represent the province in the Continental council.¹

Pursuant to the recommendations of the general Congress when it convened in September, contributions were raised in all parts of the province for the relief of the people of Boston; and committees of safety were appointed in every county and chief town, to see that the articles of association adopted by the Congress were signed and faithfully observed. Activity every where prevailed among the Whigs during the winter; and when Governor

^a April 5, 1775. Martin fixed the day for the assembling of the Legislature,^a John Harvey, who presided over the convention at Newbern several months before, now summoned those delegates to meet as a Provincial Congress on the same day. Governor Martin attempted, by proclamation, to prevent the meeting of the deputies, but in vain. The two bodies, composed chiefly of the same men, met at the same time, and Harvey was called upon to preside over both. The governor attempted to keep the two Assemblies distinct. He besought the legal Assembly to discountenance the irregular convention of the other deputies, chosen by the people, and expressed his determination to use all the means in his power to counteract their treasonable influence. He denounced the Continental Congress as "seditious and wicked," "highly offensive to his majesty," and in firm but respectful language urged the people to remember their allegiance and to faithfully maintain it. His appeals were of no avail, for both Assemblies were too intimately allied in sentiment to act in opposition to each other. Both bodies concurred in approving of the proceedings of the Congress of 1774, and in appointing delegates to a new one, to meet in Philadelphia in May following.^b The governor, perceiving the Assembly to be intractable, consulted ^c May 10, 1775. his council, and by their recommendation dissolved it, by proclamation, on the eighth of April.

Governor Martin and the representatives of the people were now fairly at issue. The latter organized a Provincial Congress, and, assuming the functions of government, sent forth an address to the people, recommending the adoption of measures for resistance, similar to those pursued in other colonies. After transacting some other business for the public good, they quietly separated. As soon as the deputies had departed, the governor, perceiving the tide of public opinion setting strongly against him, became alarmed, and sought to intimidate the people, and at the same time to protect his person, by placing some cannon in front of the palace. He dispatched messengers to the Highlanders at Cross Creek, upon whose loyalty he relied, and others were sent into the more westerly districts to promise the Regulators exemption from the punishments to which they were still liable for past misdeeds, if they would assist the king's government against its opposers. These promises had great effect, and, strange as it may seem, many of the Regulators were active Loyalists. About this time, a letter which the governor had sent to General Gage at Boston, soliciting a supply of arms and ammunition, was intercepted. The people were greatly exasperated, and the Committee of Safety of Newbern seized and carried off six of the cannons which had been placed in front of the palace. From every quarter the governor heard of hostile preparations, and becoming alarmed for his personal safety, he fled to Fort Johnson, on ^c June 14, 1775. the Cape Fear River, near Wilmington,^c whence he sent forth a menacing proclamation.^d ^d June 16.

At the beginning of July, preparations for a servile insurrection on the Tar River were

¹ William Hooper, of the county of Orange, Joseph Hewes, of the town of Edenton, and Richard Caswell, of the county of Dobbs were chosen deputies. They were instructed to carry out the principles embodied in the preamble and resolutions adopted by the convention, the substance of which is given in the text.

² To this proclamation the General Committee of Safety of the District of Wilmington, as appears by their proceedings, issued an answer, denying many of its allegations, and proclaiming the governor to be "an instrument in the hands of administration to rivet those chains so wickedly forged for America." This answer was drawn up and adopted in the session of the committee, at the court-house in Wilmington, on the twentieth of June, 1775.

Symptoms of a Servile Insurrection.

Destruction of Fort Johnson.

Provincial Congress at Hillsborough.

discovered. This plot was disclosed to Thomas Rispass, a former member of the Assembly from Beaufort, by one of his slaves. It was generally supposed that Governor Martin was an accessory in inducing the slaves to rise and murder their masters.¹ Fired with indignation by this opinion, the exasperated people determined to demolish Fort Johnson, lest the governor should strengthen it, and make it a place of reception for a hostile force and insurgent negroes. Under Colonel John Ashe, a body of about five hundred men marched to the fort, when it was ascertained that the governor had fled to the sloop of war *Cruiser*, lying in the river, and that Collett, the commander of the fortress, had removed all the small arms, ammunition, and part of the artillery, to a transport hired for the purpose. The militia immediately set fire to the buildings, and demolished a large portion of the walls of the fort.² The Committee of Safety of Wilmington, at the same time, publicly charged the governor with fomenting a civil war, and endeavoring to excite an insurrection among the negroes. They declared him an enemy to his country and the province, and forbade all persons holding any communication with him. While these events were transpiring on the coast, the people of Mecklenburg county, over the Yadkin, met by representatives, and, by a series of resolutions, virtually declared themselves independent of the British crown, and established republican government in that county. This important movement will be considered in the next chapter.

Pursuant to a resolve of the late convention, delegates from the several towns in the state were summoned to meet in Provincial Congress at Hillsborough, on the twentieth of August.³ When this summons appeared, Governor Martin, yet on board the *Cruiser*, issued a long proclamation, in which he stigmatized the incendiaries of Fort Johnson as traitors to the king; pronounced the proceedings of the Wilmington committee as base and scandalous; denounced the movement in Mecklenburg in May;⁴ warned the people not to send delegates to Hillsborough; denounced Colonels Ashe⁵ and Howe as rebels; and offered the king's pardon for all past outrages to those who should return to their allegiance. The people defied the governor's threats, and mocked his proffers of forgiveness; and on Sunday, the twentieth of August, every county and chief town in the province had a delegate in Hillsborough. They organized on Monday,⁶ when one hundred and eighty-four deputies were present. One of their first acts was to declare their determination to hold the ægis of popular power over the Regulators, who were liable to punishment, and had not been cajoled into submission by the governor's promises. They also declared the governor's proclamation to be a "false, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel," and tending to stir up

¹ In a letter to Lewis Henry de Rosset, the governor endeavored to vindicate himself, and denied all knowledge of the matter. He said in his letter, "that nothing could justify such a measure but the actual and designed rebellion of the king's subjects, and the failure of all other means to maintain his government." From these expressions and the language held in a pamphlet, entitled *Taxation no Tyranny*, written by the celebrated Dr. Johnson, together with the conduct of Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, it was evident that the inciting of the slaves to massacre their masters was a part of the programme of ministers for crushing the rebellion.*

² Fort Johnson was on the west side of the Cape Fear River, two miles above its mouth, where the present town of Smithville, the capital of Brunswick county, is situated. There is now a fortress and small garrison there.

³ An account of the proceedings in Mecklenburg were published in the *Cape Fear Mercury*.

⁴ This was the same officer who accompanied Tryon to the Allamance, and was flogged by the Regulators. He resigned his commission as colonel of the militia of Hanover, under the king, and espoused the patriot cause. We shall meet him in the field hereafter.

⁵ The members of the Provincial Congress assembled in the Presbyterian Church, which stood where the present place of worship of that denomination, in Hillsborough, is located.

* "The slave should be set free," said Johnson; "an act which the lovers of liberty must surely commend. If they are furnished with arms for defense and utensils of husbandry, and settled in some simple form of government, within the country, they may be more honest and grateful than their masters."

Action of the Congress.

Military Organization.

Minute-men.

Sketch of Cornelius Harnett.

tumult and insurrections, dangerous to the peace of the king's government." It was then directed to be burned by the common hangman. They also provided for raising and equipping a military force of one thousand men for the defense of the liberties of the province. This force was divided into two regiments. The command of the first regiment was given to Colonel James Moore (one of Tryon's officers when he marched against the Regulators), of New Hanover; the second to Colonel Robert Howe, of Brunswick. In addition to this regular force, a battalion of ten companies, of fifty men each, was directed to be raised in each district, to be called *minute-men*, their uniform to be a hunting-shirt, leggings or spatterdashes, and black gaiters. To pay these troops and other expenses of the government, the Provincial Congress directed the emission of bills of credit to the amount of \$150,000, for the redemption of which a poll tax was levied for nine years, commencing in 1777. The deputies closed their labors by agreeing to an address to the inhabitants of the British empire^{* 1775.} (which was drawn up by William Hooper), and in organizing a provisional government.¹ The Congress adjourned on the nineteenth of September.²

The provincial council met for the first time on the eighteenth of October following, and appointed Cornelius Harnett, of Wilmington, president.² Already the Continental Congress

¹ A provincial council was established, composed of two persons duly chosen by the delegates of each district, and one by the whole Congress.* A Committee of Safety, composed of a president and twelve members, were chosen for each district; the freeholders were also directed to choose a committee. The provincial council and the committees of safety exercised the functions of government in the management of civil and military affairs. Secret committees of correspondence were also organized. Premiums were voted for the manufacture of saltpetre, gunpowder, cotton and woolen cards, pins, needles, linen and woolen cloth, and for the erection of rolling and slitting mills, furnaces for the manufacture of steel and iron, paper-mills, salt-works, and for refining sulphur.

² In the *Wilmington Chronicle*, August 21, 1844, there appeared a very interesting memoir of CORNELIUS HARNETT, which I have condensed. Mr. Harnett was a native of England, and was born on the twentieth of April, 1723. The precise time when he came to America is not known. He was a man of wealth and consideration, before circumstances brought him into public life. He was among the earliest in North Carolina in denouncing the Stamp Act and kindred measures, and from that period until his death he was extremely active in public affairs. He resided upon Hilton plantation, about one mile from the center of Wilmington, where he owned a large estate, and was a gentleman of leisure. He represented the borough of Wilmington in the Provincial Assembly, in 1770-71, and was chairman of the most important committees of that body. From one of the reports of a committee of which Harnett was chairman, I copied the accompanying signature of the patriot. In 1772, Mr. Harnett, with Robert (afterward General) Howe, and Judge Maurice Moore, constituted a committee of the Assembly to prepare a remonstrance against the appointment, by Governor Martin, of commissioners to run the southern boundary line of the province. In 1773, Josiah Quincy,

HARNETT'S HOUSE.¹

or Martin, of commissioners to run the southern boundary line of the province. In 1773, Josiah Quincy, the young and ardent patriot of Boston, while traveling in the South for his health, passed a night at Wilmington, at the residence of Mr. Harnett, whom he denominated "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina" (except in point of fortune). "Robert Howe, Esq., Harnett, and myself," he wrote, "made the social triumvirate of the evening." The plan of "Continental Correspondence" was a subject for discussion that evening, and Quincy returned to Boston, feeling that with such men as Pinckney, Rutledge, Gadsden, and Harnett, as leaders, the South would co-operate with Massachusetts in resistance.

* Samuel Johnson, Cornelius Harnett, Samuel Ashe, Abner Nash, James Coor, Thomas Jones of Edenton, Whitmill Hill, William Jones, Thomas Jones of Halifax, Thomas Person, John Kinchen, Samuel Spencer, and Waightstill Avery, composed this first provincial council. They were to meet quarterly.

¹ This sketch is from a pencil drawing made in 1851 by Mr. Charles Burr. It is situated about a mile and a half from the center of Wilmington, on the northeast branch of the river. I am informed by Edward Kidder, Esq., of Wilmington, through whose kindness this and several other drawings in his vicinity have been procured for my work, that it has never been altered since Mr. Harnett occupied it. This is a view of the south point.

Friendship of the Highlanders courted.

Called to take up Arms by Donald M'Donald.

Flora M'Donald.

had adopted measures for the defense of the province. The two battalions of five hundred men each were attached to the Continental army, and the committees of safety were requested to employ all the gunsmiths in the colony, that might be procured in making muskets. Two Gospel ministers were sent by the provincial council to explain to the Highlanders and others the nature of the quarrel with the mother country, and endeavor to win them to the patriot cause. In the mean while, Governor Martin had busy emissaries among the Highlanders and Regulators, endeavoring to unite them in favor of the king. This was an object of great importance; for if he could embody a strong force of Loyalists in the heart of the province, he could easily keep the sea-board quiet, especially after the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton with troops from the North, then daily expected. He had also received intelligence that Sir Peter Parker, with a strong squadron, bearing Lord Cornwallis with a considerable force, would sail for America at the beginning of 1776. These anticipations gave the governor pleasing hopes for the future.

While Lord Dunmore, as we have seen, was making a demonstration against the lower counties of Virginia,¹ Governor Martin prepared to strike a blow against the patriots in North Carolina. He gave Donald M'Donald, an influential Highlander at Cross Creek, a commission of brigadier general, and with it a large number of copies of a proclamation, with a blank left for the date, which commanded all the king's loyal subjects in North Carolina to join his standard. M'Donald had discretionary powers concerning the distribution of these proclamations. While Colonel Robert Howe, with North Carolina troops, was absent at Norfolk, in Virginia, whither he had gone to assist Colonels Woodford and Stevens against Dunmore, M'Donald set up the royal ensign at Cross Creek^a (now Fayetteville), and issued some of the proclamations. The loyal-hearted Scotchmen, not fully ^{Feb. 1, 1776.} comprehending the nature of the difficulties, obeyed blindly; and in a few days more than one thousand of them, with many timid Regulators, in all fifteen hundred strong, gathered around the standard of the Highland chief. M'Donald was a brave veteran, and had fought valiantly for the Pretender on the field of Culloden, and his influence over his countrymen was very great.

At Cross Creek lived Flora M'Donald, the noble and beautiful girl who saved the life of Charles Edward, after the defeat of the troops at Culloden.² She was now the wife of

In December, 1773, Mr. Harnett was placed on the Committee of Correspondence for Wilmington district. In that sphere he was the master-spirit of the Revolution upon the Cape Fear and its vicinity. In the Provincial Congress of 1775, he represented his old constituents; and when a provincial council was appointed to fill the vacancy in government caused by the abdication of Martin, he was made its president, and became, in that capacity, actual governor of North Carolina. He was a member of the Provincial Congress which assembled at Halifax in the spring of 1776, and was chairman of the committee appointed to consider the usurpations, &c., of the imperial government. He submitted a report on the twelfth of April, which contained a resolution empowering the delegates of North Carolina in the Continental Congress, to use their influence in favor of a *Declaration of Independence*. When, in the spring of 1776, Sir Henry Clinton, with a British fleet, appeared in the Cape Fear River, that commander honored Harnett and Robert Howe, by excepting them in his offer of a general pardon to those who should return to their allegiance, as published in his proclamation issued to the people of North Carolina from the Pallas transport. They were considered arch-rebels. When, on the twenty-second of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence arrived at Halifax, Harnett read it to a great concourse of citizens and soldiers. When he concluded, the latter crowded around him, took him upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumph through the town. In the autumn, he was on a committee for drafting a State Constitution, and a Bill of Rights; and to his liberal spirit the people were indebted for the claim in the first document, guaranteeing the privilege of enjoying the public offices and emoluments to Dissenters and Churchmen, equally. Under the new Constitution, Richard Caswell was made the first governor of the state, and Harnett was one of his council. He was afterward elected to fill his place in the Continental Congress, and Cornelius Harnett's name is attached to the "articles of confederation and perpetual union." When the British afterward held possession of the country around the Cape Fear, Harnett was made prisoner, and died while a captive. His remains lie buried in the northeast corner of the grave-yard attached to St. James's Church, in Wilmington, and at the head and foot of his grave are two upright slabs of brown stone. On the one at the head is inscribed, "CORNELIUS HARNETT, Died, 1781, aged 58 years."¹ See page 534.

² The Pretender, while a fugitive among the Highlands of Scotland, was discovered by his enemies, and fled in an open boat to South Uist, an island on the west coast, where he found refuge with Laird M'Donald. His pursuers discovered his retreat, and three thousand English soldiers were sent to search every nook and

Influence of Flora M'Donald.

The Pretender saved by her.

Patriot Expedition against the Highlanders.

Allan M'Donald, and it is said used all her influence in bringing her countrymen to the standard of the Scotch general. Her husband took a captain's commission under him, and was one of the most active officers in the engagement which speedily ensued.

As soon as Colonel James Moore, of Hanover, was apprised of the gathering of the Loyalists to the banner of M'Donald, he marched with his regulars and a detachment of New Hanover militia (in all about eleven hundred men), toward Cross Creek, and encamped about twelve miles south of the

James Moore

Highlander's head-quarters.* He fortified his camp, and by scouts and spies out off all communication between M'Donald and Governor Martin. The Loyalist general, feeling the necessity of dislodging the patriots, marched toward their camp. When within four miles, he halted, and sent the governor's proclamation, and a friendly but firm letter to Moore, urging him to prevent bloodshed by joining the royal standard; at the same time threatening him, in case of refusal, with the treatment due to rebels against the king. After some delay, during which he sent an express to Colonel Caswell, Moore replied, that he was engaged in a holy cause, from which he could not be seduced. He besought M'Donald to prevent bloodshed by signing the Test proposed by the Provincial Congress, and menaced him with the same treatment which the general proposed to award to the patriot colonel and his followers. M'Donald was not prepared to put his threats into execution, for he was advised of the rapid gathering of the *minute-men* around him. Informed, in the mean while, of the expected arrival of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord William Campbell in the Cape Fear River, M'Donald resolved to avoid an engagement that might

dell, crag and cottage upon the island. A cordon of armed vessels surrounded South Uist, so that escape appeared impossible. But escape from the island was necessary for the safety of the prince. Lady M'Donald proposed that he should put on the garb of a servant-woman, and, in company with a lady as waiting-maid, leave the island. Who had the courage? Flora M'Donald, from Millburg, a beautiful girl just from school at Edinburgh, was there on a visit. Her step-father was then on the island, in command of a corps of soldiers searching for the prince. Regardless of the certain displeasure of her father and the extreme peril of the undertaking, Flora acceded to the proposal of Lady M'Donald to save the prince; and that very night, in company with a trusty officer, she went among the crags of Carradale, to the cave where the royal fugitive was concealed. Great was the astonishment and delight of the prince when he was informed of the plan for his escape. Within a day or two, Flora procured a passport from her unsuspecting step-father for herself, a young companion, a boat's crew, and *Betsey Bourke*, an Irish woman, whom Flora pretended she had procured as a spinster for her mother. The prince, attired as Betsey Bourke, embarked with Flora and her companions, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1746, for the Isle of Skye. A furious tempest tossed them about all night, and a band of soldiers prevented their landing in the morning. They finally landed near the residence of Sir Alexander M'Donald, where the prince was concealed in the cavity of a rock, for the laird was his enemy, and his hall was filled with soldiers seeking the fugitive. Flora touched the heart of Lady M'Donald, and by her aid the prince and the maiden made a safe journey of twelve miles on foot, to Potarce. There they parted forever, the prince to escape to France, Flora to be soon afterward carried a prisoner to London and cast into the Tower. The story of her adventure excited the admiration of all classes, and as she was not a partisan of the Pretender, nor of his religious faith, the nobility interfered in her behalf. The father of George the Third visited her in prison, and so much was he interested in her that he procured her release. While she remained in London, her residence was surrounded by the carriages of the nobility; and Lady Primrose, a friend of the Pretender, introduced her to court society. When presented to the old King George the Second, he said to her, "How could you dare to succor the enemy of my crown and kingdom." Flora replied with great simplicity, "It was no more than I would have done for your majesty, had you been in like situation." A chaise and four were fitted up for her return to Scotland, and her escort was Malcolm M'Leod, who often said afterward, "I went to London to be hanged, but rode back in a chaise and four with Flora M'Donald." Four years afterward she married Allan, the son of the Laird M'Donald, and became mistress of the mansion where the prince passed his first night in the Isle of Skye. In 1775, Flora and her husband, with several children, arrived among their countrymen in North Carolina. Full of loyalty, she encouraged her countrymen to rally in defense of the royal cause. After suffering much, they embarked in a sloop-of-war for Scotland. On the voyage, the vessel was attacked by a French cruiser, and the brave Flora, who was on deck during the action, was severely wounded in the hand. They reached their country, where Flora lived until the fifth of March, 1790. She was buried in the cemetery of Killmuir, in the Isle of Skye; her shroud was the sheet in which the prince slept while under her guidance; and three thousand persons stood and wept as her coffin was let down into the grave.

The Highlanders pursued by Colonel Moore.

Colonels Caswell and Lillington.

Biographical Sketch of Caswell

prove disastrous, and attempt to join the governor and his friends at Wilmington. At midnight he decamped, with his followers, crossed the Cape Fear, and pushed on at a rapid pace, over swollen streams, rough hills, and deep morasses, hotly pursued by Colonel Moore. On the third day of his march, he crossed the South River (one of the principal tributaries of the Cape Fear), from Bladen into New Hanover, and as he approached Moore's Creek, a small tributary of that stream,¹ he discovered the gleaming of fire-arms.^a He had come upon the camp of Colonels Caswell^b and Lillington,^c near the mouth of

Feb. 28, 1776.

¹ Moore's Creek runs from north to south, and empties into the South River, about twenty miles above Wilmington.

^a I am indebted to the Honorable David L. Swain, late governor of North Carolina, and now president of the University at Chapel Hill, for the following sketch of the public life of Richard Caswell. Governor Swain married a grand-daughter of Governor Caswell; and from among the family papers in his possession, he sent me the subjoined interesting autograph letter, written by Caswell, to his son, from Philadelphia.*

Richard Caswell was born in Maryland, August 3, 1729. In 1746, he was induced, by unsuccessful mercantile speculations of his father, to leave his home, and seek his fortune in the then colony of North Carolina. Bearing letters to Governor Johnston from the governor of Maryland, he soon received employment in one of the public offices. Subsequently, he was appointed deputy surveyor of the colony, and was clerk of the County Court of Orange in 1753.

He finally settled himself in Dobbs (now Lenoir) county, where he married Mary Mackilwean, who bore him a son, William. He afterward married Sarah, the daughter of William Herriage, an eminent attorney, under whom he had studied law. He had obtained a license, and practiced the profession with great success. In 1754 he was chosen a member of the Colonial Assembly from Johnston county, which he continued to represent till 1771. In this and the preceding year, he was made the speaker of the House of Commons. He was also colonel of the militia of his county, and, as such, commanded the right wing of Governor Tryon's forces at the battle of Allamance, May 16, 1771.

In 1774, he was one of the delegates to Congress, with William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, and was continued in this office in 1775. In September of this year, having been appointed treasurer of the Southern District of North Carolina, he resigned his seat in Congress. The estimate formed by his contemporaries of Caswell's merits in this affair, is clearly shown in the resolve passed by the Provincial Congress, on the thirteenth of April, "that the thanks of this Congress be given to Colonel Richard Caswell and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for the very essential service by them rendered this country at the battle of Moore's Creek;" and by the further fact that, on the twenty-second of the same month, the same body appointed him "brigadier general of the militia for the District of Newbern." In November of the same year, he was chosen president of the Provincial Congress, which framed the Constitution of the state, and, in December, was elected the first governor under it. This office he held during the stormy and perilous period of 1777, 1778, and 1779. He refused to receive any compensation for his services beyond his expenses. In 1780 he led the troops of North Carolina, under General Gates, and was engaged in the disastrous battle at Camden. In 1782 he was chosen speaker of the Senate, and controller general, and continued to discharge the duties of both offices till 1784, when he was again elected governor of the state, and re-elected in 1785 and 1786, when he ceased to be eligible under the Constitution. The Assembly of 1787 elected him a delegate to the convention which was to meet at Philadelphia in May of that year, to form a Federal Constitution, and conferred on him the extraordinary power, in case of his inability to attend, to select his successor. William Blount was selected by him, and his name is appended to that instrument. In 1789 he was elected senator from Dobbs county, and also a member of the convention which, in November, ratified the Federal Constitution. When the General Assembly met, he was chosen speaker of the Senate. But his course was run. His second son, Richard, had been lost on his passage by sea from Charleston to Newbern, and the father certainly entertained the opinion that he had been taken by pirates and carried to Algiers, or murdered. This and other events threw a cloud over his mind, from which he seems never to have recovered. While presiding in the Senate, on the fifth of November, he was struck with paralysis, and after lingering speechless till the tenth, he expired, in the sixtieth year of his age. His body was, after the usual honors, conveyed to his family burial-place in Lenoir, and there interred. As a statesman, his patriotism was unquestioned, his discernment was quick, and his judgment sound; as a soldier, his courage was undaunted, his vigilance untiring, and his success triumphant. Mrs. Anne White, Governor Caswell's last remaining child, died at Raleigh, on the twentieth of September, 1851, in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

^b I am indebted to Miss Margaret H. Lillington, a great grand-daughter of General Lillington, for the materials of the following brief sketch of the public career of that officer:

JOHN ALEXANDER LILLINGTON, was the son of Colonel George Lillington, an officer in the British serv-

* Letter of Governor Caswell.

I print the subjoined letter of Governor Caswell entire, because it gives an interesting view of the excitement which prevailed at the time, and the manner in which the delegates to the Continental Congress were carefully escorted on their way to Philadelphia.

"Philadelphia 11th May 1776.

"MY DEAR SON,—By a Gentleman Bound to Tar River, I now write to inform you, that after I parted with you at Halifax, Mr

II.

P P

Biographical Sketch of Lillington.

Caswell's Letter to his Son.

the Creek, who, with the minute-men of Dobbs, Craven, Johnston, and Wake counties, and battalions from Wilmington and Newbern, in all about one thousand strong, were out in

ice, who, after being engaged in an expedition against the French in the West Indies, settled upon the island of Barbadoes, and became a member of the Royal Council in 1698. In that capacity he remained during the latter part of the reign of William and Mary, and the beginning of that of Queen Anne. His son, the subject of this memoir, captivated by the glowing accounts given of the Carolina country, emigrated thither, and settled within the present limits of New Hanover county. The fine mansion delineated in the engraving, and known as *Lillington Hall*, is yet standing. It was built in 1734. Its location is near the

Hewes & myself proceeded on our Journey as follows; Sunday evening we arrived at Petersburg in Virginia where we met the express with an acc't of a Battle between the King's Troops & the Bostonians. The next day we crossed James River & Lodged at Hanover Court House, where we had an Acc't of 1500 Men being under Arms to proceed to Williamsburg in Order to Oblige Lord Dunmore to return some powder he had taken out of the Magazine & Lodged on Board of a Man-of-War in James River. What was done in that matter we have not since Heard. The next day we were constantly meeting Armed men who had been to Escort the Delegates for Virginia, on their way towards this place. We Lodged that night at Port Royal and were only 2 or 3 Hours after the Virginia Gent^s. The next day we got down to Potowmack side before the Boats returned that had carried the Virginians over. Here were part of the Militia of three Counties under Arms, & in the Uniforms of Hunting Shirts. They received us, and Conducted us on the return of the Boats, to the water's edge with all the Military Honors due to General Officers. We then crossed the River, and learned at the Ferry on Maryland side that a Company of Independents in Charles County had attended the Virginia Delegates from thence under Arms. We proceeded and overtook them at Port Tobacco, where, indeed, the Independents made a Most Glorious Appearance. Their Company consisted of 68 Men beside officers, all Gentely drest in Scarlet & well equipped with Arms, & Warlike Implements, with drum & Fife. Sentinels were placed at the doors & Occasionally relieved during the Time we stayed there. The next Morning we all set out together, & were Attended by the Independents to the Verge of their County, where they delivered us to another Company of Independents in Prince George's; they in like Manner to a Second, and that to a Third, which bro't us thro' their County. We Lodged that night at Marlborough & the next day tho' we met with a Most Terrible Gust of Lightning, thunder, wind, Hail & rain, Arrived at Baltimore, at the entrance of which Town we were received by four Independent Companies who Conducted us with their Colours Flying, drums Beating and Fife's playing, to our lodgings at the Fountain Tavern (Grants). The next day we were prevailed on to stay at Baltimore, where Col^l Washington, Accompanied by the rest of the Delegates, reviewed the Troops. They have four Companies of 68 men each, Compleat, who go thro' their Exercises extremely Clever. They are raising, in that Town, three other Companies which they say will soon be full. We were very Gentely entertained here in the Court House. The next day we Breakfasted at my old Master Cheynes & dined at Susquehannah; crossed the River & Lodged at the Ferry House. As I had in some Measure been the cause of the Virginia Gent^s going round the Bay by recommending that road, & being the only person in Company acquainted with the road, I was Obligated to keep with them so that I did not call on any of my relations. I sent George to Jos. Dallams where he left the Letters I bro't for our Friends, and was informed my Grand Mother & all Friends were well except Mrs Dallam who had been poorly some Time—the next day we got to Wilmington where we fell in with Several of the Maryland Delegates, & came all into the City to Dinner, on the 9th Instant. Yesterday the Congress met Agreeable to Appointment, & this day it was Resolved that they enter upon the Consideration of American Grievances on Monday next. Here a Greater Martial Spirit prevails, if possible, than I have been describing in Virginia and Maryland. They have 28 Companies Compleat, which make near 2000 Men, who March out to the Common & go thro' their Exercises twice a day regularly. Scarce any thing but Warlike Musick is to be heard in the Streets. There are several Companies of Quakers only, and many of them beside enrolled in other Companies promiscuously. 'Tis said they will, in a few days, have 3000 Men under Arms ready to defend their Liberties. They are raising Men in New York & all the Northern Governments. The Yorkers, I am told by their Delegates, are determined to defend their Liberties, & since the action between the Kings Troops and the Provincials, scarcely a Tory is to be found amongst them. I herewith inclose you a paper in which is a List of the Killed and Wounded of the Kings Troops. But 'tis said this is not Genuine, a much greater number being Actually Killed. On the side of the Bostonians 37 were Killed outright 4 are missing & I forget the number of Wounded; I think thirty odd. Thus you have the fullest Account I am able to give of these matters, and as the Acc't is so long, 'twill not be in my power to Communicate the same to any other of my Countrymen and friends but thro' you. You may therefore remember me in the Stroughest manner to Your Uncles, Capt^t Bright, and others of my particular Friends. Shew them this Letter, and tell them it will be a Reflection on their Country to be Behind their neighbours; that it is Indispensibly necessary for them to arm and form into a Company or Companies of Independents. When their Companies are full, 68 private Men each, to elect Officers, Viz a Capt. 2 Lieut^s an Ensign & Subalterns, And to meet as often as possible & go thro' the exercise. Recieve no man but such as can be depended on, at the same Time reject none who will not discredit the Company. If I live to return I shall most Chearfully Join any of my Countrymen even as a rank & file man. And as in the Common cause I am here exposed to Danger, that or any other difficulties I shall not shun whilst I have any Blood in my Veins, But freely offer it in Support of the Liberties of my Country. Tell your Uncles (the Clk & Sher^t) it may not be prudent for them so far to engage yet awhile in any Company as to risk the loss of their offices. But you, my Dear Boy, must become a soldier & risk your life in Support of those invaluable Blessings which once lost, Posterity will never be able to regain.† Some men, I fear, will start objections to the enrolling of Companies & exercising the Men, & will say it will be acting against Government. That may be answered "that it is not so." That we are only Qualifying ourselves and preparing to defend our Country & Support our Liberties. I can say no more at present. But that May God Almighty protect you all & his Blessing Attend your good endeavour, is the Ardent prayer of My Dear Child Your Affectionate Father.

"P.S.—only shew this letter to such as I have described above, & dont let it be Copied. Consult Capt Bright &c.

"Mr William Caswell."



* This was Mrs. Smith, the grandmother also of Governor William Paca, of Maryland, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. She lived to the remarkable age of ninety-one years.

† I am informed by Governor Swain, that this boy entered the service in less than four months afterward, and before he had attained his majority, as an ensign. He was a lieutenant in 1776, and in 1777 was promoted to captain, and commanded a company at the battle on the Brandywine. In 1781 he was a brigadier, his father, at the same time, being a major general, and his younger son a colonel in active service struggling to counteract the operations of Major Craig at Wilmington.

Peril of the Highlanders.

Preparations for Battle.

Lillington Hall.

Colonel John Lillington.

search of the Tory army.¹ The situation of M'Donald (who was now very ill) was perilous in the extreme. The strong minute-men of the Neuse region, their officers wearing silver crescents upon their hats, inscribed with the stirring words, "*Liberty or Death*," were in front; and Colonel Moore, with his regulars, were close upon his rear. To fly was impossible; to fight was his only alternative.

Both parties were encamped in sight of each other during the night. A professed neutral informed Colonel Lillington of the intended movements of the enemy in the morning, and he and Caswell took measures accordingly. During the night, they cast up a breast-work, removed the planks from the bridge across Moore's Creek, and disposed their forces so as to command the passage and the roads on each side. The patriots lay upon their arms all night, ready, at a signal, to meet the foe. At early dawn, bagpipes were heard, and the notes of a bugle, ringing out upon the frosty air, called the eighteen hundred Loyalists to arms. In a few minutes they rushed forward to the attack, led on by Captain M'Leod,

great road leading from Wilmington to Newbern, on the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River, about thirty miles above Wilmington. When the "Hall" was erected, that part of Carolina was a wilderness, and the savannah or grassy opening where it stands, in the midst of vast pine forests, made it an oasis in the desert.



LILLINGTON HALL.

John Alexander inherited the military tastes of his father, and when the notes of preparation for the Revolutionary contest was heard all over the land, his skill was brought into requisition. His patriotic principles were early made known; and when the war broke out, we find him a member of the Wilmington Committee of Safety, and a colonel of militia. In the first battle fought at the South (Moore's Creek Bridge), described in the text, Colonel Lillington was conspicuous, with his neighbor and friend, Colonel Richard Caswell. Soon after this decisive battle, Colonel Lillington was promoted to brigadier. He served under General Gates in the Carolinas, in 1780. His son, Colonel John Lillington, also served with honor during this campaign. The silver crescents which each wore on his hat during the war are preserved by the fam-

ily, and I am indebted to Miss Lillington for the opportunity of making a drawing of the one worn by the general. These crescents bear the initials of the names of the respective owners, and each has the motto, "*LIBERTY OR DEATH*," engraved upon it. The sketch is about half the size of the original.

General Lillington remained in service until the close of the war, when he retired to his estate at *Lillington Hall*. Near his mansion repose the remains of the general and his son. Over the grave of the former is a marble slab, bearing the following inscription: Sacred to the memory of General JOHN ALEXANDER LILLINGTON, a soldier of the Revolution. He commanded the Americans in the battle of Moore's Creek, fought the twenty-seventh day of February, 1776, and by his military skill and cool courage in the



field, at the head of his troops, secured a complete and decisive victory. To intellectual powers of a high order he united an incorruptible integrity, devoted and self-sacrificing patriotism. A genuine lover of liberty, he periled his all to secure the independence of his country, and died in a good old age, bequeathing

to his posterity the remembrance of his virtues." Near his grave is that of his son, with a stone bearing the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Colonel JOHN LILLINGTON, son of General John Alexander Lillington; a patriot and soldier of the Revolution, he served his country faithfully during the entire war."

"General Lillington," writes Miss L., "is represented as a man of Herculean frame and strength. There are no portraits of him extant. Some few of his old slaves still remain [1852], who were children, of course, at the time, who can remember some of the events of the Revolution. It would be interesting to one unacquainted with the patriarchal relations of master and slave, to see how their aged faces kindle with enthusiasm when they speak of the kindness of 'Old Master,' and of 'Masse Jackie comin' hum from college in Philadelphia to help his father fight the British.'" On account of his uniform kindness to all, the fine mansion of General Lillington was saved from the torch by the interposition of many of his Tory neighbors.

¹ Colonel Lillington, with the Wilmington battalion of minute-men, arrived at the bridge about four hours before Caswell, with his larger force, made his appearance. Caswell, who was the senior officer, took command of the whole patriot army.

Battle at Moore's Creek. Feat of Mrs. Slocum. Effect of the Battle. Humanity of the Whigs. Governor Martin.

for General M'Donald was too ill to leave his tent. Finding a small intrenchment next the bridge quite empty, they concluded the Americans had abandoned the post. They had advanced to within thirty paces of the breast-work, when the Whigs, though unused to war, arose from their concealment, bravely confronted the foe, and for ten minutes the contest was fierce and bloody. Captain M'Leod was killed at the beginning of the battle. Captain John Campbell, the next in command, soon fell, mortally wounded. At that moment, Lieutenant Slocum, of the patriot army, with a small detachment, forded the stream, penetrated the swamp on its western bank, and fell with vigor upon the rear of the Loyalists.¹ The Scotchmen were routed and dispersed, and many of them were made prisoners. Among the latter were General M'Donald, and also the husband of Flora. The Loyalists lost seventy men in killed and wounded; the Americans had only two wounded, and one of them survived.² Colonel Moore arrived soon after the engagement ended, and that evening the men of the united forces of the patriots slept soundly upon the field of their victory.

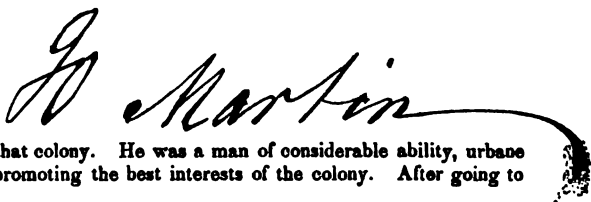
The effect of this defeat of the Loyalists was of vast importance to the Patriot cause in North Carolina. It exhibited the courage and skill of the defenders of liberty, and completely broke the spirit of the Loyalists. It prevented a general organization of the Tories, and their junction with the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, which arrived in the Cape Fear in May, upon which the royal power in the South depended for vitality. The opposers of that power were encouraged, and the timid and wavering were compelled to make a decision. The kindness extended to the prisoners and their families won the esteem of all, and many Loyalists were converted to the Republican faith by the noble conduct of the victors.³ The plans of the governor, and of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord William Campbell, were, for the time, completely frustrated, and Martin⁴ soon afterward abdicated government, and took

¹ Mrs. Ellett relates a noble instance of female heroism which this battle developed. The wife of Lieutenant Slocum, whose home was sixty miles distant from the scene of conflict, had dreamed, after her husband and his neighbors had departed with Caswell, that she saw him lying dead upon the ground. She awoke in great distress, arose, saddled a horse, and rode at full gallop in the direction the troops had taken. Through that thinly-settled and swampy country she pressed on, and at nine o'clock in the morning she heard the firing. As she came near the battle-ground, she saw a body lying in her husband's cloak, but it proved to be another man, who was wounded. She alighted, washed his face, bound up his wounds, and was administering comfort to another wounded man, when Caswell and her astonished husband came up. With true womanly feeling, she interceded for the life of the prisoner, attended to the wounded Loyalists through the day, and at midnight started for home. She did not tell her husband of her dream until his return. She rode one hundred and twenty-five miles in less than forty hours, and without one interval of rest! A mother's love, for she "wanted to see her child," impelled her to return with speed. The Carolinas were full of such heroic women as Mary Slocum when the storm of the Revolution swept over them.—See Mrs. Ellett's *Domestic History of the Revolution*, page 46; *Women of the Revolution*, i., 317-321.

² The patriots captured thirteen wagons, three hundred and fifty guns and shot-bags, about one hundred and fifty swords and dirks, and fifteen hundred excellent rifles.—Gordon, ii., 37.

³ The Provincial Congress issued a manifesto on the twenty-ninth of April, respecting the Loyalists, in which they averred, "We have their security in contemplation, not to make them miserable. In our power, their errors claim our pity; their situation disarms our resentment. We shall hail their reformation with increasing pleasure, and receive them among us with open arms We war not with helpless females whom they have left behind; we sympathize in their sorrow, and wish to pour the balm of pity into the wounds which a separation from husbands, fathers, and the dearest relations has made. They are the rightful pensioners upon the charity and bounty of those who have sought to spare from their own necessities for the relief of their indigent fellow-creatures; to such we recommend them." Had such noble sentiments governed Cornwallis and his officers when they subdued the Carolinas, a few years later, they might have made their victory permanent. General M'Donald and his son, who held a colonel's commission, were granted liberal paroles of honor; and, during the summer, the general and twenty-five of his fellow-prisoners were exchanged at Philadelphia.

⁴ Governor JOSIAH MARTIN was a soldier by profession, and, in 1770, had risen to the rank of major in the British army. When Tryon was transferred to New York in 1771, Martin was appointed governor of North Carolina, and was the last royal chief magistrate of that colony. He was a man of considerable ability, urbane in manners, and sincerely desirous of promoting the best interests of the colony. After going to



Organization of Civil Government.

Proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton.

Desolation of Howe's Plantation.

refuge on board the Bristol, the flag-ship of Sir Peter Parker.¹ Royal government in North Carolina now ceased forever, and a brighter era in the history of the state was opened.

The provincial council now labored vigorously in the elaboration of measures for the defense of the colony, and the maintenance of liberty. A strong military establishment was organized, and in each district a brigadier general was appointed, with an efficient corps of

field-officers.² On the eighteenth of December³ a state government was formed under a Constitution,⁴ and, a few days afterward, a device for a great seal of the commonwealth was presented by a committee appointed for the purpose, and adopted.⁵ In all their actions, the Carolinians exhibited the aspect of men determined to be free, and conscious that hope for reconciliation with the mother country was vain. A blow had been struck which marked out the bright line of future operations. There could no longer be hesitation, and the line between Whigs and Tories was as distinctly drawn as that of the twilight between the day and the night.



The siege of Charleston, and other events of the war which speedily followed the battle on Moore's Creek, will be detailed hereafter. From this time until the close of the Revolution, the military history of North Carolina is identified with that of the whole confederacy. From the time of the battle on Moore's Creek until Cornwallis and his army overran the Carolinas, there were no regularly organized bands of Loyalists in the "Old North State."

Here let us close the chronicle for a day, and ride on toward the fertile region of the Allamance, after glancing at noteworthy objects in Hillsborough.

I employed the first morning of the new year,⁶ in visiting places of interest at Hillsborough, in company with the Reverend Dr. Wilson. The first object to which my attention was called was a small wooden building, represented in the engraving on the next page, situated opposite the hotel where I was lodged. Cornwallis used it for

Jan. 1,
1849.

New York with Sir Henry Clinton, when driven from the colony, he joined the army, under Cornwallis, and was in the battle near Camden, where Gates was defeated. He was with Cornwallis in Virginia, as late as March, 1781, when impaired health caused him to leave. He went to New York, spent a part of the summer at Rockaway, on Long Island, and then sailed for England. He died in London, in July, 1786. Samuel Martin, who fought a duel with the celebrated John Wilkes in 1763, was the governor's brother. His father was Colonel Samuel Martin, of Virginia, who lost a large estate by confiscation. Judge Martin, the historian of North Carolina, computes the population of that state, when Governor Martin fled and the royal power ended, at one hundred and fifty thousand, more than one fifth of whom were slaves.

¹ Gordon, ii., 36, 37; Foote, 143-145; Martin, ii., 380-384. On the fifth of May, 1776, Sir Henry Clinton issued a proclamation from the *Pallas* sloop of war, which declared North Carolina in a state of rebellion, ordered all Congresses to be dissolved, and offered pardon to all penitents, except the arch-rebels Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howe. The people laughed at him. Fired with indignation, he vented his spite upon the property of Colonel Howe. On the twelfth, he sent Cornwallis and a marauding party of nine hundred men on shore, who ravaged Howe's plantation in Brunswick, treated some women at his house with brutality, burned some mills in the neighborhood, and then returned to the ships. Despairing of success in that quarter, Clinton sailed with the British fleet of thirty vessels for New York.

² The following gentlemen were appointed brigadiers: Richard Caswell, of Newbern; John Ashe, of Wilmington; Thomas Person,* of Hillsborough; Griffith Rutherford, of Salisbury; Edward Vail, of Edenton; and Allen Jones, of Halifax.

Thomas Person

³ The following gentlemen were appointed state officers under the Republican Constitution: RICHARD CASWELL, governor; JAMES GLASGOW, secretary of state; CORNELIUS HARNETT, THOMAS PERSON, WILLIAM DAY, WILLIAM HAYWOOD, EDWARD STARKEY, JOSEPH LEECH, and THOMAS EATON, counselors of state.

⁴ The committee consisted of William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Thomas Burke. The seal then adopted continues to be that of the state. The two figures represent respectively LIBERTY and PLENTY. Liberty holds the Constitution in one hand, and in the other a staff, with the cap of freedom, indicating the security of liberty by the Constitution. Clashed by one arm, Plenty holds a small bundle of wheat ears, and with the other supports an overflowing cornucopia, indicating the generous fertility of the soil of North Carolina.

* Thomas Person had been one of the leading Regulators, and exceedingly active against the royal government. He was for many years a member of the State Senate. Person Hall, of the university at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was so named to commemorate a munificent donation which he made to that institution.

Localities at Hillsborough.

Departure for the Allamance.

Place of Pyle's Defeat.

an office, during his tarryings in Hillsborough, after driving General Greene out of the state.



CORNWALLIS'S OFFICE.¹

After sketching this, we visited the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court, and made the fac similes and extracts from its records, printed on pages 573-4. We next visited the head-quarters of Cornwallis, a large frame building situated in the rear of Morris's *Hillsborough House*, on King Street. Generals Gates and Greene also occupied it when they were in Hillsborough, and there a large number of the members of the Provincial Congress were generally lodged. The old court-house, where the Regulators performed their lawless acts, is no longer in existence. I was informed by Major Taylor, an octogenarian on whom we called, that it was a

brick edifice, and stood almost upon the exact site of the present court-house, which is a spacious brick building, with steeple and clock. The successor of the first was a wooden structure, and being removed to make room for the present building, was converted into a place of meeting for a society of Baptists, who yet worship there.^a Upon the hill near the Episcopal church, and fronting King Street, is the spot where the Regulators were hung. The residence of Governor Tryon, while in Hillsborough, was on Church Street, a little west of Masonic Hall. These compose the chief objects of historic interest at Hillsborough. The town has other associations connected with the Southern campaigns, but we will not anticipate the revealments of history by considering them now.



CORNWALLIS'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

At one o'clock I exchanged adieus with the kind Dr. Wilson, crossed the Eno, and, pursuing the route traversed by Tryon on his march to the Allamance, crossed the rapid and now turbid Haw,² just below the falls, at sunset. I think I never traveled a worse road than the one stretching between the Eno and the Haw. It passes over a continued series of red clay hills, which are heavily wooded with oaks, gums, black locusts, and chestnuts. Small streams course among these elevations; and in summer this region must be exceedingly picturesque. Now every tree and shrub was leafless, except the holly and the laurel, and nothing green appeared among the wide-reaching branches but the beautiful tufts of mistletoe which every where decked the great oaks with their delicate leaves and transparent berries. Two and a half miles beyond the Haw, and eighteen from Hillsborough, I passed the night at Foust's house of entertainment, and after an early breakfast, rode to the place where Colonel Pyle, a Tory officer, with a considerable body of Loyalists, was deceived and defeated by Lieutenant-colonel Henry Lee and his dragoons, with Colonel Pickens, in the spring of 1781. Dr. Holt, who lives a short distance from that locality, kindly accompanied me to the spot and pointed out the place where the battle occurred; where Colonel Pyle lay concealed in a pond, and where many of the slain were buried. The place of conflict is about half a mile north of the old Salisbury highway, upon a "plantation road," two miles east of the Allamance, in Orange county. Let us listen to the voices of history and tradition.

In February, 1781, General Greene, then in command of the American army at the South, accomplished a wonderful and successful retreat across North Carolina into Virginia, closely pursued by Lord Cornwallis. This memorable retreat we shall consider presently.

¹ This view is from the piazza of the Union Hotel. The building is of logs, covered with clap-boards. When James Monroe (afterward President of the United States) visited the Southern army in 1780, as military commissioner for Virginia, he used this building for his office while in Hillsborough.

² The Haw River (which derives its name from the abundance of hawthorns in that region) rises in Rockingham and Guilford counties, and in Chatham county unites with the Deep River, and forms the northwest branch of the Cape Fear.

Cornwallis at Hillsborough.

Greene's Plans.

Expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Lee.

His Public Life

When Cornwallis was certified that Greene had escaped across the Dan with all his force, baggage, and stores, he ordered a halt,^a and, after refreshing his wearied troops, moved slowly back to Hillsborough, and there established his head-quarters.^{Feb. 14, 1781.} His object was partially accomplished; he had not captured the "rebel army," but he had driven it from the Carolinas, and he now anticipated a general rising of the Tories, to assist him in crushing effectually the remaining Republicanism at the South. Although driven across the Dan, Greene had no idea of abandoning North Carolina to the quiet possession of the enemy. In the fertile and friendly county of Halifax, in Virginia, his troops reposed for a few days, and then they were called again to the field of active exertion. He resolved to recruit his thinned battalions, and as soon as possible recross the Dan and confront Cornwallis.

Among the most active and efficient officers engaged in the Southern campaigns was



Henry Lee

Henry Lee,^a at this time lieutenant colonel, in command of a corps of choice cavalry. He was in Greene's camp when that general issued his orders to prepare for recrossing the Dan into the Carolinas. His patriot heart leaped for joy when the order was given, and he was much gratified when himself and General Pickens, who commanded a body of South Carolina militia, with Captain Oldham and two companies of Maryland veteran militia, were directed^b to repass the Dan and reconnoitre the front^{Feb. 18, 1781.} of Cornwallis, for he burned to measure strength with the fiery Tarleton. They were sent by Greene to interrupt the intercourse of Cornwallis with the country surrounding his army at Hillsborough, and to suppress every attempt of the Loyalists to join him in force. This proved necessary, for the British commander issued a proclamation on the twentieth of February,^c inviting the Loyalists to join his standard^{Feb. 18, 1781.} at Hillsborough.

Lieutenant-colonel Lee crossed the Dan on the eighteenth, and was followed

^a Cornwallis remained in Hillsborough about ten days. While a detachment of his army lay at the Red House, a short distance from the town, they occupied the Church of Hugh M'Aden, the first located missionary in North Carolina. Supposing M'Aden (then a short time in his grave) to have been a rebel, because he was a Presbyterian, the British burned his library and papers. His early journal escaped the flames.—*Footnote*, 273.

^b Henry Lee was born at the family seat, in Stratford (see page 423), on the twenty-ninth of January, 1756. He was educated at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1773. Fond of active life, and imbued with a military spirit, he sought and obtained the command of a company, in Colonel Bland's regiment of Virginia volunteers, in 1776. He joined the Continental army in September, 1777, where he soon attracted the favorable notice of Washington. He was promoted to the rank of major, in command of a separate corps of cavalry. On the sixth of November, 1780, Congress promoted him to lieutenant colonel, and ordered him to join the Southern army under General Greene, where his career was marked by great skill and bravery. His military exploits and the honors conferred upon him by Congress, are noticed in various places in this volume. In 1786, he was appointed a delegate to Congress, which position he held until the adoption of the Constitution. In 1791, he succeeded Beverly Randolph as governor of Virginia, and remained in office three years. He commanded the forces, by appointment of Washington, which were

Pursuit of Tarleton.

Approach of Tories under Colonel Pyle.

Conception of a Plan to Ensnare them.

by Pickens and Oldham. He sent out his scouts, and early on the morning of the nineteenth he was informed by them that Tarleton and his legion were out toward the Haw reconnoitering, and offering protection to the Loyalists who were desirous of marching to Cornwallis's camp. Lee and Pickens pushed on to gain the great road leading from Hillsborough to the Haw. They ascertained that Tarleton had passed there the day before, and was probably then on the western side of the Haw. The next day^a the Americans crossed the Haw, and were informed that the Loyalists between that and the Deep River were certainly assembling to join the earl. They also learned from a countryman (a sort of passive Tory named Ephraim Cooke) that Tarleton's force consisted of most of his cavalry, four hundred infantry, and two light field pieces; and that he was encamped about four miles distant with all the carelessness of confident security. Lee determined to surprise him, and placed his little army in battle order for a quick march. They reached the designated spot too late, for Tarleton had left and proceeded a few miles further, to the plantation of Colonel William O'Neil, whose memory, if common report speaks true, deserves a greater share of the odium of his countrymen than the most bitter Tory, for by his avaricious acts while claiming to be a Whig, he drove many of his neighbors to join the ranks of the Loyalists.¹ Two of Tarleton's officers, who were left behind, were captured.

Lee now resolved to employ stratagem. His legion greatly resembled that of Tarleton, and he made the country people believe that his was a detachment sent by Cornwallis to re-enforce that officer. The two prisoners were commanded to favor the deception, under the penalty of instant death. The legion took the van in the march,^b with Lieutenant-colonel Lee at the head, preceded, at the distance of a few hundred yards, by a scout. The officer of the van soon met two well-mounted young men, who, believing him to belong to a British re-enforcement, promptly answered an inquiry by saying that they were "rejoiced to fall in with him, they having been sent forward by Colonel Pyle, the commander of quite a large body of Loyalists, to find out Tarleton's camp, whither he was marching with his followers." A dragoon was immediately sent to Lee with this information, and was speedily followed by the young men, who mistook "Legion Harry" for Tarleton, and, with the greatest deference, informed him of the advance of Colonel Pyle. Lee dispatched his adjutant to General Pickens to request him to place his riflemen (among whom were those of Captain Graham,^c who had just joined him) on the left flank, in a place of concealment in the woods, while he himself should make an attempt to capture the deceived Loyalists. Lee also sent one of the duped young men, with the dragoon who escorted them, to proceed to Colonel Pyle with his compliments, and his request "that the colonel would be so good as to draw out his forces on the side of the road, so as to give convenient room for his (Lee's) much wearied troops to pass by without delay to their right position." The other young countryman was detained to accompany Lee himself, whom he supposed to be Tarleton. The van officer was ordered to halt as soon as he should perceive the Loyalists. This order was obeyed; and presently the young man who had been sent to Colonel Pyle, returned with that officer's assurance that he was "happy to comply with the request of Colonel Tarleton." It was the intention of Lee, when his force should obtain the requisite position to have the complete advantage of Colonel Pyle, to reveal his real name and character, demand the immediate surrender of the Tories, and give them their

sent to quell the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania. He was a member of Congress in 1799, and was chosen to pronounce a funeral oration at Washington, on the occasion of the death of the first president. He wrote his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, in 1808. He was active in quelling a mob in Baltimore in 1814, and from wounds received at that time he never fairly recovered. Toward the close of 1817, he repaired to the West Indies for the benefit of his health, but without success. Returning, he stopped at Cumberland Island, near St. Mary's, in Georgia, to visit Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of General Greene, where he died on the twenty-fifth of March, 1818, at the age of sixty-two years. The names of Lee, Marion, Morgan, Sumter, and Pickens form a brilliant galaxy in the Southern firmament of our Revolutionary history.

¹ See Caruthers's *Life of Caldwell*, page 213.

² The father of the present Secretary of the Navy.

Destruction of the Loyalists.

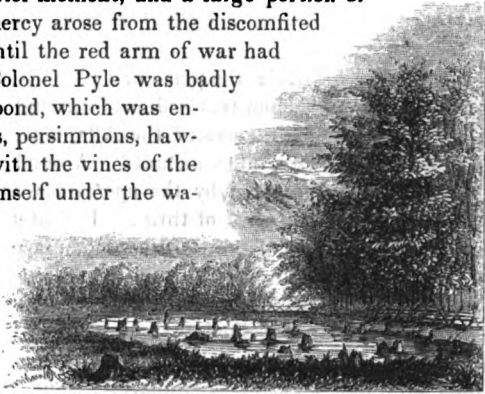
Escape of Colonel Pyle.

The Battle-ground.

Escape of Tarleton.

choice, to return quietly to their homes, after being disarmed, or to join the patriot army. Thus far every thing had worked favorably to Lee's humane design.

Lee's cavalry first approached the Loyalists, who, happily for the furtherance of the plan, were on the *right* side of the road; consequently, the horsemen following Lee were obliged to countermarch and confront the Loyalists. As Lee approached Colonel Pyle, the Loyalists raised the shout, "God save the king!" He rode along the Tory column (who were also mounted, with their rifles on their backs), and, with gracious smiles, complimented them on their fine appearance and loyal conduct. As he approached Pyle and grasped his hand (the signal for his cavalry to draw when he should summon the Tories to surrender), the Loyalists on the left discovered Pickens's militia, and perceived that they were betrayed. They immediately commenced firing upon the rear-guard of the American cavalry, commanded by Captain Eggleston.¹ That officer, as a matter of necessity, instantly turned upon the foe, and this movement was speedily followed by the whole column. A scene of dreadful slaughter followed, for the Loyalists, taken by surprise, could not bring their rifles to bear before Lee had struck the fatal blow. Colonel Pyle commanded four hundred Loyalists; ninety of them were killed in that brief moment, and a large portion of the remainder were wounded. A cry for mercy arose from the discomfited Tories, but the hand of mercy was stayed until the red arm of war had placed the Americans beyond danger.² Colonel Pyle was badly wounded, and fled to the shelter of a small pond, which was environed and deeply shaded by a fringe of oaks, persimmons, hawthorns, crab-trees, and black jacks, trellised with the vines of the muscadine. Tradition says that he laid himself under the water, with nothing but his nose above it, until after dark, when he crawled out, made his way home, and recovered. The place of his concealment is yet known as "Pyle's Pond," of which the engraving is a correct view, as it appeared when I visited the spot in 1849.³ It is on the verge of a

PYLE'S POND.³

¹ Jan. 2 cultivated field, of some six acres,

half a mile northwest from the Salisbury road. Its dense fringe is gone, and nothing indicates its former concealment but numerous stumps of the ancient forest.

Lee and Pickens did not pursue the retreating Loyalists; but, anxious to overtake Tarleton, who was at Colonel O'Neil's, upon the Greensborough road, three miles northward, he resumed his march, notwithstanding it was almost sunset. He halted within a mile of O'Neil's, and encamped for the night, where they were joined by Colonel Preston and three hundred hardy mountaineers from Virginia, who had hastened to the support of Greene. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Americans formed for attack, when it was ascertained that Tarleton, alarmed by the exaggerated stories of some of the survivors of Pyle's corps, who made their way to his camp, had hastened to obey the orders of Cornwallis, just received, and was moving toward the Haw. The Americans pursued him as far as that river, when they halted, and Tarleton, after a narrow escape at the ford, returned in safety to Hillsborough. "Fortune, the capricious goddess," says Lee, "gave us Pyle, and saved Tarleton."⁴

¹ Captain Eggleston was one of the most efficient cavalry officers in Lee's legion, during the campaigns further south the same year. We shall meet him hereafter.

² In this action the Americans did not lose a single man, and only one horse. The generally accurate and impartial Stedman, influenced, doubtless, by wrong information, called the event a "massacre;" says that "no quarter was granted" when asked; and that "between two and three hundred of them were inhumanly butchered while in the act of begging for mercy."—*History of the American War*, ii., 334.

³ About a quarter of a mile northwest from this pond, is the spot where the battle occurred. It was then heavily wooded; now it is a cleared field, on the plantation of Colonel Michael Holt. Mr. Holt planted an apple-tree upon the spot where fourteen of the slain were buried in one grave. Near by, a persimmon-tree indicates the place of burial of several others.

⁴ *Memoirs*, page 160.

CHAPTER XXIII.

"Cornwallis led a country dance;
 The like was never seen, sir;
 Much retrograde, and much advance,
 And all with General Greene, sir.
 They rambled up and rambled down,
 Joined hands, and off they ran, sir;
 Our General Greene to old Charlestown,
 And the earl to Wilmington, sir.¹

There was Greene in the South; you must know him—
 Whom some called a "Hickory Quaker;"
 But he ne'er turned his back on the foeman,
 Nor ever was known for a *Shaker*."—WILLIAM ELLIOT.



I LEFT the place of Pyle's defeat toward noon, and, following a sinuous and seldom-traveled road through a forest of wild crab-apple trees and black jacks, crossed the Allamance at the cotton-factory of Holt and Carrigan, two miles distant.² Around this mill quite a village of neat log-houses, occupied by the operatives, were collected, and every thing had the appearance of thrift. I went in, and was pleased to see the hands of intelligent white females employed in a useful occupation. Manual labor by white people is a rare sight at the South, where an abundance of slave

labor appears to render such occupation unnecessary; and it can seldom be said of one of our fair sisters there, "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff."³ This cotton-mill, like the few others which I saw in the Carolinas, is a real blessing, present and prospective, for it gives employment and comfort to many poor girls who might otherwise be wretched; and it is a seed of industry planted in a generous soil, which may hereafter germinate and bear abundant fruit of its kind in the midst of cotton plantations, thereby augmenting immensely the true wealth of the nation.

At a distance of two miles and a half beyond the Allamance, on the Salisbury road, I reached the Regulator battle-ground; and, in company with a young man residing in the vicinity, visited the points of particular interest, and made the sketch printed on page 577. The rock and the ravine from whence James Pugh and his companions (see page 576) did such execution with their rifles, are now hardly visible. The place is a few rods north of the road. The ravine is almost filled by the washing down of earth from the slopes during eighty years; and the rock projects only a few ells above the surface. The whole of the natural scenery is changed, and nothing but tradition can identify the spot.

While viewing the battle-ground, the wind, which had been a gentle and pleasant breeze from the south all the morning, veered to the northeast, and brought omens of a cold storm. I left the borders of the Allamance, and its associations, at one o'clock, and traversing a very hilly country for eighteen miles, arrived, a little after dark, at Greensborough, a thriving, compact village, situated about five miles southeast from the site of old Guilford Court House. It is the capitol of Guilford county, and successor of old Martinsburg, where the

¹ These lines form a part of a song which was very popular at the close of the war, and was sung to the air of "Yankee Doodle."

² This factory, in the midst of a cotton-growing country, and upon a never-failing stream, can not be otherwise than a source of great profit to the owners. The machinery is chiefly employed in the manufacture of cotton yarn. Thirteen hundred and fifty spindles were in operation. Twelve looms were employed in the manufacture of coarse cotton goods suitable for the use of the negroes.

³ Proverbs, xxxi., 19.

Fire in Greensborough.

The Guilford Battle-ground.

Gates superseded by Greene

court-house was formerly situated. Very few of the villages in the interior of the state appeared to me more like a Northern town than Greensborough. The houses are generally good, and the stores gave evidences of active trade. Within an hour after my arrival, the town was thrown into commotion by the bursting out of flames from a large frame dwelling, a short distance from the court-house. There being no fire-engine in the place, the flames spread rapidly, and at one time menaced the safety of the whole town. A small keg of powder was used, without effect, to demolish a tailor's shop, standing in the path of the conflagration toward a large tavern. The flames passed on, until confronted by one of those broad chimneys, on the outside of the house, so universally prevalent at the South, when it was subdued, after four buildings were destroyed. I never saw a population more thoroughly frightened; and when I returned to my lodgings, far away from the fire, every bed in the house was packed ready for flight. It was past midnight when the town became quiet, and a consequently late breakfast delayed my departure for the battle-field at Guilford Court House, until nine o'clock the next morning.

A cloudy sky, a biting north wind, and the dropping of a few snow-flakes when I left Greensborough, betokened an unpleasant day for my researches. It was ten o'clock when I reached Martinsville, once a pleasant hamlet, now a desolation. There are only a few dilapidated and deserted dwellings left; and nothing remains of the old Guilford Court House but the ruins of a chimney, depicted on the plan of the battle, printed on page 608. Only one house was inhabited, and that by the tiller of the soil around it. Descending into a narrow, broken valley, from Martinsville, and ascending the opposite slope to still higher ground on the road to Salem, I passed among the fields consecrated by the events of the battle at Guilford, in March,^a 1781, to the house of Mr. Hotchkiss, a Quaker, who, I was informed could point out every locality of interest in his neighborhood. ^a March 14.

Mr. Hotchkiss was absent, and I was obliged to wait more than an hour for his return. The time passed pleasantly in conversation with his daughter, an intelligent young lady, who kindly ordered my horse to be fed, and regaled me with some fine apples, the first fruit of the kind I had seen since leaving the James River. While tarrying there, the snow began to fall thickly, and when, about noon, I rambled over the most interesting portion of the battle-ground, and sketched the



Nath Greene

and directed General Washington to make the selection. The commander-in-chief appointed General Nathaniel Greene,^b late the quarter-master general, who immediately proceeded to his field of labor.^c Passing through Delaware, Maryland, and Vir-

scene printed on page 611, the whole country was covered with a white mantle. Here, by this hospitable fireside, let us consider the battle, and those wonderful antecedent events which distinguished General Greene's celebrated RETREAT.

After the unlucky battle near Camden, where General Gates lost the laurels he had obtained at Saratoga, Congress perceived the necessity of appointing a more efficient commander for the army in the Southern Department,

^b Oct. 30, 1780.

¹ Nathaniel Greene was born of Quaker parents, at Warwick, in Rhode Island, in 1746. His father was an anchor smith, and in that business Nathaniel was trained. While yet a boy, he learned the Latin language, and by prudence and perseverance he collected a small library while a minor. The perusal of military history occupied much of his attention. He had just attained his majority, when his abilities were so highly estimated, that he was chosen a representative in the Legislature of Rhode Island. Fired with

Greene's Arrival in Carolina.

Courtesy of Gates.

Disposition of the belligerent Armies.

ginia, he ascertained what supplies he was likely to obtain from those states; and leaving the Baron Steuben to direct the defense of Virginia, and to raise levies and stores for the Southern army, he proceeded to Hillsborough, the seat of government of North Carolina. Governor Nash received him with joy, for the dangers which menaced the state were imminent. After remaining there a few days, he hastened on to Charlotte, the head-quarters of the army. General Gates received him with great respect, and on the day after his arrival he took formal command of the army.^a Gates immediately set out for the head-quarters of Washington (then in New Jersey, near the Hudson), to submit to an inquiry into his conduct, which had been ordered by Congress.^b From that time until the commencement of his retreat from the Carolinas, Greene was exceedingly active in the arrangement of the army, and in wisely directing its movements.

His first arrangement was to divide his army into two detachments, the largest of which, under himself, was to be stationed opposite Cheraw Hill, on the east side of the Peedee River, in Chesterfield District, upon a small stream called Hick's Creek, about seventy miles to the right of Cornwallis, who was then at Winnsborough, in Fairfield District. The other, composed of about one thousand troops, under General Morgan, was placed some fifty miles to the left, near the junction of the Broad and Pacolet Rivers, in Union District. Cornwallis sent Colonel Tarleton, with a considerable force, to disperse the little army of Morgan, and soon the memorable battle of the Cowpens occurred,^c in which the Americans were victorious. Tarleton, with the remnant of his troops, retreated precipitately to the main army of Cornwallis, who was then at Turkey Creek; and Morgan, in the evening of the same day, crossed the Broad River, and moved, by forced marches, toward the Catawba, to form a junction with the division of General Greene.

When Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Tarleton and the direction that Morgan had taken, he resolved on pursuit, with the hope of regaining the prisoners taken at the Cowpens, and of demolishing the Americans before they could reach the Catawba. He was joined on the eighteenth by General Leslie and his troops, from Camden. To facilitate his march, he ordered all the superfluous baggage and wagons to be destroyed^d at Ram-

military zeal, and ardent patriotism, young Greene resolved to take up arms for his country, when he heard of the battle at *Lexington*. He was appointed to the command of three regiments in the *Army of Observation*, raised by his state, and led them to Roxbury. In consequence of this violation of their discipline, the Quakers disowned him. General Washington soon perceived his worth, and in August the following year, Congress promoted him from the office of brigadier of his state militia to that of major general in the Continental army. He was in the battles at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. In March, 1778, he was appointed quarter-master general, and in June was engaged in the battle of Monmouth. He resigned his office of quarter-master general in 1780, and was succeeded by Timothy Pickering. He took the command of the Southern Department, December third, 1780, and in February following made his famous retreat. He engaged in the battle of Guilford, in March, 1781, when he was defeated. In April following, he fought with Lord Rawdon, near Camden, where he was again defeated, but retreated in good order, and soon afterward captured several British posts in South Carolina. He besieged Fort Ninety-Six in May, but was unsuccessful. On the eighth of September, he gained a partial victory at Eutaw Springs, for which Congress presented him with a British standard and a gold medal. This engagement closed the war in South Carolina. He returned to Rhode Island at the conclusion of the war. He went to Georgia in 1785 to look after an estate belonging to him near Savannah. While walking one day, in June, without an umbrella, he was "sun struck," and died on the nineteenth of that month, in 1786, at the age of forty-six years. His body was buried in a vault in Savannah, on the same day, but owing to negligence in designating the one, a search for his remains, in 1820, was unsuccessful. No man living can now point out the sepulchre of that ablest of Washington's generals. On the eighth of August following, Congress adopted the following resolution: "That a monument be erected to Nathaniel Greene, Esq., at the seat of the Federal government, with the following inscription: Sacred to the memory of Nathaniel Greene, Esq., a native of the State of Rhode Island, who died on the nineteenth of June, 1786; late major general in the service of the United States, and commander of their army in the Southern Department. The United States, in Congress assembled, in honor of his patriotism, valor, and ability, have erected this monument." The Board of Treasury was directed to take action for the due execution of the foregoing resolutions.

In person General Greene was rather corpulent, and above the common size. His complexion was fair and florid; his countenance serene and mild. His health was generally delicate, but was preserved by temperance and exercise.

Greene in Co-operation with Morgan. Conference of the Commanders. Battle at Ramsour's Mills. General Rutherford.

sour's Mills, on the south fork of the Catawba.¹ In the mean while, General Greene had been apprised of the battle and the result, and on the same day when Cornwallis commenced pursuit, he ordered Brigadier Stevens to march with his Virginia militia (whose term of service was almost expired) by way of Charlotte, to take Morgan's prisoners and conduct them to Charlottesville, in Virginia. Greene, anxious to confer with Morgan personally, left the camp on the Pedee, under the command of General Huger and Colonel Otho H. Williams, and started, with one aid and two or three mounted militia, for the Catawba.^a On the route he was informed of Cornwallis's pursuit, and immediately sent an express to Huger and Williams to break up the camp, and march with all possible dispatch to form a junction with Morgan's light troops at Salisbury or Charlotte. Greene reached Sher-rard's Ford, on the Catawba, on the thirty-first, where he had an interview with Morgan, and directed his future movements.

^a Jan. 28.

¹ At this place a severe battle was fought on the twentieth of June, 1780, between a body of North Carolina militia and a large force of Loyalists. Early in June, General Rutherford* was in command of more than five hundred North Carolina militia, and was in the vicinity of Charlotte. Having received intelligence that the Tories were embodying in arms beyond the Catawba, in Tryon county, he issued orders to commanders in the vicinity to arouse the militia for the dispersion of those men. Ramsour's Mills, in the present county of Lincoln, on the south fork of the Catawba, was their place of rendezvous, and toward that point he marched, he having received intelligence that Lord Rawdon had retired to Camden. The Tories were assembled under Colonels John Moore and Major Nicholas Welch, to the number of almost thirteen hundred, on the twentieth of June. On Sunday, the eighteenth, having concentrated the militia of Mecklenburg, Rowan, and neighborhood, Rutherford proceeded to the Catawba, and crossed that river at the Tuckesege Ford, on the evening of the nineteenth. He dispatched a messenger to Colonel Francois Locke, of Rowan, informing him of the state of affairs, and ordering him to form a junction with him between the Forks of the Catawba, sixteen miles from Ramsour's. That officer, with the militia under several other subordinate commanders, in all about four hundred men, encamped on the nineteenth on Mountain Creek, higher up on the Catawba, above Beattie's Ford, and also sixteen miles from Ramsour's. At a council of the officers, junction with Rutherford, who was about thirty-five miles distant, was not deemed prudent, and they resolved to attack the Tories without delay. Colonel Johnson, one of their number, was dispatched to apprise General Rutherford of the situation of affairs. He reached Rutherford's camp at ten o'clock the same night.

Late in the evening of the nineteenth, Colonel Locke and his companions commenced their march, and at daylight the following morning they were within a mile of the enemy's camp. The latter were upon a high hill, three hundred yards east of Ramsour's Mill, and half a mile from the present village of Lincoln-ton. Their position was very advantageous, and as there were but few trees upon the slope, they could fire effectually upon an approaching foe. The companies of Captains Falls, M'Dowell, and Brandon, of the patriot army, were on horseback, and led on to the attack; the footmen were under the immediate command of Colonel Locke. The Tories were surprised. Their pickets fired when the patriots appeared, and then retreated to the camp. For a moment the Tories were confused, but, recovering, they poured such a deadly fire upon the horsemen, who had pursued the pickets to the lines, that they were compelled to fall back. They rallied, and soon the action became general. Captain Hardin now gained the right flank of the Tories, while the action was warm in the center. In two instances the parties were so close that they beat each other with the butts of their guns. The Whigs soon drove the Tories from the hill, when they discovered them collected in force on the other side of the mill stream. Expecting an immediate attack, messengers were sent to urge Rutherford forward. They met him within six miles of Ramsour's, pushing on with all possible haste. Major Davie, with his cavalry, started off at full gallop, followed by Colonel Davidson's infantry. They were met within two miles of Ramsour's, with the intelligence that the Tories had retreated. Rutherford marched to the scene of action, and there encamped. The conflict was very severe, and seventy men were left dead on the ground. As all were in "citizen's dress," it was difficult to distinguish the Whigs from the Tories among the dead. It is believed that each party had an equal number killed. About one hundred men on each side were wounded. Fifty Tories were taken prisoners. A terrible voice of wail went up from that battle-field the next day, when the relatives of the slain came there in search of them.

* Griffith Rutherford was an Irishman by birth, brave and patriotic, but uncultivated in mind and manners. He resided west of Salisbury, in the Locke settlement, and in 1775 represented Rowan county in the Convention at Newbern. In 1776 he led a large force into the Cherokee country, and assisted the people of South Carolina in destroying their corn-fields and villages. He was appointed a brigadier by the Provincial Congress, in April, 1776. He commanded a

brigade in the battle near Camden, in August, 1781, and was taken prisoner by the British. He was exchanged, and was in command at Wilmington when that place was evacuated by the British at the close of the war. He was a state senator in 1784, and soon afterward removed to Tennessee, where he died. A county both in North Carolina and Tennessee bears his name.

Griffith Rutherford

Morgan pursued by Cornwallis.

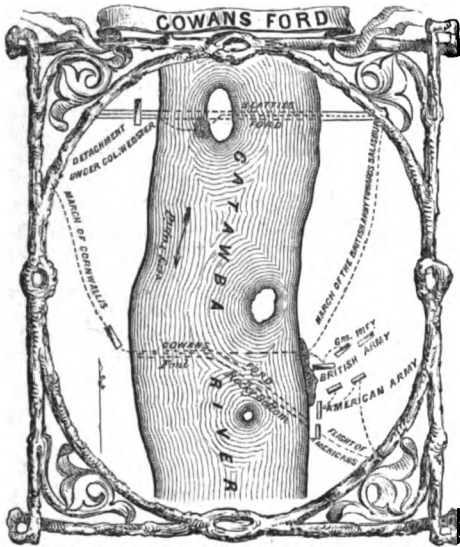
Narrow Escape of the former.

Passage of the Catawba by Cornwallis's Army.

The pursuit by Cornwallis had been keen and untiring. He had kept between the Broad and the Catawba Rivers, and his sole efforts were to reach the fords toward which Morgan was pressing, in time to cut him off. Morgan's march was equally rapid, and he crossed the Catawba at the Island Ford, on the northern border of the present Lincoln county, with his prisoners and baggage, two hours before the arrival of the British van-guard, under Brigadier-general O'Hara.^a It was sunset, and the earl, confident of his prey, postponed further pursuit until morning. This delay was fatal to his success. Rain fell copiously during the night, and in the morning the Catawba was brimful, and entirely unfordable. Thus it remained for forty-eight hours; and in the mean while Morgan's prisoners were sent forward to a place of safety, and measures were adopted to dispute the passage of the river with the British. Had the flood in the river happened a few hours earlier, Morgan's little army must have been lost. The event was properly marked by the friends of liberty as the tangible interposition of Providence. The arrival of Greene, at this juncture, was equally providential; for Morgan had resolved upon a line of retreat which must have proved fatal. Greene interposed counter orders, and the whole army was saved.

When the waters subsided, Cornwallis resumed his pursuit. Lieutenant-colonel Webster, with a small detachment, moved toward Beattie's Ford, to give the impression that the British army would cross there; while Cornwallis, decamping at midnight with the main body, moved rapidly toward Cowan's Ford, six miles below. This was a private crossing-place, and the earl supposed he would thus elude the vigilance of Greene and Morgan. It was a miscalculation, as numerous camp-fires assured him when he approached the ford, a little before dawn.^b General David-son, the commander in Salisbury District, who had arrived the day before with three hundred North Carolina militia, was sent by Greene, who was quartered at Salisbury,¹ to guard the ford and dispute its passage if attempted. Neglecting to place his main body near the river, so as to make an imposing appearance, he did not deter Cornwallis from proceeding to cross. The current was rapid, the stream in many places waist-deep, and almost five hundred yards wide, yet the brave Britons, led on by General O'Hara, plunged into the stream, and in the face of a

severe fire from Captain Graham's² riflemen, who were posted at the ford, pressed forward



¹ Greene was quartered at Salisbury, in the house of Elizabeth Steele, a patriot of purest mold. She had heard Greene utter words of despondency, and her heart was touched. While he was at table, she brought two bags full of specie, the earnings of years of toil, and presented them to him, saying, "Take these; for you will want them, and I can do without them." Greene was grateful; and before he left her house he wrote upon the back of a portrait of the king, hanging in the room, "O George, hide thy face and mourn!" and then hung it up, with the face to the wall. That portrait, with the writing, is in the present possession of the Honorable David L. Swain, of Chapel Hill.

² Captain Joseph Graham was an excellent specimen of those young men of Carolina who flocked to the army fighting for independence. He was born in Pennsylvania, on the thirteenth of October, 1759, and at the age of seven years accompanied his widowed mother to North Carolina. He was educated at Queen's Museum, in Charlotte, and was a spectator at the famous convention, held there in May, 1775. In May, 1778, at the age of nineteen, young Graham enlisted in the fourth regiment of North Carolina regular troops, under Colonel Archibald Lyle. Marching northward, his commander received instructions to return to Carolina, and Graham went home on furlough. He was called into active service in the autumn of that year, and accompanied General Rutherford to the banks of the Savannah, soon after the defeat of General Ashe at Brier Creek. He was with General Lincoln while maneuvering against Prevost, and was in the severe battle at Stono, in June, 1779. A fever prostrated him, and he returned home. While plowing in

Success of the British.

Death of General Davidson.

British Account of the Conflict.

Queen's Museum.

to the opposite bank.¹ The British reserved their fire until they had gained the shore, and then, pouring a few volleys into the ranks of Graham, soon dispersed them. While ascending the bank, Colonel Hall, of the British army, was killed. General Davidson was stationed half a mile from the ford, with the main body of the militia. Hearing the firing, he hastened to the spot, with Colonel William Polk and the Reverend Thomas M'Caulle. They arrived just as the Americans were about to flee. Davidson was the last upon the ground, and as he turned to follow his troops he was shot dead by a rifle ball.² The mili-

the field, he heard of the fall of Charleston and defeat of Buford at the Waxhaw, and, like Cincinnatus, he left the furrow to engage in public duties. He was appointed adjutant of the Mecklenburg regiment. He was engaged in active service for some time, and fought the enemy with Major Davie, at Charlotte, in the autumn of 1780. In that engagement he was cut down and severely wounded by a British dragoon. He received six sabre and three bullet wounds. These confined him in the hospital for two months. When recovered, he raised a company of mounted riflemen, and, with his fifty men, disputed the passage of the British army at Cowan's Ford. With his company, and some troops from Rowan, he surprised and captured a British guard at Hart's Mill, only a mile and a half from head-quarters at Hillsborough, and the next day was with Lee when Pyle was defeated. He was engaged in active service all that summer, and in September was appointed a major, and, with a pretty strong force, proceeded toward Wilmington to rescue Governor Burke, who had been abducted from Hillsborough by Fanning, a noted Tory, and his associates. South of Fayetteville he encountered a band of Tories, and, after a severe skirmish, defeated them. His force was only one hundred and thirty-six; that of the Tories was six hundred. It was a brilliant achievement. He was engaged in two or three other military enterprises soon afterward, when the surrender of Cornwallis caused a cessation of hostilities at the South. With this campaign, Major Graham's revolutionary services closed. In the course of four years (at the end of which he was only twenty-three years of age) he had commanded in fifteen engagements, and was greatly beloved by his companions.

Major Graham was elected the first sheriff of Mecklenburg, after the close of the war, and, in 1787, married a daughter of John Davidson, one of the members of the famous Mecklenburg Convention. By her he had twelve children, the youngest of whom, the Honorable William A. Graham, is now (1852) Secretary of the Navy of the United States. Soon after his marriage, he erected iron-works, and settled in Lincoln county, eight miles from Beattie's Ford, where he lived forty years, and died. In 1814, one thousand men were raised in North Carolina to assist the Tennessee and Georgia volunteers against the Creek Indians. Graham was urgently solicited to take the command. He consented, and received the commission of major general. He arrived with his corps just as the Creeks had submitted to Generals Jackson, Coffee, and Carroll, after the battle at the Horse Shoe. For many years after that war, General Graham was the senior officer of the fifth division of the state militia. Temperate in all things, he enjoyed remarkable health until about the time of his death, which occurred from apoplexy, on the twelfth of November, 1836, at the age of seventy-seven years. His honored remains lie in a secluded spot, near the great road leading from Beattie's Ford to Lincolnton.

¹ Stedman, an eye-witness, from whose work the plan is copied, gives the following account of the passage of the river. This description illustrates the plan. "The light infantry of the guards, led by Colonel Hall, first entered the water. They were followed by the grenadiers, and the grenadiers by the battalions, the men marching in platoons, to support one another against the rapidity of the stream. When the light infantry had nearly reached the middle of the river, they were challenged by one of the enemy's sentinels. The sentinel having challenged thrice and received no answer, immediately gave the alarm by discharging his musket; and the enemy's pickets were turned out. No sooner did the guide [a Tory] who attended the light infantry to show them the ford, hear the report of the sentinel's musket, than he turned round and left them. This, which at first seemed to portend much mischief, in the end proved a fortunate incident. Colonel Hall, being forsaken by his guide, and not knowing the true direction of the ford, led the column directly across the river, to the nearest part of the opposite bank. This direction, as it afterward appeared, carried the British troops considerably above the place where the ford terminated on the other side, and where the enemy's pickets were posted, so that when they delivered their fire the light infantry were already so far advanced as to be out of the line of its direction, and it took place angularly upon the grenadiers, so as to produce no great effect."—*History of the American War*, ii., 328.

² General William Davidson was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1746. His family went to North Carolina (Rowan county) when he was four years old. He was educated at Queen's Museum,* an

* This building stood upon the site of the present residence of W. J. Alexander, Esq., and was better known during the Revolution as *Liberty Hall Academy*. Previous to the establishment of an institution of learning here, there were but two chartered seminaries in the province; one at Edenton, and the other at Newbern. In these none but members of the Established Church were allowed to hold official station. The Presbyterians, who were very numerous, resolved to have a seminary of their own, and applied for an unrestricted charter for a college. It was granted; but, notwithstanding it was called Queen's College, in compliment to the consort of the king, and was located in a town called by her name, and a county of the same name as her birth-place, the charter was repealed in 1771 by royal decree. The triple compliment was of no avail. It continued to exist, nevertheless, and the first Legislature under the State Constitution, in 1777, gave it a charter under the title of *Liberty Hall Academy*. The people of Mecklenburg would not allow any preference to be given to one religious denomination over another in the management of the affairs of the institution; and with firmness they pressed forward, with a determination

Dispersion of Militia.

Commencement of Greene's Retreat.

His Passage of the Yadkin.

Cornwallis again folloed.

tia were entirely routed; and all the fords being abandoned, Cornwallis, with the whole royal army, crossed the Catawba without further molestation.¹ The militia reassembled at Tarrant's tavern, about ten miles distant. Tarleton, who had been sent with his cavalry in pursuit, hastened to their rendezvous, made a furious charge, broke through their center, killed quite a number, and dispersed the whole. A heavy rain had injured their powder, and they were not prepared to fight. The loss of General Davidson, and the total dispersion of the militia, greatly dispirited the patriots in that region, and Toryism again became bold and active.

Now fairly commenced the great race between Greene and Cornwallis; the goal was the Dan, the prize the possession of the Carolinas.

General Greene had hoped, by guarding the fords on the Catawba with the light troops under Morgan, to prevent the passage of the British army until Huger and Williams should arrive with the other divisions of the American forces. The passage at Cowan's Ford destroyed these hopes, and Morgan and his light troops retreated precipitately toward the Yadkin. The detachment of Lieutenant-colonel Webster crossed at Beattie's Ford, and joined Cornwallis the next day,² on the road to Salisbury, five miles from the crossing-place.

² Feb. 2 The royal army rested at Salisbury³ that night, and the next morning started in pursuit of Greene and Morgan. These officers did not await the dawn, but passed the Yadkin at Trading Ford (see cut on opposite page), while Cornwallis was slumbering; and when, on the morning of the third, the earl hastened to strike a fatal blow on the banks of that stream, the Americans were beyond his reach, and Providence had again placed an impassable barrier of water between them. Another copious rain in the mountains had swollen the Yadkin to a mighty river. The horses of Morgan had forded the stream at midnight, and the infantry passed over in bateaux at dawn. These vessels were secured on the east shore of the Yadkin, and Cornwallis was obliged to wait for the waters to subside before he could cross. Again he had the Americans almost within his grasp. A corps of riflemen were yet on the west side when O'Hara, with the van-guard, approached, but these escaped across the river, after a smart skirmish of a few minutes. Nothing was lost but a few wagons belonging to the Whigs who were fleeing with the American army, with their effects.

Greene now pushed on toward Guilford Court House, where he arrived on the sev-

institution at Charlotte, where many of the patriots of Carolina were instructed; and when the war broke out, he took up arms. He was major of one of the first regiments raised in Carolina, but first saw active service in New Jersey. In November, 1779, he was detached to reinforce Lincoln at the South. In a skirmish, near Calson's Mills, a ball passed through his body, near the kidneys, but the wound was not mortal. He was appointed brigadier after the battle of Camden, in the place of Colonel Rutherford, who was made a prisoner there. In the action at Cowan's Ford, on the first of February, 1781, he was shot through the breast, and instantly fell dead. Congress, on the

twentieth of September following, ordered a monument to be erected to his memory, at a cost not exceeding \$500 dollars.* General Davidson was a man of pleasing address, great activity, and pure devotion.

¹ The loss on this occasion is not certainly known. Colonel Hall and three or four of the light infantry were killed, and between thirty and forty were wounded. The Americans lost Davidson, and about twenty killed and wounded. Cornwallis's horse was shot under him, and fell as soon as he got upon the shore. O'Hara's horse tumbled over with him in the water, and other horses were carried down the stream.—Lee's *Memoirs*, 137.

² It is related that while at Salisbury, the British officers were hospitably entertained by Dr. Anthony Newman, notwithstanding he was a Whig. There, in presence of Tarleton and others, Dr. Newman's two little sons were engaged in playing the game of the battle of the Cowpens with grains of corn, a red grain representing the British officers, and a white one the Americans. Washington and Tarleton were particularly represented, and as one pursued the other, as in a real battle, the little fellows shouted, "Hurrah for Washington, Tarleton runs! Hurrah for Washington!" Tarleton looked on for a while, but becoming irritated, he exclaimed, "See those cursed little rebels."

to maintain both religious and political freedom. These principles, ever active, made Mecklenburg, the seat of this free institution of learning—"the most rebellious county in the state"—"*the Hornet's Nest*." No doubt the repealing of the charter by royal authority, of this popular institution, operated powerfully in alienating the affections of the people from the parent government; for there, as in every dissenting community in America, the establishment of "the Church" as a dominant power among them, was regarded with disfavor. Episcopacy and royalty appeared to be inseparable in interest, and concurrent in aristocratic tendencies.

* *Journals of Congress*, vii., 144.

The Trading Ford.

Numbers of the two Armies.

Passage of the Yadkin by Cornwallis.

His March resumed.

enth.^a He had dispatched an order to Huger and Williams to march directly to that point, Feb., 1781.
and join him there.

TRADING FORD.²

and amounted to about two thousand men, including five hundred militia. Of this number nearly two hundred were superior cavalry. The army of Cornwallis in pursuit, was between two thousand five hundred and three thousand strong, of which three hundred were mounted men.

Perceiving no prospect of the falling of the river, for the rain continued, Cornwallis marched as rapidly as possible up the western side of the Yadkin to the shallow ford near the present village of Huntsville, in Surrey county, where he crossed. There he was informed of the junction of the two divisions of the American army, and the hope of keeping them separate was extinguished. An attempt to intercept their march toward Virginia, and compel Greene to fight or surrender, was now the chief object of the earl's solicitude. Upon the success of this undertaking depended not only the maintenance of his power in the Carolinas, but perhaps the actual existence of his army. He knew the inferiority of the American army in numbers, and being assured that the rivers which lay between Greene and Virginia were too much swollen to be forded, and the ferries too wide apart to furnish a sufficient number of boats at one point to transport the retreating army across, he felt confident of success. His lordship was now within twenty-five miles of Greene, at Guilford, and nearer the shallow fords of the Dan than he was; and on the ninth of February^b 1781. he resumed his march with vigor, to gain a position in front of the Americans.

¹ Both divisions of the army were in want of rest. That of Morgan had been almost constantly in motion since the battle at the Cowpens, and had traveled one hundred and fifty miles; that of Huger had traveled one hundred miles from the camp on the Pedee, with bad wagons and poor teams, over an exceedingly wretched road. Many marched without shoes over the frozen ground, and their footsteps were marked with blood for many miles. No one can form an idea of the character of the roads in winter, at the South, where the red clay abounds, without passing over them. Until I had done so, I could not appreciate the difficulties experienced by the two armies in this race toward Virginia, particularly in the transportation of baggage wagons or of artillery.

² This view of the Trading Ford, where Greene, with Morgan and his light troops, crossed the Yadkin, is from the east side of the river. It is just at the foot of an island, about a mile and a half below the great bridge on the road to Salisbury. The river is usually fordable between the island and the stakes seen in the picture; below that point the water is deep. I made this sketch just at dawn on a cold frosty morning (January 5, 1849), the moon shining brightly in the west, and the nearer stars glittering in profusion in the deep sky above.

Greene's Resolution to continue his Retreat.

Light Army organized.

Colonel Williams.

Line of March.

^a Feb. 9. Greene, also aware of the inferiority of his forces, called a council of war,^a when it was resolved to avoid a battle, and retreat as rapidly as possible across the Dan into the friendly districts of Virginia. A light army, designed to maneuver in the rear of the Americans and in front of the pursuers, was formed out of Lee's legion, the regular battalion of infantry under Colonel Howard, the cavalry under Colonel Washington, and a small corps of Virginia riflemen under Major Campbell, in all about seven hundred men,



O. H. Williams

the flower of the Southern army. General Morgan, who was worn down by fatigue, and tortured by rheumatism, expressed a desire to quit the service. Greene was embarrassed, for he was at a loss how to supply the place of the brave partisan, and wished him to command the light corps just organized. Morgan declined, and Greene bestowed the honor upon his deputy adjutant general, Colonel Otho Holland Williams, a brave young officer of the Maryland line, who proved himself worthy of the confidence of his commander.¹ Williams entered upon his command on the morning of the tenth, and on that day the whole army moved toward the Dan at a point seventy miles from Guilford Court House.

The two armies moved in lines almost parallel with each other, Greene on the right, and Cornwallis on the left. Colonel Williams, with his light corps, took an intermediate road, to watch the movements of the enemy. Lee's "par-

tisan legion," which maneuvered in the rear, was often in sight of O'Hara's van-guard. Great vigilance was necessary at night to prevent a surprise, and so numerous were the patrols, that each man on the march enjoyed only six hours sleep in forty-eight. Williams always moved at three o'clock in the morning, so as to get a sufficient distance in advance to partake of breakfast, the only meal they were allowed each day. Cornwallis was equally active, and both armies made the extraordinary progress of thirty miles a day.

On the morning of the thirteenth, while a portion of the light troops were eating breakfast at a farm-house, they were informed by a friendly countryman, who came from his plow for the purpose, that the British army had left their direct route, and were only four miles in the rear, upon the road they were marching. Lee dispatched Captain Mark Armstrong, one of the most efficient of his cavalry officers, to reconnoiter, and his whole camp

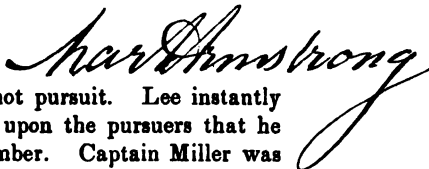
¹ OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS was born in Prince George county, Maryland, in 1748. His ancestors were Welsh, and came to America soon after Lord Baltimore became proprietor of the province of Maryland. He was left an orphan at twelve years of age. He was a resident of Frederick county when the war of the Revolution began, where he entered the military service as lieutenant of a rifle corps under Colonel Michael Cresap, and with that officer he went to Boston. He was afterward promoted to the command of his company. In 1776, he was promoted to major, and fought at Fort Washington with distinction. In that engagement he was wounded and captured, and for some time experienced the horrors of the provost prison of New York. He was afterward exchanged for Major Aokland, captured at Saratoga. During his captivity, he was appointed to the command of a regiment in the Maryland line. He was Gates's adjutant general during the campaign of 1780. When Gates collected the remnant of his army, scattered at Camden, the Marylanders were formed into two battalions, constituting one regiment. To Williams was assigned the command, with John Eager Howard as his lieutenant. When Greene assumed the command of the Southern army, he perceived the value of Williams, and appointed him adjutant general. In Greene's memorable retreat, and the subsequent battle at Guilford, Williams greatly distinguished himself; and at Eutaw Springs he led the celebrated charge which swept the field and gained the bloody victory. Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier; and at the close of the war he received the appointment of collector of customs at Baltimore, which office he held until his death, which occurred on the sixteenth of July, 1794, while on his way to a watering-place for the benefit of his health.

Death of Lee's Bugler.

A Skirmish and Race.

Efforts of both Parties to reach the Dan.

was soon in commotion. Lee, with a considerable force, concealed himself in a wood, to await the approach of the British van. Soon a sharp firing was heard, and Captain Armstrong came dashing by where Lee was posted, with some of Tarleton's cavalry, under Captain Miller, in hot pursuit. Lee instantly gained the road, and made such a fierce charge upon the pursuers that he completely broke their ranks, killing a large number. Captain Miller was made prisoner, and narrowly escaped hanging, for Lee charged him with the murder of his bugler, a lad of eighteen, who, while hastening to Williams, was overtaken and sabred by the British cavalry.¹ Lee was about to hang him upon a tree, when the British van appeared, and Miller was sent on to General Greene as a prisoner of war. In this skirmish eighteen of the British dragoons were killed; the Americans lost only the little bugler. The dead were buried by Cornwallis, an hour afterward.



In the course of the day another encounter occurred. Lee's troops had been deprived of their morning meal, which was half cooked when the countryman gave the alarm. By taking a road shorter and more secluded than the one passed by Williams, he hoped to gain time to dine at a well-stocked farm. He did not apprehend a surprise, for the road was only a by-way. He stationed a few videttes, however, to watch, and well he did. Just as the horses were about to partake of their provender, and the soldiers of corn bread and bacon, the videttes fired an alarm and came dashing toward the main body. Battle or flight was the alternative. Before them was a swollen stream spanned by a single bridge; to gain and hold this, was an object of vital importance to Lee. His infantry were ordered to run and take possession of it, while the cavalry prepared to cover a retreat. The van of the British were surprised at this meeting, not being aware of the proximity of their foe, and while halting to receive orders, Lee's troops had an opportunity to pass the bridge. The British soon followed, and across a cultivated plain both parties sped with all their might. The Americans had the strongest and fleetest horses, and, ascending a hill to its summit, they entered upon the great road leading to Irwin's Ferry, on the Dan. All day long O'Hara, with the van of the British army, continued in pursuit, and was frequently in sight of Lee's legion; sometimes within rifle-shot. Thus again escaped this right arm of the Southern army. Vigilance—sleepless vigilance alone, under Providence, preserved it.

The night that succeeded was dark, cold, and drizzly. Cornwallis and his whole army were directly in the rear of the Americans, and now was his only chance for striking an effective blow, for another day, and Greene might be beyond the Dan. The British commander resolved to push forward with the hope of overtaking his prey before morning. Williams and the wearied troops of Lee were compelled to do the same to avoid an encounter. They were ignorant of the position of Greene, and felt great anxiety for his safety. At eight o'clock, they were much alarmed by the apparition of camp fires, a mile in advance, supposing it to be the camp of Greene, and that Cornwallis would inevitably overtake him. Williams prepared to confront and annoy the enemy while Greene should escape. This sacrifice was unnecessary, for the camp fires were those Greene had lighted two nights before, and had been kept burning by friendly people in the neighborhood. With glad hearts the light troops pressed forward, until assured that the enemy had halted for the night, when they lighted fires, laid down, and slumbered for three or four hours.

Only forty miles now intervened between Cornwallis and the Dan. His rest was brief, and before dawn he was again in pursuit. The roads, passing through a red clay region,

¹ The pony rode by the countryman who gave notice of the approach of the British was much jaded, and when he went back with Armstrong, Lee ordered his young bugler to change horses with the planter. Upon the jaded pony the bugler started for the ranks of Williams in advance. The attacking party, under Captain Miller, soon overtook the bugler, who, too small to carry a sword, was unarmed. The poor boy was cut down, begging for mercy. Lee saw the transaction just as he led his cavalry to the attack. He was greatly exasperated, and held Captain Miller responsible for the deed. That officer charged the cruelty upon the drunkenness of some of his men, but Lee would listen to no excuse. Miller escaped, as we have seen in the text. The bugler was left in the woods by the road side.

Greene's Passage across the Dan.

Passage of the whole Army.

Disappointment of Cornwallis.

were wretched in the extreme, yet the pursued and the pursuers pushed forward rapidly. It was the last stake for the prize, and eagerly both parties contended for it. During the forenoon, only a single hour was allowed by the belligerents for a repast. At noon a loud shout went up from the American host; a courier, covered with mud, his horse reeking with sweat, brought a letter to Colonel Williams from Greene, announcing the joyful tidings that he had *crossed the Dan safely at Irwin's Ferry on the preceding day.*^a

^a Feb. 13, 1781. That shout was heard by O'Hara, and Cornwallis regarded it as ominous of evil. Still he pressed forward. At three o'clock, when within fourteen miles of the river, Williams filed off toward Boyd's Ferry, leaving Lee to maneuver in front of the enemy. Williams reached the shore before sunset, and at dark was landed upon the north side. Lee sent his infantry on in advance, and at twilight withdrew with his cavalry, and galloped for the river. When he arrived, his infantry had just passed in boats with safety. The horses were turned into the stream, while the dragoons embarked on bateaux. At nine o'clock, Lieutenant-colonels Lee and Carrington (the quarter-master general¹), embarked in the last boat, and before midnight the wearied troops were in deep slumber in the bosom of Virginia. During the evening Cornwallis heard of the passage of Greene, and the escape of Williams and his light troops. The Dan was too much swollen to be forded; every boat was moored upon the northern shore, and for the third time a barrier of water interposed between the pursuer and pursued. The prize was lost, and with a heavy heart Cornwallis moved slowly back toward Hillsborough, after resting his wearied troops for a day. He had but one hope left, the promised general rising of the Tories in North Carolina, now that the "rebel army" was driven out of the state. Greene encamped in the rich and friendly district of Halifax county, in Virginia, and there his wearied troops reposed after one of the most skillfully conducted and remarkable retreats on record.^b Upon this

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Edward Carrington was an exceedingly active officer. He had been detached with that portion of the Virginia regiment of artillery retained with the main army, when some of his companies



had attended the Virginia line to the South, and had been taken at the surrender of Charlestown. On reaching North Carolina with De Kalb, Colonel Harrison, commander of the Virginia artillery, unexpectedly arrived and assumed the command. On account of a misunderstanding with Harrison, Carrington retired, and was afterward dispatched by Gates to superintend the exam-

ination of the Roanoke, to ascertain the readiest points of communication across it, to be used either in receiving supplies from Virginia or in retreating from North Carolina. Greene found him engaged in this service. Aided by Captain Smith of the Maryland line, he explored the Dan, and made every preparation for Greene to cross it with his army. Having completed his arrangements, he joined the army near the Yadkin, and was one of the most active of Lee's officers in the retreat to the Dan. At this time he held the office of quarter-master general of the Southern army, which office he filled with honor to himself and the service. He was afterward engaged in the siege of Yorktown, where he commanded the artillery on alternate days with Lamb and Stevens of New York. After the war, he was a representative in Congress from his native state (Virginia). When Aaron Burr was tried for treason, Colonel Carrington was the foreman of the jury. He died on the twenty-eighth of October, 1810, at the age of sixty-one years.—See *Lee's Memoirs*.

² Gordon, Ramsey, Lee, Tarleton, Stedman, &c. The distance traversed by the retreating army was more than two hundred miles. It was in February, when the roads are worse than at any other season of the year, sometimes very muddy, at others frozen hard. On the day after his passage, Greene sent the following dispatch to Governor Jefferson: "On the Dan River, almost fatigued to death, having had a retreat to conduct for upward of two hundred miles, maneuvering constantly in the face of the enemy, to give time for the militia to turn out and get off our stores." Nothing of importance was lost on the way, and baggage and stores were safely crossed to the Virginia side. The condition of the army was wretched respecting clothing. The shoes were generally worn out, the body-clothes much tattered, and no more than a blanket for four men. The light corps were a little better off, yet there was only one blanket for three men. During the retreat from Guilford, the tents were never used; and Greene, in his note to Williams announcing his passage of the Dan, declared that he had not slept more than four hours since he left Guilford. The troops were allowed only one meal a day during the retreat. Before crossing, many of the North Carolina militia deserted; only about eighty remained. General Lillington (who was a col-

Preparations to Recross the Dan.

March of the Army toward Guilford.

Maneuvers of the Belligerents.

movement all eyes were turned, and when the result was known the friends of liberty every where chanted a loud alleluiah.

As we have observed (page 591), Greene soon prepared to recross the Dan, and attempt to retrieve his losses in Carolina. We have considered the first movements toward the accomplishment of this object—the expedition of Lee and Pickens beyond the Haw, the defeat of Pyle, and the retreat of Tarleton to Hillsborough. The success of this enterprise, the arrival in camp of General Stevens, with six hundred Virginia militia, and the necessity of making a demonstration before the Tories should rise, caused Greene to break up his camp after a few days of repose. He recrossed the Dan on the twenty-third,^a and this event being made known, completely dispirited the Loyalists who were disposed to join the royal army. The recruiting service stopped, and the friends of government, awed by the fate of Pyle's corps, stood still. The situation of Cornwallis was full of peril. The country around Hillsborough was speedily stripped of provision by his army,¹ and he found it expedient to fall back and take a new position upon the south side of the Allamance, west of the Haw.^b On the same day, Lee and Pickens, with their respective forces, joined the main body of the American light infantry, and the whole corps crossed the Haw, a little below the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Greene, with the main army augmented by the North Carolina militia, crossed above Buffalo Creek the next morning,^c and encamped between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork. It was an ineligible place; and, hoping to gain time for all his expected re-enforcements to come in, Greene constantly changed his position, and placed Colonel Williams and his light corps between the two armies, now within a score of miles of each other. Tarleton occupied the same relative position to the British army, and he and Williams frequently menaced each other. Finally, the latter having approached to within a mile of the British camp, Tarleton attacked him,^d and a brief but warm skirmish ensued. This encounter was sustained, on the part of the Americans, chiefly by Lee's legion and Preston's riflemen. About thirty of the enemy were killed and wounded. The Americans sustained no loss. In the mean while, Greene's constant change of position, sometimes seen on the Troublesome Creek, and sometimes appearing near Guilford, gave the impression that his force was larger than it really was, and Cornwallis was much perplexed. Well knowing that the American army was augmenting by the arrival of militia, he resolved to bring Greene to action at once. Under cover of a thick fog, he crossed the Allamance,^e hoping to beat up Williams's quarters, then between that stream and Reedy Fork, and surprise Greene. Williams's vigilant patrols discovered the approach of the enemy at about eight o'clock in the morning, on the road to Wetzell's Mill, an important pass on the Reedy Fork. Lee's legion immediately maneuvered in front of the enemy, while Williams withdrew his light troops and other corps of regulars and militia across the stream.^f A covering party, composed of one hundred and fifty Virginia militia, were attacked by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, with one thousand British infantry and a portion of Tarleton's cavalry. The militia boldly returned the fire, and then fled across the creek. The British infantry followed,^g and met onel at the battle on Moore's Creek), was sent with his corps to Cross Creek, to awe the Tories in that quarter.

¹ Stedman says (ii., 335), "Such was the situation of the British army [at Hillsborough], that the author, with a file of men, was obliged to go from house to house throughout the town, to take provisions from the inhabitants, many of whom were greatly distressed by this measure, which could only be justified by extreme necessity."

² These consisted of quite a large body of militia, under Pickens; a corps of cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel William A. Washington; some militia and riflemen, under Colonel Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain; and regular infantry, under Colonel John Eager Howard, who distinguished himself at the Cowpens.

³ Lee says, that in the woods, near the mill, where some riflemen were stationed, was an old log school-house. In this building, twenty-five of the most expert marksmen, who were at King's Mountain, were stationed by Lee, with orders not to engage in the general conflict, but to pick off officers at a distance. When Webster entered the stream, and was slowly fording its rocky bed, the marksmen all discharged their rifles at him in consecutive order, each certain of hitting him, yet not a ball touched him or his horse. Thirty-two discharges were made without effect! The hand of Providence shielded him on that day, but soon he received a fatal wound, in a battle far more fierce and bloody.—Lee's *Memoirs*, 164.

Skirmish on Reedy Fork.

Augmentation of the American Army.

Disposition of the two Armies.

with a severe attack from Campbell's riflemen and Lee's infantry. Webster was quickly re-enforced by some Hessians and chasseurs, and the whole were supported by field-pieces planted by Cornwallis upon an eminence near the banks of the stream. The artillery dismayed the militia, which Williams perceiving, ordered them to retire. He followed with Howard's battalion, flanked by Kirkwood's Delaware infantry and the infantry of Lee's legion, the whole covered by Washington's cavalry.¹ The day was far spent, and Cornwallis did not pursue. In this skirmish the Americans lost about fifty killed and wounded.

As soon as Greene heard of the approach of Cornwallis, he fell back across the head waters of the Haw with the main army, determined not to risk an engagement until the arrival of re-enforcements, now fast approaching. In the mean while he changed his position daily, and Cornwallis, who, unwilling to wear down his army by useless attempts to strike the Americans in detail, had retired slowly to Bell's Mills on the Deep River, about thirteen miles below the present Jamestown, could gain no positive information concerning him.² At length, while encamped at Speedwell's iron-works, on Troublesome Creek, northeast of Guilford, Greene was joined by a brigade of militia from Virginia, under General Lawson; two from North Carolina, under Generals Butler and Eaton; and four hundred regulars, raised for eighteen months.³ He now felt strong enough to grapple with the earl, and the light corps of Colonel Williams was incorporated with the main army.⁴

^a March 10. Crossing the Haw and Reedy Fork, Greene encamped in battle order near Guilford Court House.^b The movements of the two generals during the ten preceding days were of great interest. They were contending for a prize of the greatest value. One false step by either party would have been his ruin. None were more interested spectators than the Tories, from whom Cornwallis fondly anticipated aid. When Greene invited battle, they were utterly amazed, and not one dared lift his arm in defense of the king, the issue being so doubtful.

Cornwallis, in the mean while, had advanced from Deep Reep River toward New Garden (Quaker) meeting-house. Perceiving Greene's disposition to fight, he gladly prepared to meet him. It was an event he had been trying to accomplish for more than six weeks. Sending his baggage back to Bell's Mills, on the evening of the fourteenth, under a proper escort, he moved forward at dawn the next morning,^c with twenty-four hundred

^c March 15. men, chiefly veterans. The vigilant Lee, with his legion, was near New Garden

¹ Gordon relates that Sergeant-major Perry, and Quarter-master-sergeant Lumsford, of Lee's dragoons, performed a very bold maneuver. They were separately detached, with four dragoons, to make observations. They saw sixteen or eighteen British horsemen ride into a farm-house yard in an irregular manner, and some of them dismount. The two young men joined their forces, charged the horsemen, and, in sight of Tarleton's legion, cut every man down. They then retired without a scar!—Gordon, iii., 172.

² Cornwallis first encamped, in this retrograde march, on the plantation of William Rankin, a Whig, and then proceeded to the plantation of Ralph Gorrel, another wealthy patriot. The family were turned out of doors, and sought shelter at a neighbor's house. The soldiers plundered and destroyed until the place was made a desolation. On Sunday, the eleventh of March, the royal army proceeded to the plantation of Reverend Dr. Caldwell, one of the most ardent Whigs in North Carolina, from the time of the Regulator movement. The doctor was then in Greene's camp, at the iron-works on Troublesome Creek. His family left the house, and retired to the smoke-house, where they remained twenty-four hours without food or a bed, exposed to the abuse and profane language of the soldiery. Cornwallis occupied the house of Mr. M'Custin, on the great road from the Court House to Fayetteville. Every thing but the buildings were destroyed on the plantation of Dr. Caldwell. "Every panel of fence on the premises was burned; every particle of provisions was consumed or carried away; every living thing was destroyed, except one old goose; and nearly every square rod of ground was penetrated with their iron ramrods in search of hidden treasure." By command of the officers, the doctor's valuable library and papers—even the family Bible—were burned in an oven near the house. All was made a desolation. Cornwallis had offered a reward of one thousand dollars to any one who should bring Dr. Caldwell into his camp. Dr. Caruthers, in his *Life of Caldwell*, gives many painful descriptions of the sufferings of this good man and his faithful Rachel. Dr. Caldwell died in 1824, when in his hundredth year. His wife died in 1825, at the age of eighty-six.

³ The whole army fit for duty now consisted of 4243 foot, and 161 cavalry. It was composed of Huger's brigade of Virginia continentals, 778; Williams's Maryland brigade, and a company of Delawares, 630; infantry of Lee's partisan legion, 82; total of Continental regulars, 1490. There were 1060 North Carolina militia; 1693 from Virginia; in all, 2753. Washington's light dragoons, 86; Lee's dragoons, 75. To these were added, the next day, 40 horse, under the Marquis of Bretagne, a French nobleman.

Skirmish at New Garden Meeting-house.

Defeat of Tarleton.

Lee driven back by the main British Army

meeting-house when the van of the British army, consisting of cavalry, some light infantry, and yagers, under Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton,¹ approached. Desirous of drawing them as far from the royal army, and as near Greene's as possible, Lee ordered a change of front, and a slow retreat. Hoping to produce a route, Tarleton and his cavalry pressed forward upon Armstrong, who was now in the rear, but with little effect. They made a second charge, and emptied their pistols, when Lee, with the troops of Rudolph and Eggleston, wheeled suddenly, and, in a close column, advanced upon Tarleton. The moment Tarleton saw the



Banastre Tarleton
1. of L. 22

gain the main army. Lee did not pursue, but endeavored to cut off Tarleton's retreat. While pushing forward with eager hope, he met the British van-guard, in the midst of the lofty oaks at the meeting-house. They instantly displayed, and gave his cavalry a terrible volley. Lee ordered a retreat, when his infantry came running up, and delivered a well-directed fire. This was followed by a volley from Campbell's riflemen, who had taken post on the left of the infantry, and a general action ensued. It had continued but a few minutes, when Lee, perceiving that the main body of the British was approaching, ordered a general retreat; his cavalry falling in the rear, to cover the infantry and riflemen.² During this skirmish, Greene prepared for battle.

From Guilford Court House southward, the ground slopes abruptly, terminating in a broken vale, through which winds a small stream. At the time of the engagement, there were pretty broad clearings around the court-house, which extended southward along the great Salisbury road. On either side of the road, and crossing it at some distance from the court-house, was a forest of lofty oaks. Within the southern border of this forest, and con-

¹ BANASTRE TARLETON was born in Liverpool, England, on the twenty-first of August, 1754. He commenced the study of the law, but when the war in America commenced, he entered the army, and came hither with Cornwallis. He served with that officer in all his campaigns in this country, and ended his military career at Yorktown, in 1781. On his return to England, the people of his native town elected him their representative in the House of Commons. In 1798, he married the daughter of the Duke of Ancaster. In 1817, he received the commission of major general, but never entered into active service. At the coronation of George the Fourth, he was created a baronet and Knight of Bath. In person, Tarleton was below the middle size, stout, strong, and heavily built. His legs were very muscular, and great activity marked all of his movements. He had a sanguinary and resentful temper, which made him unmerciful to his enemies.—See *Georgian Era*, London, 1833.

² The inferiority of the horses of the British cavalry was owing to the fact that they had been taken chiefly from the plantations in South Carolina, and could not be compared in size and strength with those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, from whence came those of Lee. The momentum of the latter, when meeting, was much greater than that of the former, and, of course, in a charge they had a great advantage.

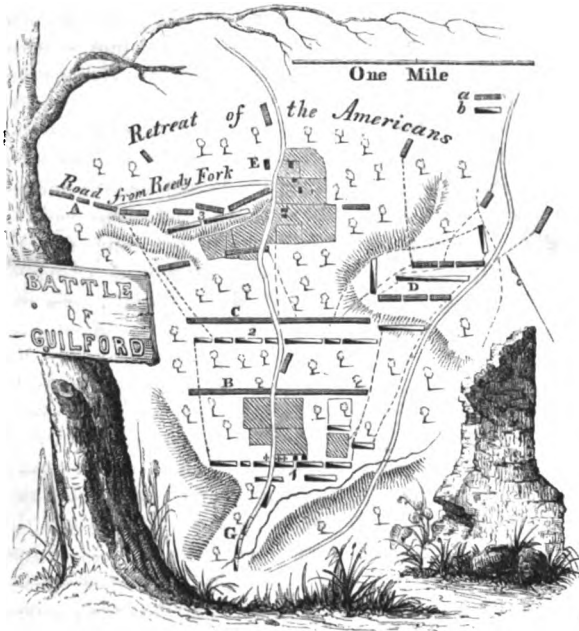
³ About forty of Tarleton's dragoons were killed in this action; and it is believed that about one hundred of the infantry were killed and wounded by the riflemen. The loss of the Americans was considerably less; the exact number was not reported. Lieutenant Snowden, of the legion infantry, was left wounded on the field. Captain Tate, who shared in Howard's memorable charge at the Cowpens, was with Lee, and had his thigh broken.

Disposition of the American Army at Guilford.

Plan of the Battle.

Approach of the British.

coaled behind a fence and some dwarf trees, lay the North Carolina forces (B), militia and



volunteers, and some riflemen, the whole under Generals Butler and Eaton. They were strongly posted, and much was expected of them. Within the woods, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first line, the second line (C) was formed. It was composed of the Virginia militia, under Generals Stevens and Lawson;¹ the right flank of Stevens, and the left flank of Lawson, resting on the road. The Continental infantry, consisting of four regiments, were drawn up near the court-house, in the field, on the north side of the road, about four hundred yards in the rear of the Virginians. The two Continental regiments of Virginia were commanded by Colonel Greene and Lieutenant-colonel Hewes, under Brigadier Huger, and composed the right.

The two Maryland regiments, led by Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-colonel Ford, were under Colonel Williams, and composed the left. The remainder of the troops, under Greene, lay near the court-house. Only Gunby's regiment were experienced soldiers; the remainder were new recruits. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, the old Delaware corps, under Captain Kirkwood, and Colonel Lynch with a battalion of Virginia militia, were posted on the right; Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, and the Virginia riflemen, under Colonel Campbell, were posted on the left, each being ordered to support the respective flanks. Captain Singleton, with two six pounders, took post in the road, a little in advance of the front line, and the remainder of the artillery (only two pieces) were with the rear line, near the court-house.

Such was the disposition of the Americans for battle when the royal army, under Cornwallis, approached. It was about noon; the sun was unclouded, and the air was cool, but not cold. They could be seen for more than a mile, defiling (G) from the Salisbury road into the open fields, and presented a gorgeous spectacle; their scarlet uniforms and bur-

¹ These were chiefly from Augusta and Rockbridge counties, and were descendants of the Scotch-Irish, who first settled that portion of Virginia. One company was composed principally of the congregation of James Waddell, the glorious Blind Preacher of the wilderness along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, whose person and ministration is so eloquently described in Letter VII. of Wirt's *British Spy*. He gave them a farewell address when they were under arms and ready to march. Many of them were left upon the field of Guilford.

NOTE.—*Explanation of the Plan.*—The shaded parallelograms, A, B, and C, and others not lettered, represent American troops; the half shaded ones the British troops. G, the British columns advancing along the road from the direction of the New Garden meeting-house. 1. Their first position, in battle order. B, the first American line, consisting of North Carolina militia, posted at the head of a ravine, in the edge of a wood. C, the second American line, of Virginia militia. A, extending irregularly along the road to Reedy Fork, to its junction with the main road, near the court-house. E, the Maryland and Virginia Continentals, under Huger and Williams. 2. The second position of the British, after the retreat of the Carolinians. 3. The third position of the British, endeavoring to gain Greene's right. D, severe conflict between Lester with the Hessians and the Americans. E, Guilford Court House. The broken chimney in the corner of the map represents all that is left of the old court house.

Commencement of the Battle. Flight of the Carolinians. Bravery of the Virginians and Marylanders. General Stevens.

nished arms strongly contrasting with the somber aspect of the country, then barren of leaves and grass. Having formed their line, they approached slowly and steadily, chiefly in solid column (1), to the contest. As soon as the van appeared, Singleton opened a cannonade upon it, but with little effect. Lieutenant M'Leod, commanding the British artillery, pressed forward along the road, and returned the fire, also with little effect. The battle now commenced. Although Cornwallis knew his inferiority of numbers, and the great advantages of Greene's position, he boldly began what he had so long sought an opportunity for—a general battle with his antagonist. He had brave and veteran troops. The 71st (Fraser's Highland regiment), with the Hessian regiment of Bose, formed his right, under General Leslie; his left consisted of the 23d and 33d regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Webster. The royal artillery, led by M'Leod, and supported by the light infantry of the guards and the yagers, moved along the road in the center. Lieutenant-colonel Norton, with the first battalion of the guards, supported the right, and Brigadier O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, supported the left.

After a brisk cannonade of nearly half an hour, Singleton, pursuant to orders, fell back to the second line. Leslie, with the guards in the center, supported on the left by the Hessians, and on the right by Webster's brigade, immediately advanced upon the North Carolinians, who were concealed behind a fence in the edge of the wood. When the British were within rifle shot, the Carolinians commenced a desultory fire upon them. The British pressed steadily forward, and when at a proper distance, discharged their guns, and with a loud shout rushed forward to a bayonet charge. The North Carolinians wheeled and fled in great confusion, though not a man had been killed, or even wounded. Only a few of General Eaton's men were exempt from the panic, and these, falling back upon Lee's legion and Campbell's riflemen, maintained their ground well. Butler and Eaton, with Colonel Davie, the commissary general, endeavored, but in vain, to rally the fugitives. Throwing away their muskets, knapsacks, and even canteens, they rushed through the woods like frightened deer, until far beyond the point of danger.¹ Had the first line done its duty, the result of the battle must have been far different; for the few that remained with Campbell, together with his corps, maintained their position so manfully that Leslie was obliged to order Lieutenant-colonel Norton into line for his support. The cowardly flight of the Carolinians left Lee's legion exposed to the danger of being cut off from the main body. The Virginians of the second line, upon whom the first had partially retreated, did their duty nobly,² until, being hard pressed by the British, the right of that line, under General Lawson, wheeled round upon the left, and retreated in confusion, back to the line of regulars. Lieutenant-colonel Webster, with the British left, now advanced across the open fields, in the face of a terrible fire from the Americans, and gallantly attacked their right, while Leslie and Bose were in fierce conflict with the American left. The whole of the British infantry were now engaged in action. The Virginians, under Stevens and Lawson, combated vigorously with Webster, while supported on the right by Washington and his cavalry. That officer sent Lynch's battalion of riflemen to fall upon the flank of Webster. Perceiving this, O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, hastened to the support of the left. Webster immediately turned the 33d regiment upon Lynch, and relieved his flank from annoyance.

¹ Dr. Caruthers, speaking from tradition, says that many of the Highlanders, who were in the van, fell near the fence, from behind which the Carolinians rose and fired. Among the Carolinians were some volunteers, under Captain John Forbes, from the Allamance, consisting chiefly of his friends and neighbors. Captain Forbes fired the first gun, and in the retreat received a mortal wound. He was found by his friends thirty hours after the battle. He said that a Tory passed him, and, instead of giving him some water asked for, he kicked him, and called him a rebel. After the death of Forbes, the Tory was found one morning suspended to a tree before his own door.

² General Stevens had posted forty riflemen twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. This had the effect to keep the cowardly in the ranks. General Stevens was shot through the thigh during this first conflict of his brigade with the British, yet he did not quit the field. When the Carolinians retreated, he had the address to prevent his own brigade being panic-stricken, by telling them that the former had been ordered to retreat after the first fire. He ordered the Virginians to open, and allow the fugitives to pass through.

Retreat of Marylanders.

Washington's Charge.

Junction of British Regiments.

Cornwallis's victorious Blow.

O'Hara, advancing at that instant with the remainder of the left, with fixed bayonets, aided by the 71st, under Leslie, compelled first Lawson's and then Stevens's brigade to give way, and the second line of the Americans was broken up.

In the mean while, the action on the right (D), between the regiment of Bose and the riflemen, and the legion infantry, was unremitting. The portion of the British force thus engaged could not be brought to bear upon the third line of the Americans, now well supported by Colonel Washington at the head of his cavalry, and Captain Kirkwood with his brave Delawares. Greene felt hopeful, and, riding along the lines, exhorted his battalions to stand firm, and give the final blow which would secure victory. Webster pressed forward over the ground lately occupied by the Virginia militia (c) to attack the right wing of the Continentals. There stood Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-colonel Howard, with the first Maryland regiment, ready to do battle. The British, with great courage, rushed forward, and engaged in a close fire. The Marylanders, nobly sustained by Howe's Virginia regiment and Kirkwood's Delawares, received the shock so valiantly, that Webster recoiled and fell back across a ravine, where, upon an elevation, he awaited the arrival of the remainder of his line. Very soon Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, with the first battalion of guards, followed by two other small corps, swept across the open fields, and attacked the second Maryland regiment, under Colonel Ford, which was supported by Captain Finley with two six pounders. Colonel Williams expected to observe bravery on the part of his second regiment, like that of the first, and hastened toward it to combine his whole force in repelling the attack, but he was disappointed. It gave way at the first shock, fled, and abandoned the two field-pieces to the enemy. Stuart pursued, when Gunby, who had been left free by the recession of Webster to the other side of the ravine, wheeled upon him, and a very severe conflict ensued. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, who was upon the flank of the Continentals, pressed forward with his cavalry, and Stuart was soon compelled to give way. With sword in hand, followed by his cavalry, and Howard and his infantry with fixed bayonets, Washington furiously charged the British, and put them to flight.¹ Stuart was slain by Captain Smith of the first Maryland regiment, the two field-pieces were retaken, and great slaughter ensued. The whole of Stuart's corps would have been killed or made prisoners, had not Cornwallis, who came down from his post where the Salisbury road enters the wood a little south of the court-house, ordered M'Leod to draw up his artillery and pour grape-shot upon the pursuers. This cannonade endangered friends as well as foes, for it was directed in the face of the flying guards. It was effectual, however; and Washington and Howard, perceiving two regiments of the enemy, one on the right, and the other on the left, approaching, withdrew to the line of Continentals.

When Webster perceived the effect of Stuart's attack upon Ford, he recrossed the ravine, and fell upon Hawes and Kirkwood. The 71st and 23d (the two regiments discovered by Washington) were soon connected in the center by O'Hara, who, though severely wounded, kept his horse, and, rallying the remnant of the guards, filled up the interval between the left and right wing. The fierce contest upon the British right still continued, with some advantage to the enemy. Norton, believing Bose's regiment sufficient to maintain the conflict, joined the 71st, in preparation for a final blow upon the Continentals. Lee's legion infantry and Campbell's riflemen immediately attacked Bose with new vigor. Bose and his major, De Buy, fought gallantly, and by example encouraged their men. Leaving Campbell to continue the contest, Lee hastened, with his infantry, to rejoin his cavalry, whom he had left on the flank with the Continentals. On his way, he found Norton with the guards upon the eminence occupied by Lawson's brigade. He attacked Norton, and driving him back upon Bose, withdrew with Campbell, and joined the Continentals near the

¹ It was at this time that Francisco, a brave Virginian, cut down eleven men in succession with his broadsword. One of the guards pinned Francisco's leg to his horse with a bayonet. Forbearing to strike, he assisted the assailant to draw his bayonet forth, when, with terrible force, he brought down his broadsword, and cleft the poor fellow's head to his shoulders! Horrible, indeed, were many of the events of that battle; the recital will do no good, and I will forbear.

End of the Battle.	Retreat of the Americans.	View of the Battle-ground.	Loss of the Combatants.
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court-house. The flight of the North Carolinians, the retreat of the second Maryland regiment, the scanty supply of ammunition, and the junction of the two wings of the British army, convinced Greene that there was no hope of success in a conflict with Webster, who was now pressing forward in good order, with a prospect of speedily turning the American right. He had resolved, before the battle, not to risk the annihilation of his army, and he now determined to retreat before it should be too late. Ordering the brave veteran Colonel Greene, with his Virginia regiment, to take post in the rear, and cover a retreat, the Americans withdrew in regular order, leaving their artillery behind, for almost every horse had been slain. The 71st and 23d British regiments, supported by Tarleton's cavalry, commenced a pursuit; but Cornwallis, unwilling to risk such a movement, soon recalled them.¹ Thus ended the battle at Guilford Court House; a battle, in its effects highly ben-

VIEW OF THE BATTLE-GROUND.²

eficial to the cause of the patriots, though resulting in a nominal victory for the British army. Both of the belligerents displayed consummate courage and skill, and the flight of the North Carolinians from a very strong position is the only reproach which either army deserved. It doubtless caused the loss of victory to the Americans. Marshall justly observes, that "no battle in the course of the war reflects more honor on the courage of the British troops than that of Guilford." Greene had a much superior force, and was very advantageously posted. The number of the Americans engaged in the action was quite double that of the British. The battle lasted almost two hours, and many brave men fell upon that field of carnage.³ The British claimed the victory; it was victory at fearful cost and small

¹ Ramsay, Gordon, Marshall, Lee, &c.

² This view is from the eminence southwest of the site of old Guilford Court House, near the junction of the roads running one north to Bruce's Cross-roads, the other west to Salem. The log-house, partially clap-boarded, seen on the right, was uninhabited. It stands near the woods which intervene between Martinsville and the plantation of Mr. Hotchkiss. In the distance, near the center, is seen Martinsville, and between it and the foreground is the rolling vale, its undulations furrowed by many gulleys. In an open field, on the left of the road, seen in the hollow toward the left of the picture, was the fiercest part of the battle, where Washington charged upon the guards. Upon the ridge extending to the right, through the center of the picture, the second line (Virginians) was posted. The fence running to the right from Martinsville, down into the valley on the right, denotes the Salisbury road. The snow was falling very fast when I made this sketch, and distant objects were seen with great difficulty. Our point of view, at the old log-house, is the extreme westerly boundary of the field of controversy.

³ The British lost in killed and wounded over six hundred men, besides officers. Colonel Stuart, of the guards, and Lieutenant O'Hara (the general's brother), of the royal artillery, were killed. Lieutenant-colonel Webster was severely wounded; so also were Captains Schultz and Maynard, of the guards, and Captain Wilmouski and Ensign De Trott, of the Hessian regiment. They all died of the wounds received in the battle, during the march of the army to Wilmington. The whole army deeply lamented the loss of

Effect of the Battle.

Withdrawal of Cornwallis.

Pursued by Greene.

American Women at Prayer.

advantage.¹ In some degree, the line of the Scotch ballad might be applied to the combatants,

"They baith did fight, they baith did beat, and baith did rin awa'."

The Americans retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork, and crossed that stream about three miles from the field of action. Tarrying a short time to collect the stragglers, they retired to Speedwell's iron-works, on Troublesome Creek, ten miles distant from Guilford. Cornwallis remained upon the battle-ground that night, burying the dead. The next morn-

^a March, 1781. ing he proceeded as far as New Garden meeting-house. On the eighteenth,^a

he issued a proclamation boasting of his complete victory, calling upon the Loyalists to join him in restoring good government, and offering pardon to the rebels. Had he remained, this proclamation might have given confidence to the Tories, but the very next day^b he decamped, leaving behind him between seventy and eighty wounded

^c March 19. British officers and soldiers in the New Garden meeting-house, which he used for a hospital. He also left behind him all the American prisoners who were wounded, and retreated as speedily as possible southward, toward Cross Creek (Fayetteville), evidently afraid that Greene would rally his forces and attack him. Greene, supposing the earl would advance, had made preparations to confront him; as soon as he was informed of his

^c March 20. retreat, he eagerly commenced a pursuit,^c after writing a letter to the Quakers at New Garden, desiring them to take care of the sick and wounded of both parties. Notwithstanding heavy rains and wretched roads, Greene pressed after his lordship with great alacrity, as far as Ramsay's Mills, on the Deep River, in Chatham county. On the way, frequent skirmishes occurred between the light troops of the two armies, and Greene arrived at the earl's encampment, on the Deep River, only a few hours after Cornwallis had left it.

Webster, for he was one of the most efficient officers in the British service. He was the son of an eminent physician in Edinburgh, and came to America with Cornwallis. During the operations in New Jersey, in 1777, he was very active. In 1779, he had charge of Fort La Fayette at Verplanck's Point, and sustained the attack of General Robert Howe upon that post. He commanded the right wing in the battle at Camden; and, as we have seen, bore a conspicuous part in the pursuit of Greene previous to the battle in which he received his death wound. Webster was buried near Elizabeth, on the Cape Fear River, now Bladen county. Captains Goodrych, Maitland, Peter, Lord Douglas, and Eichenbrocht, who were wounded, recovered. Among the wounded was Adjutant Fox, a brother of the eminent statesman, Charles J. Fox.

The Americans lost in killed and wounded about three hundred of the Continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia. Among the killed was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line; and among the wounded were Generals Stevens and Huger. Of the North Carolina militia, six were killed and three wounded, and five hundred and fifty-two missing. Of the Virginia militia, two hundred and ninety-four were missing. The missing, "as is always the case with militia after a battle," according to Lee, might be found "safe at their own firesides." By these desertions, Greene's army suffered a greater diminution than that of the British, whose loss in action was so much greater. They did not, however, desert "by thousands," as the editor of the *Pictorial History of England* avers.

Events such as are generally overlooked by the historian, but which exhibit a prominent trait in the character of the people of North Carolina, occurred during this battle, and deserve great prominence in a description of the gloomy picture, for they form a few touches of radiant light in the midst of the somber coloring. While the roar of cannon boomed over the country, groups of women, in the Buffalo and Allamance congregations, who were under the pastoral charge of Dr. Caldwell, might have been seen engaged in common prayer to the God of Hosts for his protection and aid; and in many places, the solitary voice of a pious woman went up to the Divine Ear, with the earnest pleadings of faith, for the success of the Americans. The battling hosts were surrounded by a cordon of *praying women* during those dreadful hours of contest!

¹ This victory of Cornwallis was considered by many British statesmen equivalent to a defeat. In the Parliament, the intelligence of the battle produced a great sensation. Ministers were dissatisfied, and the opposition had a theme for just denunciation against the policy of government. Fox moved in committee, "That his Majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies;" and in the course of an animated debate, he declared, "Another such victory will ruin the British army." William Pitt, the successor of his father, the Earl of Chatham, inveighed eloquently against a further prosecution of the war. He averred that it was "wicked, barbarous, unjust, and diabolical—conceived in injustice, nurtured in folly—a monstrous thing that contained every characteristic of moral depravity and human turpitude—as mischievous to the unhappy people of England as to the Americans." Fox's motion was rejected by one hundred and seventy-two against ninety-nine.

Cornwallis's March to Wilmington. Pursued by Greene. Greene's Approach to Camden. New Garden Meeting-house.

Before leaving Winnsborough, Cornwallis sent an order to Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charleston, to dispatch a competent force by water to Wilmington, to hold that post as a *dépôt* for supplies for the royal army in North Carolina. Balfour detached Major Craig upon that service, who drove the American militia from Wilmington, and took possession of it on the same day when General Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford. After the battle at Guilford Court House, Cornwallis, observing the backwardness of the Loyalists in that vicinity, and the scarcity of provisions, determined to fall back to Cross Creek, where, he knew, had been a population of loyal Scotchmen, and there make his head-quarters, not doubting that his army could be easily supplied with stores, by water, from Major Craig at Wilmington. In these expectations the earl was bitterly disappointed. The Loyalists were comparatively few, a large portion having been changed to either active or passive Whigs; provisions were very scarce, and no communication could be had with Major Craig. Greene was in eager pursuit, and the earl had no alternative but to continue his march to Wilmington. This he performed along the southwestern side of the Cape Fear, and arrived at Wilmington on the seventh of April.^a He had got so much the start of Greene, that the latter relinquished pursuit at Ramsay's Mills,^b where he resolved to allow his troops to repose and recruit, as far as circumstances would allow. Greene dismissed all of the militia except a few North Carolinians, yet he could not afford his army such comforts as he desired.¹

At the suggestion of Lieutenant-colonel Lee, Greene resolved to march back into South Carolina and take post at Camden with the main army, while the light troops should join Marion on the Pedee, and beat up all the British posts between Camden and Ninety-Six, and Charleston. Pursuant to this plan, he left Ramsay's and marched toward Camden, to confront Lord Rawdon, then in command there. Cornwallis, as we have already noticed in chapter xxi., soon afterward marched into Virginia, while Greene and his brave partisan allies of the South regained all that had been lost in previous conflicts.

Let us here leave the two commanders and their armies for a time, and resume our journey toward King's Mountain and the Cowpens. We shall meet them both frequently, in our future journeys in the Carolinas and Georgia.

I left the Guilford battle-ground and the hospitable cottage of Mr. Hotchkiss, at noon, the snow falling fast. At four miles distant, on the Salisbury road, I reached the venerable New Garden meeting-house, yet standing within the stately oak forest where Lee and Tarleton met. It is a frame building with a brick foundation. It was meeting-day, and the congregation were yet in session. Tying Charley to a drooping branch, I entered softly. A larger number than is usually present at "week-day meetings" had congregated, for a young man of the sect from Randolph county, thirty miles distant, and a young woman of Guilford, had signified their intentions to declare themselves publicly, on that day, man and wife. They had just risen before the elders and people when I glided into a seat near the door, and with a trembling voice the bridegroom had begun the expression of the marriage vow. His weather-bronzed features betokened the man of toil in the fields, and strongly contrasted with the blonde and delicate face, and slender form of her who, with the downcast eyes of modesty, heard his pledge of love and protection, and was summoning



NEW GARDEN MEETING-HOUSE.

¹ "No magazines were opened for our accommodation," says Lee in his *Memoirs*; "rest to our wearied limbs was the only boon within his gift. Our tattered garments could not be exchanged; nor could our worn out shoes be replaced. The exhilarating cordial was not within his reach, nor wholesome provision in abundance within his grasp. The meager beef of the pine barrens, with corn ash-cakes, was our food, and water our drink; yet we were content; we were more than content—we were happy."—Page 189.

Quaker Marriage.

A Centenarian Preacher.

His Blessing.

Jamestown.

Ridge Roads.

all her energy to make her kindred response. I had often observed the simple marriage ceremony of the Quakers, but never before did the beauty of that ritual appear so marked with the sublimity of pure simplicity.¹

At the close of the meeting, I learned from one of the elders that a Friend's boarding-school was near, and, led by curiosity, I visited it. The building is of brick, spacious, and well arranged. It was under the superintendence of Thomas Hunt, a son of Nathan Hunt, an eminent Quaker preacher. An incidental remark concerning my relationship with Quakers, made while conversing with the wife of the superintendent, caused her to inquire whether I had ever heard of her father-in-law. I replied in the affirmative, having heard him preach when I was a boy, and expressed the supposition that he had long ago gone to his rest. "Oh no," she replied, "he is in the adjoining room," and leading the way, I was introduced to the patriarch of ninety-one years, whose voice, still vigorous, I had listened to when I was a lad of twelve years. He remembered well when the New Garden meeting-house was built, and resided in the neighborhood when the wounded and dying, from the field of Guilford, were brought there. Although physical infirmities were weighing heavily upon him, his mind appeared clear and elastic. When I was about departing, and pressed his hand with an adieu, he placed the other upon my head and said, "Farewell! God's peace go with thee!" I felt as if I had received the blessing of a patriarch indeed; and for days afterward, when fording dangerous streams and traversing rough mountain roads, that uttered blessing was in my mind, and seemed like a guardian angel about my path. Gloomy unbelief may deride, and thoughtless levity may laugh in ridicule at such an intimation, but all the philosophy of the schools could not give me such exquisite feelings of security in the hands of a kind Providence as that old man's blessing imparted.

The storm yet continued, and the kind matron of the school gave me a cordial invitation to remain there until it should cease; but, anxious to complete my journey, I rode on to Jamestown, an old village situated upon the high southwestern bank of the Deep River, nine miles from New Garden meeting-house, and thirteen miles above Bell's Mills, where Cornwallis had his encampment before the Guilford battle. The country through which I had passed from Guilford was very broken, and I did not reach Jamestown until sunset. It is chiefly inhabited by Quakers, the most of them originally from Nantucket and vicinity; and as they do not own slaves, nor employ slave labor, except when a servant is working to purchase his freedom, the land and the dwellings presented an aspect of thrift not visible in most of the agricultural districts in the upper country of the Carolinas.

I passed the night at Jamestown, and early in the morning departed for the Yadkin. Snow was yet falling gently, and it laid three inches deep upon the ground; a greater quantity than had fallen at one time, in that section, for five years. Fortunately, my route from thence to Lexington, in Davidson county, a distance of twenty miles, was upon a fine ridge road² a greater portion of the way, and the snow produced but little inconvenience. Toward noon, the clouds broke, and before I reached Lexington (a small village on the west

¹ The marriage ceremony of the Quakers is very simple. The parties give notice at a monthly meeting of the society that on a certain day they intend to enter into the holy estate of matrimony. On the day appointed, they, with their friends, repair to the meeting-house, where they arise before the whole congregation and say, the bridegroom first, "I, A B, do take thee, C D, to be my wedded wife, and promise, through Divine assistance, to be unto thee a loving husband, until separated by death." The bride then repeats the same, only changing the person. A certificate of the marriage is then read by a person appointed for the purpose, and is signed by as many present as may choose to do so. These simple proceedings compose the whole marriage ceremony, which is as binding in the sight of God and man as the most elaborate formalities of priest or magistrate. The groomsmen and bridesmaids are called *waiters* among the Quakers of New Garden.

² These ridge roads, or rather ridges upon which they are constructed, are curious features in the upper country of the Carolinas. Although the whole country is hilly upon every side, these roads may be traveled a score of miles, sometimes, with hardly ten feet of variation from a continuous level. The ridges are of sand, and continue, unbroken by the ravines which cleave the hills in all directions for miles, upon almost a uniform level. The roads following their summits are exceedingly sinuous, but being level and hard, the greater distance is more easily accomplished than if they were constructed in straight lines over the hills. The country has the appearance of vast waves of the sea suddenly turned into sand.

Journey to the Yadkin.

Salisbury.

A Night with a Cotton-planter near Concord.

side of Abbott's Creek, a tributary of the Yadkin), at half past two in the afternoon, not a flake of snow remained. Charley and I had already lunched by the margin of a little stream, so I drove through the village without halting, hoping to reach Salisbury, sixteen miles distant, by twilight. I was disappointed; for the red clay roads prevailed, and I only reached the house of a small planter, within a mile of the east bank of the Yadkin, just as the twilight gave place to the splendors of a full moon and myriads of stars in a cloudless sky. From the proprietor I learned that the Trading Ford, where Greene and Morgan crossed when pursued by Cornwallis, was only a mile distant. As I could not pass it on my way to Salisbury in the morning, I arose at four o'clock, gave Charley his breakfast, and at earliest dawn stood upon the eastern shore of the Yadkin, and made the sketch printed upon page 601. The air was frosty, the pools were bridged with ice, and before the sketch was finished, my benumbed fingers were disposed to drop the pencil. I remained at the ford until the east was all aglow with the radiance of the rising sun, when I walked back, partook of some corn-bread, muddy coffee, and spare-ribs, and at eight o'clock crossed the Yadkin at the great bridge, on the Salisbury road.¹ The river is there about three hundred yards wide, and was considerably swollen from the melting of the recent snows. Its volume of turbid waters came rolling down in a swift current, and gave me a full appreciation of the barrier which Providence had there placed between the Republicans and the royal armies, when engaged in the great race described in this chapter.

From the Yadkin the roads passed through a red clay region, which was made so miry by the melting snows that it was almost eleven o'clock when I arrived at Salisbury. This village, of over a thousand inhabitants, is situated a few miles from the Yadkin, and is the capital of Rowan county, a portion of the "Hornet's Nest" of the Revolution. It is a place of considerable historic note. On account of its geographical position, it was often the place of rendezvous of the militia preparing for the battle-fields; of various regular corps, American and British, during the last three years of the war; and especially as the brief resting-place of both armies during Greene's memorable retreat. Here, too, it will be remembered, General Waddell had his head-quarters for a few days, during the "Regulator war." I made diligent inquiry, during my tarry in Salisbury, for remains of Revolutionary movements and localities, but could hear of none.² The Americans, when fleeing before Cornwallis, encamped for a night about half a mile from the village, on the road to the Yadkin; the British occupied a position on the northern border of the town, about an eighth of a mile from the court-house. I was informed that two buildings, occupied by officers, had remained until two or three years ago, when they were demolished. Finding nothing to invite a protracted stay at Salisbury, I resumed the reins, and rode on toward Concord. The roads were very bad, and the sun went down, while a rough way, eight miles in extent, lay between me and Concord. Night approached, brilliant and frosty; the deep mud of the road soon became half frozen, and almost impassable, and I was beginning to speculate upon the chances of obtaining comfortable lodgings short of the village, when a large sign-board by the way-side indicated a place of entertainment, and relieved my anxiety. Such an apparition is so rare in the upper country of the Carolinas, where the traveler must depend upon the hospitality of the planters, that it is noteworthy. Passing through a lane, I came to the spacious mansion of Mr. Martin Phifer, one of the largest planters in Cabarras county. It is in the midst of one of the finest districts of North Carolina for the production of upland cotton. Practical observations upon that great staple of the South was the chief topic of our evening's conversation, which was protracted to the "small hours of the morning;"

¹ The Yadkin rises in North Carolina, on the east of the Alleghany range, and flows east and southeast into South Carolina. A few miles below the Narrows, in Montgomery county, it receives the Rocky River, and from thence to its mouth at Winyaw Bay, near Georgetown, it bears the name of the Great Pedee.

² An ancient stone wall exists at Salisbury, but tradition has no knowledge of its origin. It is laid in cement, and plastered on both sides. It is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and twenty-two inches thick. The top of the wall is a foot below the surface of the earth at present. It has been traced for three hundred feet. Six miles from Salisbury there is a similar wall, and may connect with the other. Conjecture alone can read its history. May it not be a part of the circumvallation of a city of the mound builders?

A Patriot's Grave at the Red Hills.

Picturesque Scenery.

Arrival at Charlotte.

Ancient Church and Congregation.

and I left his hospitable abode a wiser man than when I entered it. Mr. Phifer is a grand-nephew of John Phifer, one of the leading patriots of Mecklenburg, whose remains lie buried at the Red Hills, three miles west of Concord. A rough, mutilated slab covers the grave of the patriot. Tradition avers that when the British army was on its march from Charlotte to Salisbury, a fire was built upon the stone by the soldiers, in contempt for the patriot's memory.

Departing from the post-road, a little distance from Mr. Phifer's, I traversed a nearer, though a rougher route to Charlotte than through Concord, passing that village about three miles to the westward, close by the Red Hills. The scenery through this whole region is extremely picturesque. Wooded hills, deep ravines, broad cultivated slopes and uplands, and numerous water-courses, present diversified and pleasing pictures at every turn of the sinuous road. In summer, when the forests and fields are clad, the roads hard, and the deep shades of the ravines and water-courses desirable, I can not imagine a more agreeable tour for a traveler of leisure than that portion of my journey from the Roanoke to the Cowpens, across the Broad River, back to the eastern side of the Catawba, and so down to the verge of the low country, near Camden. In the vicinity of Concord are the head-waters of several tributaries of the Yadkin and Catawba, and between that village and Charlotte I crossed the Coddle, Stony, and Mallard Creeks, and one of the main branches of Rocky River. The latter, which is a considerable tributary of the Yadkin, is here a small stream, but very turbulent, and broken into numerous cascades. I reached Charlotte at half past three o'clock, having traveled only twenty-one miles since morning.¹ It was Saturday,^a and I eagerly coveted the Sabbath's rest, after a week of excessive toil. ^a Jan. 6, 1849. ley, too, was jaded, and needed repose; for a large portion of the circuitous journey from Hillsborough hither had been through a region abounding in red clay, saturated with rains and melting snows.

Charlotte has historical notoriety, chiefly on account of its being the place where a convention of patriots assembled in 1775, and by a series of resolutions virtually declared themselves and those they represented free and independent of the British crown. To this event I particularly directed my inquiries, but was singularly unsuccessful. Two gentlemen, to whom I had letters of introduction from President Polk, were absent. I called upon another, whom he named, but could not obtain information of much value. Being an entire stranger, I knew not unto whom to apply, and I left Charlotte on Monday, with feelings of disappointment not to be expressed. Since my visit, I have received varied and important information from James W. Osborne, Esq., superintendent of the Branch Mint, and others in that vicinity, which compensates me, in a measure, for my failure.

By the merest accident, I ascertained that the mill upon Sugar Creek, two or three miles

¹ Charlotte is the capital of Mecklenburg county, and contains about fourteen hundred inhabitants. It is pleasantly situated upon a rolling plain, on the east side of the Sugar or Sugaw Creek, a small tributary of the Catawba. It is in the midst of the gold region of North Carolina, and here a branch of the United States Mint is established. Eastward of Charlotte are several productive gold mines, which are now but little worked, partly on account of the more inviting field for miners in California. The first settlers in Mecklenburg county were principally the descendants of the Puritans, Scotch-Irish, and Roundheads; and, near Charlotte, the "Sugar Creek Congregation," the first on the Catawba, was established. I passed the brick meeting-house about three miles from the village, where worshiped the PARENT of the seven congregations from which came delegates to meet in political convention in 1775.* This meeting-house is the third erected by the Sugar Creek Congregation. The first stood about half a mile west from this, and the second a few feet south of the present edifice. In the second, the mother of Andrew Jackson, late president of the United States, worshiped for a-while, when she took refuge in the Sugar Creek Congregation, after the massacre of Burford's regiment, near her residence on the Waxhaw, in May, 1780. Near the site of the first church is the ancient burying-ground. Therein is the grave of Alexander Craighead, the first minister of the congregation. His only monument are two sassafras-trees, one at the head, the other at the foot of his grave, which are the living poles used as a bier for his coffin, and stuck in the ground to mark, temporarily, his resting-place.†

* These were Sugar Creek, Steel Creek, Providence, Hopewell, Center, Rocky River, and Poplar Tent.—Foots, p. 190.

† Ibid., p. 192.

Colonel Polk's Mill.

The People of Mecklenburg.

Scheme for a Republican Assembly.

A Convention called

south of Charlotte, and known as Bissell's, was formerly the property of Colonel Thomas Polk, one of the active patriots in that section. Early on Monday morning, I rode down to the mill. Informed that it had been materially altered since the Revolution, I did not stop to sketch the locality. It is an interesting spot, for there a portion of Cornwallis's army was encamped, and the mill was used during the cantonment there, to supply his troops with flour.

Let us glance at the historical events which render Charlotte famous in our annals. While public sentiment in North Carolina and its sister colonies was making rapid strides toward a bold resistance to augmenting oppressions, the people of Mecklenburg and vicinity, between the Yadkin and the Catawba, were neither indifferent nor inactive, notwithstanding their distance from the sea-board. There was no printing-press in the upper country; and as no regular post traversed that region, a newspaper was seldom seen there among the people. They were in the habit of assembling at stated places to hear printed hand-bills from abroad read, or to obtain verbal information of passing events. Charlotte was a central point for these assemblages, and there the leading men in that section often met at Queen's Museum or College, the Fanéuil Hall of North Carolina, to discuss the exciting topics of the day. These meetings were at first irregular, and without system. It was finally agreed that Thomas Polk, a large property-holder in the vicinity of Charlotte, colonel of the militia of Mecklenburg, a man of great excellence of character, extensive knowledge of the people around him, and deservedly popular, should be authorized to call a convention of the representatives of the people whenever circumstances should appear to require it.¹ It was also agreed that such representatives should consist of two from each captain's company, to be chosen by the people of the several militia districts, and that their decisions, when thus legally convened, should be binding upon the people of Mecklenburg. This step was in accordance with the recommendation of the eleventh article of the *American Association*, adopted by the first Continental Congress (see page 268), and now generally acted upon throughout the colonies.

When Governor Martin made an attempt to prevent the assembling of a Provincial Congress at Newbern,^a the people were much exasperated, for they remembered his arbitrary proceedings in dissolving the last Provincial Legislature, after a session of four days, and before any important business had been transacted. The excitement throughout the province was intense. While the public mind was thus inflamed, Colonel Polk issued a notice to the elected committee-men of the county, to assemble in the court-house^b at Charlotte toward the close of May. On what precise day they first met, can not now be positively determined. They appointed Abraham Alexander,^c an esteemed citizen,

¹ Colonel Polk was great uncle to the late President Polk. His brother, Ezekiel Polk, whose name appears quite conspicuous in the annals of Mecklenburg county, was the president's grandfather. "The house in which President Polk is supposed to have been born," says Honorable David L. Swain, in a letter to me of recent date, "is about two hundred yards south of Sugar Creek, and eleven miles south of Charlotte, on the lands of Nathan Orr. The house shown to me is of logs, was never weather-boarded, and is covered with a decaying shingle roof. It is formed by joining two houses together."

² The court-house was a frame building, about fifty feet square, placed upon brick pillars, ten or twelve feet in height, with a stair-way on the outside. It stood in the center of the town, at the intersection of the two principal streets, now the village green. The lower part was a market-house; the upper part was used for public purposes. Stedman says it was a "large brick building," and Lee says it was of stone. Tradition of undoubted character pronounces it such as I have described. The village at that time contained about twenty houses.

³ Abraham Alexander was a leading magistrate in Mecklenburg county, and represented it in the Colonial Legislature. At the time of the convention, of which he was appointed chairman, he was almost threescore years of age. He died on the twenty-third of April, 1786, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was buried in the old church-yard, near Charlotte, where a plain slab, with an inscription, marks his grave.

Elijah Alexander, a relative of the chairman, and who was present when the Mecklenburg Resolutions were read to the people at Charlotte, died at the residence of his son-in-law, James Osborne, Esq., in Cornersville, Tennessee, on the eleventh of November, 1850, at the age of ninety years. He voted for every president of the United States, from Washington to Taylor. His widow, to whom he was married in 1784, was yet living in 1851.

who had served them in the Colonial Legislature, chairman, and Dr. Ephraim Brevard,¹ a scholar and unwavering patriot, clerk or secretary. According to tradition, intelligence of the affairs at Lexington and Concord, in Massachusetts, was received during the session of the delegates, and added greatly to the excitement among the people, who had assembled in great numbers around the court-house, eager to know the resolves of their representatives within. The principal speakers on the occasion were Dr. Brevard, Reverend Hezekiah J. Balch, William Kennon (a lawyer of Salisbury), and Colonel Polk. The first three gentlemen were appointed a committee to prepare suitable resolutions, and on the thirty-first of May, 1775, the following preamble and resolves were unanimously adopted :

"Whereas, By an address presented to his majesty by both Houses of Parliament in February last, the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king and Parliament are annulled and vacated, and the former civil Constitution of these colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some degree for the exigencies of this county in the present alarming period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following resolves, viz. :

I. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown to be exer-

¹ Ephraim Brevard was one of the "seven sons" of his widowed mother who were "in the rebel army." * He graduated at Princeton, and, after pursuing medical studies a proper time, settled as a physician in Charlotte. His talents commanded universal respect, and he was a leader in the movements in Mecklenburg toward independence, in 1775. When the British army invaded the Southern States, Dr. Brevard entered the Continental army as a surgeon, and was taken prisoner at Charleston, in May, 1780. Broken by disease, when set at liberty, Dr. Brevard returned to Charlotte, sought the repose of privacy in the family of his friend, John M'Knitt Alexander, who had succeeded him as clerk of the Mecklenburg Committee, and there soon expired. His remains were buried in Hopewell grave-yard. No stone marks his resting-place, and "no man living," says Mr. Foote, "can lead the inquirer to the spot." He was a remarkable man, and, as the undoubted author of the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* and Constitution of Government, deserves the reverence of all patriots. His pen was often employed in the cause of freedom, and he was probably the most accomplished writer, of his day, in Western Carolina.

Minute biographical sketches of these leading patriots of Mecklenburg, if they could be obtained, would make an exceedingly useful and entertaining volume. Of the general character of the people in that vicinity at the period of the Revolution, J. G. M. Ramsey, M.D., the historian of Tennessee, who has studied the character of the Mecklenburg patriots with great care, writes thus appreciatingly to me, under date of January 19, 1852 : "In regard to the people, then residing between the Yadkin and the Catawba, it is almost impossible to conceive, at this day, the incalculable benefits the country received from their immigration and settlement in it ; nor the happy influences, secular, civil, religious, and literary, they uniformly diffused in their respective neighborhoods. To these are we indebted, in a great measure, for the enterprise, industry, thrift, skill, frugality, love of order, sobriety, regard for wholesome laws, family and social government, establishment of schools, churches, and a high standard of education and training for youth, attachment to well-regulated liberty, and the representative principle in government."

² The following are the names of the leading patriots in Mecklenburg, and reported to have been members of the Mecklenburg Committee, who met in the Convention at Charlotte: ABRAHAM ALEXANDER, EPHRAIM BREVARD, JOHN M'KNITT ALEXANDER, ADAM ALEXANDER, HEZEKIAH ALEXANDER, EZRA ALEXANDER, CHARLES ALEXANDER, WRIGHTSTILL AVERY, HEZEKIAH J. BALCH, THOMAS POLK, JOHN FLENNIKIN, JAMES HARRIS, NEIL MORRISON, DAVID REESE, ROBERT HARRIS, senior, RICHARD BARRY, DUNCAN OCHILTREE, JOHN FORD, WILLIAM KENNON, SAMUEL MARTIN, ZACHEUS WILSON, senior,† BENJAMIN PATTON, ROBERT IRWIN, JOHN DAVIDSON, JOHN PFIFER, HENRY DOWNES, WILLIAM GRAHAM, MATTHEW M'CLURE, JOHN QUEARY, WILLIAM WILSON.

* When Cornwallis was in pursuit of Greene, he passed near the plantation of the Widow Brevard, and ordered it to be desolated. When asked why he was so cruel toward a poor widow, he replied, "She has seven sons in the rebel army!" What higher compliment could that noble mother have received.

† The Wilsons were all staunch Scotch-Irish, and sturdy Republicans. The wife of Robert Wilson, a brother of Zacheus like the Widow Brevard, had "seven sons in the rebel army," and also her husband. When Cornwallis retired from Charlotte, he halted upon Wilson's plantation, and himself and staff quartered at the house of the patriot. Mrs. Wilson was very courteous, and Cornwallis endeavored to win her to the royal cause by flattering words. Her reply deserves to be inscribed upon brass and marble : "I have seven sons who are now, or have been bearing arms ; indeed, my seventh son, Zacheus, who is only fifteen years old, I yesterday assisted to get ready to go and join his brothers in Sumter's army. Now, sooner than see one of my family turn back from the glorious enterprise, I would take these boys (pointing to three or four small sons), and with them would myself enlist under Sumter's standard and show my husband and sons how to fight, and, if necessary, to die for their country!" "Ah, general," said the cruel Tarleton, "I think you've got into a hornet's nest! Never mind ; when we get to Camden, I'll take good care that old Robin Wilson never gets back again!"—See Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, iii., 347.

Wm. Alexander - Eph. Brum
Thos. Polk Adam Alexander
David Reese Jm. Alexander
Herz Alexander John Tifer
Robt. Jones
Wm. Kennon Richd. Berry
Benjamin Patton John Board
John Davidson William Graham
John Lennihan Waightstill Avery
Charles Alexander
Henry Downs - Robt. Harris
Ezra Alexander Neill Morrison
James Harris

AUTOGRAPHS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MECKLENBURG COMMITTEE.¹

cised in these colonies, are null and void, and the Constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.

II. That the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers within their respective provinces, and that no other legislative or executive power does or can exist at this time in any of these colonies.

III. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress has not

¹ I am indebted to the kindness of the Honorable David L. Swain, of Chapel Hall, John H. Wheeler, Esq., author of Historical Sketches of North Carolina, and James W. Osborne, Esq., superintendent of the Branch Mint at Charlotte, for the originals from which these fac similes are made.

yet provided others, we judge it necessary for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

IV. That the inhabitants of this county do meet on a certain day appointed by the committee, and, having formed themselves into nine companies (to wit : eight for the county, and one for the town), do choose a colonel and other military officers, who shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of the choice, and independent of the crown of Great Britain, and former Constitution of this province.

V. That for the better preservation of the peace and administration of justice, each of those companies do choose from their own body two discreet freeholders, who shall be empowered each by himself, and singly, to decide and determine all matters of controversy arising within said company, under the sum of twenty shillings, and jointly and together all controversies under the sum of forty shillings, yet so as their decisions may admit of appeal to the convention of the selectmen of the county, and also that any one of these men shall have power to examine and commit to confinement persons accused of petit larceny.

VI. That those two selectmen thus chosen do jointly and together choose from the body of their particular company two persons to act as constables, who may assist them in the execution of their office.

VII. That upon the complaint of any persons to either of these selectmen, he do issue his warrant directed to the constable, commanding him to bring the aggressor before him to answer said complaint.

VIII. That these select eighteen selectmen thus appointed do meet every third Thursday in January, April, July, and October, at the court-house in Charlotte, to hear and determine all matters of controversy for sums exceeding forty shillings, also appeals ; and in case of felony to commit the persons convicted thereof to close confinement until the Provincial Congress shall provide and establish laws and modes of proceeding in all such cases.

IX. That these eighteen selectmen thus convened do choose a clerk, to record the transactions of said convention, and that said clerk, upon the application of any person or persons aggrieved, do issue his warrant to any of the constables of the company to which the offender belongs, directing said constable to summon and warn said offender to appear before said convention at their next sitting, to answer the aforesaid complaint.

X. That any person making complaint, upon oath, to the clerk, or any member of the convention, that he has reason to suspect that any person or persons indebted to him in a sum above forty shillings intend clandestinely to withdraw from the county without paying the debt, the clerk or such member shall issue his warrant to the constable, commanding him to take said person or persons into safe custody until the next sitting of the convention.

XI. That when a debtor for a sum above forty shillings shall abscond and leave the county, the warrant granted as aforesaid shall extend to any goods or chattels of said debtor as may be found, and such goods or chattels be seized and held in custody by the constable for the space of thirty days, in which time, if the debtor fail to return and discharge the debt, the constable shall return the warrant to one of the selectmen of the company, where the goods are found, who shall issue orders to the constable to sell such a part of said goods as shall amount to the sum due.

That when the debt exceeds forty shillings, the return shall be made to the convention, who shall issue orders for sale.

XII. That all receivers and collectors of quit-rents, public and county taxes, do pay the same into the hands of the chairman of this committee, to be by them disbursed as the public exigencies may require, and that such receivers and collectors proceed no further in their office until they be approved of by, and have given to this committee good and sufficient security for a faithful return of such moneys when collected.

XIII. That the committee be accountable to the county for the application of all moneys received from such public officers.

Mecklenburg Resolutions dispatched to Philadelphia and Hillsborough.

Action concerning them.

XIV. That all these officers hold their commissions during the pleasure of their several constituents.

XV. That this committee will sustain all damages to all or any of their officers thus appointed, and thus acting, on account of their obedience and conformity to these rules.

XVI. *That whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country; and upon confirmation being made to the captain of the company in which he resides, the said company shall cause him to be apprehended and conveyed before two selectmen, who, upon proof of the fact, shall commit said offender to safe custody, until the next sitting of the committee, who shall deal with him as prudence may direct.*

XVII. That any person refusing to yield obedience to the above rules shall be considered equally criminal, and liable to the same punishment as the offenders above last mentioned.

XVIII. That these resolves be in full force and virtue until instructions from the Provincial Congress regulating the jurisprudence of the province shall provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America.

XIX. That the eight militia companies in this county provide themselves with proper arms and accouterments, and hold themselves in readiness to execute the commands and directions of the General Congress of this province and this committee.

XX. That the committee appoint Colonel Thomas Polk and Dr. Joseph Kennedy to purchase three hundred pounds of powder, six hundred pounds of lead, and one thousand flints, for the use of the militia of this county, and deposit the same in such place as the committee may hereafter direct.

Signed by order of the Committee.

EPHRAIM BREVARD, *Clerk of the Committee.*"

These resolutions, which not only substantially declared the people of Mecklenburg, represented by the convention, free and independent of the British crown, but organized a civil government upon a republican basis, were read to the assembled multitude from the courthouse door, and were received with loud acclaims of approbation. It is said that they were read to fresh gatherings of the people several times during the day, and were always greeted with cheers.

These resolutions formed the closing proceedings of the convention, and having provided for the transmission of the resolutions to the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, to meet in Hillsborough in August, and to the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, it adjourned. Captain James Jack, of Charlotte, was the appointed messenger, and a few days after the adjournment of the convention, he proceeded to Philadelphia, and placed the papers in his charge, in the hands of Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes, the delegates in Congress from North Carolina.¹ These gentlemen, perhaps considering the movement premature or too radical, did not make the proceedings public. They still hoped for reconciliation with the mother country, and were willing to avoid any act that might widen the breach. They addressed a joint letter to the people of Mecklenburg, complimenting them for their patriotism, recommending the strict observance of order, and expressing their belief that the whole continent would soon follow their example, if the grievances complained of were not speedily redressed. For the same prudential reasons, the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough declined taking any immediate action upon their bold proceedings.² But for

¹ It was the regular court day when Captain Jack passed through Salisbury. Mr. Kennon, a member of the convention, was in attendance there, and persuaded Jack to permit the resolutions to be publicly read. They were generally approved; but two men (John Dunn and Benjamin Boote) pronounced them treasonable, and proposed the forcible detention of Captain Jack. For this act, Dunn and Boote were arrested by some armed men sent by the committee at Charlotte for the purpose. They were first sent to Camden, in South Carolina, to be kept in confinement as "persons inimical to the country." They were afterward sent to Charleston for better security.

² The papers were referred to a committee, who reported on the first of September. After some discussion, the Congress resolved that "the present Association ought to be further relied on for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent state." No further notice was taken of the matter, and this brilliant spark was lost in the blaze of the Federal Declaration of Independence published the following year.

this hesitation, growing out of a sincere desire to preserve the integrity of the British realm, the world would long ago have conceded to the people of Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, the distinguished honor of making a *Declaration of Independence* of the British crown, thirteen months previous to the Federal declaration by the Continental Congress. That honor has not only been withheld, but the fact denied by men presumed to have positive information upon all subjects connected with Revolutionary events. Documentary evidence has settled the question beyond cavil.¹

¹ Almost fifty years this brilliant event in Mecklenburg county remained in obscurity, and when its radiance appeared, it was believed to be only reflected light. There appeared in the *Raleigh Register*, April 30, 1819, a statement over the signature of J. M'Knitt, that a convention of representatives of the people of Mecklenburg county met at Charlotte, on the nineteenth and twentieth of May, 1775, and by a series of resolutions substantially declared themselves free and independent.* He alleged that Captain Jack bore those resolutions to the Continental Congress, and placed them in the hands of the delegates from North Carolina in that body, who thought them premature. Mr. M'Knitt also stated that John M'Knitt Alexander was the secretary of the convention, and that all of the original papers were destroyed when the house of that gentleman was burned in April, 1800, but that copies of the proceedings were made, one of which was sent to Dr. Hugh Williamson, of New York, who was writing a history of North Carolina, and one to General William R. Davie.† This statement was copied from the *Raleigh Register* by the *Essex Register*, of Massachusetts, and was brought to the notice of the venerable John Adams. Mr. Adams sent the paper to Mr. Jefferson, accompanied with the remark that he thought it genuine. On the ninth of July, 1819, Mr. Jefferson replied to Mr. Adams's letter at some length, disclaiming all knowledge of such proceedings, and giving his decided opinion that the article in the *Register* was a "very unjustifiable quiz."‡ Among his reasons for not believing the thing genuine, he mentioned the fact that no historian, not even Williamson (whose *History of North Carolina* was published in 1812), alluded to any such proceedings. Such was the fact, and public opinion was divided. It was singular, indeed, that such an important event should not have been mentioned by Williamson, if he believed the resolutions sent to him by Mr. Alexander to be true copies of those adopted in convention at Charlotte. Because of a similarity of expressions and sentiments in these resolutions and the Federal Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson was charged with gross plagiarism,§ while the North Carolinians were charged with attempting to arrogate to themselves a glory which did not belong to them.

In 1829, Judge Martin's *History of North Carolina* appeared, and in vol. ii., pages 272-274, inclusive, he publishes an account of the Mecklenburg proceedings, with the resolutions. These resolutions differ materially from those which were possessed by General Davie, and published as authentic in a state pamphlet, prepared by order of the North Carolina Legislature, in 1831. Whence Judge Martin procured his copy, is not known. In 1830, a publication appeared denying the statements of the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, and also denying that a convention, with such results, was ever held at Charlotte. The friends of those patriots whose names appeared as members of the convention in question, very properly tender of their

* The following is a copy of the resolutions, which were in the possession of General William R. Davie, and are now in the archives of the state, at Raleigh:

"Resolved, 1. That whoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country—to America—and to the inalienable and inalienable rights of man.

"Resolved, 2. That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

"Resolved, 3. That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other than that of our God, and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

"Resolved, 4. That as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

"Resolved, 5. That it is also further decreed, that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz., a justice of the peace, in the character of a 'committee-man,' to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws; and to preserve peace, and union, and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general organized government be established in this province."

To these resolutions, it is said, a number of by-laws were appended to regulate the general conduct of citizens.

† The house of Mr. Alexander was destroyed in April, 1800. The date of the earliest copy of the resolutions is September of the same year.

‡ Jefferson's *Memoirs and Correspondence*, iv., 322.

§ The chief ground upon which this charge was predicated, was the identity of expression in the last clause of the third resolution, and the closing of the Federal Declaration—"We pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor." This charge has no weight when it is considered that this was a common parliamentary suffix. Gibbon, writing to his friend Sheffield concerning the *Boston Port Bill*, in 1774, said, "We voted an address of lives and fortunes, &c." See volume i. of this work, page 315.

Charlotte was the point to which Gates retreated, with a few followers, after the disastrous battle near Camden, in August, 1780, and soon afterward it became the scene of act-

reputation and the honor of the state, sought for proof that such a convention, with such glorious results, was held in Charlotte. The testimonies of several living witnesses of the fact were procured, some of them as early as 1819-20, and some as late as 1830. Their certificates all agree as to the main fact that *such a convention was held*, but all are not explicit as to date, and some evidently point to other resolves than those referred to. These discrepancies caused doubts, and the public mind was still unsatisfied. To set the matter at rest, the Legislature of North Carolina appointed a committee to investigate the subject. The result was published in pamphlet form in 1831, and the statement made in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819 was endorsed as true. The certificates alluded to (which also appear in Force's *American Archives*, ii., 855) are published therein, together with the names of the Mecklenburg Committee appended thereto. Yet one stubborn fact remained in the way—a fact favorable to a belief in the undoubted truth and sincerity of Mr. Jefferson in his denial—namely, that in no public records or files of newspapers of the day had the resolutions of the twentieth, or an account of the convention, been discovered. Some of the most important of those of the thirty-first were published in the *Massachusetts Spy* in 1775. Doubt still hung over the genuineness of the published resolutions, and eminent men in North Carolina made earnest searches for further testimony, but in vain.

In 1847, the Reverend Thomas Smyth, D.D., of Charleston, published an inquiry into "The true Origin and Source of the Mecklenburg and National Declaration of Independence," in which, assuming the published resolutions, purporting to have been adopted at Charlotte, on the twentieth of May, 1775, to be genuine copies of the originals prepared by Dr. Brevard, he advances an ingenious theory, by which Mr. Jefferson is impliedly defended against the charge of plagiarism and subsequent misrepresentation. Assuming that both Jefferson and Dr. Brevard were, as students of history, familiar with the *confessions, covenants, and bands* (declarations and pledges) of the Presbyterian Reformers of Scotland and Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he draws the conclusion that their ideas, and even their expressions, were copied from those instruments of a people struggling for religious freedom. As a proof that such forms were appealed to, he quotes Jefferson's acknowledgment (*Memoirs, &c.*, i., 2), that to a Scotch Presbyterian tutor he was indebted for his republican bias; and his statement (p. 6) that, in preparing a resolution at Williamsburg, recommending a fast on the first of June, 1774, they "rummaged over" Rushworth "for the revolutionary precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day." Upon these premises, Dr. Smyth argues that Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Brevard doubtless drew water from the same well, without a knowledge of each other's act—a well from which copious draughts were made by the Father of our Republic.

While these inquiries were in progress, the discovery of documentary evidence settled the main question beyond cavil, and established the fact that, on the thirty-first of May, 1775, the people of Mecklenburg, in a representative convention assembled, passed resolutions equivalent in spirit to a declaration of independence, and organized a civil government upon the basis of political independence. Among the most indefatigable searchers after the truth, was the Honorable David L. Swain, late governor of North Carolina. A manuscript proclamation of Governor Martin, dated August 8, 1775, which was deposited in the archives of the state by Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D.D., was found to contain the following words: "And whereas, I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, importing to be resolves of a set of people styling themselves a committee for the county of Mecklenburg, most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government, and Constitution of this country, and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws, and subversive of his majesty's government," &c., &c. Here was a clue. After repeated searches at the instance of Mr. Swain, a copy of the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, dated "Tuesday, June 13, 1775," and containing the entire set of resolutions printed on pages 620-21, bearing date of May 31, 1775, was discovered by Dr. Joseph Johnson, in the Charleston Library.* These were copied, and sent to Mr. Swain, who immediately forwarded a copy to Mr. Bancroft, the historian, then the American minister at the court of St. James. Before they reached Mr. Bancroft at London, that gentleman had discovered in the State Paper Office a copy of the same South Carolina paper, containing the resolutions. This paper was sent to Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies, by Sir James Wright, then governor of Georgia. In a letter which accompanied the papers, Governor Wright said, "By the inclosed paper your lordship will see the extraordinary resolves of the people of Charlotte-town, in Mecklenburg county; and I should not be surprised if the same should be done every where else." These facts Mr. Bancroft communicated in a letter to Mr. Swain, written on the fourth of July, 1848.

The only question unsettled now is, Whether the Mecklenburg Committee assembled at an earlier date than the thirty-first of May, 1775, and adopted the resolutions which were in possession of General Davie, and published in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819. It is a question of minor historical importance, since the great fact is established beyond cavil, that more than a year previous to the promulgation of the Federal Declaration, the people of Mecklenburg declared their entire independence of the British crown, and, in pursuance of that declaration, organized a civil government.

* Dr. Johnson, in his *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution* (Charleston, 1851), gives a fac simile of a hand-bill, containing the first three of the Mecklenburg Resolutions published in the state pamphlet, together with the names of the committee. Dr. Johnson says it is "the oldest publication of the Mecklenburg Declaration yet found in print." This is a significant fact. The hand-bill was printed by Heiskell and Brown, who established their printing-office at Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1816. This document is not now (1852) more than thirty five years old. It was probably printed at about the time (1819) when the resolutions appeared in the *Raleigh Register*.

Movements of Cornwallis and his Subordinates.

Colonel Polk suspected.

General William R. Davie.

ual hostilities. After refreshing his army at Camden, and adopting further measures for keeping down the spirit of rising rebellion in South Carolina, Cornwallis moved, with his forces, toward Charlotte,^a for the purpose of giving encouragement to the timid

^a Sept. 8,
1780.

Loyalists between the Yadkin and the Catawba; to assist Major Ferguson, who was then across the Broad River attempting to embody the militia in the service of the king; to awe the Republicans, who were in the ascendant in Mecklenburg, Rowan, and vicinity; in fact, to conquer North Carolina before Congress could organize another army at the South. Cornwallis reached Charlotte toward the close of the month, where he expected to be joined by Ferguson and his Loyalists. But he was doomed to disappointment; that officer was soon afterward killed, and his whole force was broken up in a severe battle on

King's Mountain.^b Cornwallis was diligent in issuing his proclamations, in which he denounced "the rebels;" offered pardon to those who should seek it, and protection to persons and property to those who would accept it. Gates, in the mean while, had retired, with the remnant of his army, to Salisbury, and soon proceeded to Hillsborough. Hundreds, who were stanch patriots, came forward and accepted protection from Cornwallis,

^b Oct. 7.

for they saw no alternative but that and the ruin of their families and estates. Among them was Colonel Thomas Polk, who thereby incurred the suspicions of his countrymen; but when the danger was over, he renounced the forced allegiance. Non-conformity would have insured the destruction of all his property; he wisely accepted a protection, saved his estate, and was under a cloud of distrust only for a short season.¹



Wm R Davie

When Cornwallis marched from Camden, on the east side of the Wateree, Tarleton traversed the country, with his legion, on the west side of that river. At the Waxhaws, Cornwallis halted, and there Tarleton united with the main body. On the fifth of September, Major William R. Davie^c was appointed, by Governor Nash, colonel commandant of cavalry, and, with Major George Davidson, was very active in collecting supplies for Gates's broken

¹ Colonel Polk was commissary of provisions at that time. The acceptance of protection from the British was considered equivalent to a renunciation of republicanism. He was, therefore, denounced as a Tory. Among Gates's papers in the New York Historical Society is the following order, issued after Cornwallis had retreated to Winnsborough: "From a number of suspicious circumstances respecting the conduct and behavior of Colonel Thomas Polk, commissary general of provisions for the State of North Carolina, and commissary of purchases for the Continental troops, it is our opinion that the said Colonel Polk should be directly ordered to Salisbury to answer for his conduct; and that the persons of Duncan Ochiltree and William M'Aferty* be likewise brought under guard to Salisbury. Given unanimously as our opinion, this twelfth day of November, 1780."

² William Richardson Davie was born at Egremont, near Whitehaven, England, on the twentieth of June,

* M'Cafferty, as the name is properly spelled, was a wealthy Scotchman, and was employed by Cornwallis as a guide when he left Charlotte

Horatio Gates

Isaac Huger

Allen Jones

John Butler

Cornwallis's March toward Charlotte.

Operations of the Americans against him.

Skirmish at Charlotte.

army, and in repressing the depredations of the British. They had continually maneuvered in front of the approaching enemy, and fell gradually back to Charlotte as the British pressed onward. While encamped at Providence, Davie learned that some Tories and light troops were on the western bank of the Catawba, not far distant. He determined to beat up their quarters; and early on the morning of the twenty-first of September,^a he surprised them at Captain Wahab's plantation, and killed and wounded sixty, while he lost but one man wounded. He took ninety-six horses, with their equipments, and one hundred and twenty stand of arms, and returned to his camp, having marched sixty miles within twenty-four hours. ^a 1780.

On the day of the engagement at Wahab's, Generals Sumner and Davidson, with their brigades of militia, arrived at Providence. On the advance of the British, they retreated to Salisbury, ordering Colonel Davie and Major Joseph Graham to annoy the enemy on his march. Four days afterward, Cornwallis having established a post at Blair's Mill, on Five Mile Creek, commenced his march toward Charlotte, by the Steel Creek road. Davie and Graham were on the alert, annoying him all the way. They took several of his men prisoners, in one or two skirmishes. Davie reached Charlotte at midnight,^b and determined to give the enemy a warm reception. He dismounted his cavalry, who ^b Sept. 25. were armed with swords, pistols, and muskets, and posted them in front of the court-house, under cover of a stone wall, breast high. His infantry and Graham's volunteers were advanced eighty yards in front on each side of the street, covered by the garden inclosures of the villagers. While this arrangement was in progress, Tarleton's legion, the van of the royal army, approached. Tarleton was sick, and Major Hanger was in command. As soon as he reached the Common at the entrance of the village, and observed the Americans, Hanger's trumpeter sounded a charge. The cavalry moved slowly, while the flanking infantry attacked Graham and his party. While they were engaged, Hanger, with his cavalry, rushed toward the court-house, when Davie poured a deadly volley upon them. They recoiled, but were instantly rallied on the Common. In the mean while, the contest in the street was warmly maintained. Again the cavalry charged, and again fell back in confusion to the Common. The British infantry having gained Davie's right, he withdrew from the court-house, and formed his line on the eastern side of the town. Cornwallis had now reached the cavalry, and upbraided them for want of courage. They charged a third time, when Davie, having mounted his men, gave the enemy such a reception that they again fell back to the Common. The 71st and 33d British regiments of Webster's brigade (which fought so gallantly at Guilford nearly five months afterward) now advanced to the support of the light

1756. He came with his father to America at the age of five years, and was adopted by William Richardson, a maternal uncle, who lived near the Catawba, in South Carolina. He commenced study at Princeton, but during the summer of 1776 entered the army as a volunteer. He resumed his studies after the battle of Long Island, graduated in the autumn of 1776, and returned to Carolina, where he commenced the study of law in Salisbury. He was elected lieutenant of a troop of horse in 1779, and was attached to Pulaski's legion. He soon rose to the rank of major. At Stono, below Charleston, he was wounded in the thigh. When he recovered, he returned to Salisbury and resumed his books. In the winter of 1780, he raised a troop of cavalry, with which he was very active in beating back the enemy, while forcing his way northward. He was in the battle at Hanging Rock; with Rutherford at Ramsour's Mills, and nobly confronted the British army at Charlotte, after a brilliant display of courage and skill at Wahab's plantation. General Greene appointed Davie commissary general of the Southern army; and he was with that officer in his Retreat, and at the battles at Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill, and Ninety-Six. In 1783, he commenced his career as a lawyer, and the same year married the daughter of General Allen Jones. He was a member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution. He was instrumental in procuring the erection of the buildings of the University at Chapel Hill, and as grand master of the Masonic Fraternity, he laid the corner stone. He received the commission of major general of militia in 1797, and in 1798 was appointed a brigadier in the army of the United States. He was elected governor of North Carolina the same year, and in 1799 was appointed an ambassador to France by President Adams. On his return, he was engaged in some Indian treaties, but on the death of his wife in 1803, he withdrew from public life. He died at Tivoli, near Landsford, in South Carolina, in December, 1820, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

¹ Captain Wahab was with Davie on this occasion, and for the first time in many months had the opportunity of embracing his wife and children. Before he was out of sight of his dwelling, he saw his dear ones driven from it by the foe, and their shelter burned to the ground, without the power to protect them.

Retreat of the Americans from Charlotte. March of Cornwallis Southward. Young Ladies of Mecklenburg and Rowan.

troops. Davis, perceiving the contest now to be very unequal, retreated toward Salisbury, leaving Cornwallis master of Charlotte. Colonel Francis Locke (who commanded at Ram-sour's) and five privates were killed; and Major Graham and twelve others were wounded in this action. The British lost twelve non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; Major Hanger, two captains, and many privates, were wounded. Cornwallis remained in Charlotte until the fourteenth of October, when he retreated southward. It had been his intention to advance northward; but the loss of Ferguson and his corps, and the general lukewarmness, if not absolute hostility of the people, and the constant annoyance by the American troops,¹ caused him to retrograde, and on the twenty-ninth he established his headquarters at Winnsborough, in Fairfield District, South Carolina, midway between the Catawba and Broad Rivers. There we shall leave the earl for the present.

The British army, while at Charlotte, lay encamped upon a plain, south of the town, on the right side of the road. Cornwallis's headquarters were next to the southeast corner of the street from the court-house; and most of the other houses were occupied, in part, by his officers. I found no person in Charlotte yet living who remembered the British occupation and the noble deeds of the patriots; but history, general and local, fully attests the patriotism of its inhabitants during the whole war.² It was never visited by the British army after Cornwallis returned to Winnsborough, and only for a short time was the headquarters of the American army, while Gates was preparing for another campaign. It was at this place General Greene took the command of the Southern army from Gates, Dec. 3, 1780, fifty days after Cornwallis decamped.³

¹ Provisions soon became scarce in the British camp, for the people in the neighborhood refused a supply. In Colonel Polk's mill, two miles from the town, they found twenty-eight thousand weight of flour, and a quantity of wheat. Foraging parties went out daily for cattle and other necessities, but so hostile were the people that Webster's and Rawdon's brigades were obliged to move, on alternate days, as a covering party. There were few sheep, and the cattle were so lean that they killed one hundred head a day. On one day, according to Stedman (who was commissary), they killed thirty-seven cows with calf. Frequent skirmishes occurred. On one occasion, the plantation of Mr. McIntyre, seven miles north of Charlotte, on the road to Beattie's Ford, was plundered, the family having barely time to escape. While loading their wagons with plunder, a bee-hive was overturned, and the insects made a furious attack upon the soldiers. While their commander stood in the door laughing at the scene, a party of twelve patriots approached; * in a moment, the captain, nine men, and two horses lay dead upon the ground. The British hastily retreated to their camp, believing that a large American force was concealed near.

² On one occasion, the young ladies of Mecklenburg and Rowan entered into a pledge not to receive the attentions of young men who would not volunteer in defense of the country, they "being of opinion that such persons as stay loitering at home, when the important calls of the country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave and manly spirit which would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex."—*South Carolina and American General Gazette*, February, 1780.

³ One of the twelve was George Graham, brother of General Joseph Graham. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1758, and went to North Carolina, with his widowed mother, when six years of age. He was educated at Queen's Museum, and was strongly imbued with the republican principles of the Scotch-Irish of that region. He was one of the party who rode from Charlotte to Salisbury and arrested those who proposed to detain Captain Jack, as mentioned on page 621. He was active in partisan duties while the British were at Charlotte. After the war, he rose to the rank of major general of militia, and often served his country in the State Legislature. He died at Charlotte, on the twenty-ninth of March, 1826, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XXIV.

" We marched to the Cowpens, Campbell was there,
 Shelby, Cleveland, and Colonel Sevier ;
 Men of renown, sir, like lions, so bold—
 Like lions undaunted, ne'er to be controlled.
 We set out on our march that very same night ;
 Sometimes we were wrong, sometimes we were right ;
 Our hearts being run in true liberty's mold,
 We valued not hunger, wet, weary, or cold.
 On the top of King's Mountain the old rogue we found,
 And, like brave heroes, his camp did surround ;
 Like lightning, the flashes ; like thunder, the noise ;
 Our rifles struck the poor Tories with sudden surprise."

OLD SONG.¹



HE Sabbath which I passed in Charlotte was exceedingly unpleasant. The morning air was keen and hazy ; snow fell toward evening, and night set in with a gloomy prospect for the morrow's travel. I breakfasted by candle-light on Monday morning, and before sunrise was on the road for King's Mountain and the Cowpens. I passed the United States Branch Mint, upon the road leading from the village to the Tuckesege or Great Catawba Ford, and at the forks, about a mile from the town, halted a moment to observe the operation of raising gold ore from a mine, by a horse and windlass. This mine had not been worked for fifteen years, owing to litigation, and now yielded sparingly. The vein lies about seventy feet below the surface. This is in the midst of the gold region of North Carolina, which is comprehended within the limits of eleven counties.²

From Charlotte to the Catawba, a distance of eleven miles, the country is very hilly, and the roads were bad the greater portion of the way. I crossed the Catawba at the Tuckesege Ford, the place where General Rutherford and his little army passed, on the evening of the nineteenth of June, 1780, when on their way to attack the Tories at Ramsour's Mills.³ I was piloted across by a lad on horseback. The distance from shore to shore, in the direction of the ford, is more than half a mile, the water varying in depth from ten inches to three feet, and running in quite a rapid current. In the passage, which is diagonal, two islands, covered with shrubbery and trees, are traversed. This was Charley's first experience in fording a very considerable stream, and he seemed to participate with me in the satisfaction experienced in setting foot upon the solid ground of the western shore. I allowed him to rest while I made the above sketch,

VIEW AT TUCKESEGE FORD.⁴

¹ The song called "The Battle of King's Mountain," from which these lines are taken, was very popular in the Carolinas until some years after the close of the war. It was sung with applause at political meetings, wedding parties, and other gatherings, where the ballad formed a part of the proceedings. Mr. McElwees, an old man of eighty-seven, who fought under Sumter, and with whom I passed an evening, within two miles of King's Mountain, remembered it well, and repeated the portion here given.

² These are Randolph, Montgomery, Richmond, Davidson, Stanley, Anson, Cabarras, Rowan, Iredell, Mecklenburg, and Lincoln, all east of the Catawba.

³ See page 597.

⁴ This view is from the western bank of the Catawba, looking down the stream.

Passage of the South Fork of the Catawba.

Loss of Way in a Forest.

Road to King's Mountain.

and then we pushed on toward the South Fork of the Catawba, almost seven miles farther. I was told that the ford there was marked by a row of rocks, occurring at short intervals across the stream; but when I reached the bank, few of them could be seen above the surface of the swift and swollen current. The distance across is about two hundred and fifty yards, and the whole stream flows in a single channel. The passage appeared (as it really was) very dangerous, and I had no guide. As the day was fast waning away, a storm seemed to be gathering, and there was not an inhabitant within a mile, I resolved to venture alone, relying upon the few rocks visible for indications of the safest place for a passage. Taking my port-folio of drawings from my trunk, and placing it beside me on the seat, and then folding my wagon-top, I was prepared to swim, if necessary, and save my sketches, if possible. Charley seemed loth to enter the flood, but once in, he breasted the stream like a philosopher. Twice the wheels ran upon rocks, and the wagon was almost overturned, the water being, in the mean while, far over the hubs; and when within a few yards of the southern shore, we crossed a narrow channel, so deep that my horse kept his feet with difficulty, and the wagon, having a tight body, floated for a moment. The next instant we struck firm ground. I breathed freer as we ascended the bank, and with a thankful heart rode on toward Falls's house of entertainment, away among the hills near the South Carolina line, twenty-six miles from Charlotte.

On account of numerous diverging ways, it was very difficult to keep in the right road from the South Fork to Falls's. I tried to reach there before dark, but the clouds thickened, and night fell suddenly. In the uncertain twilight, I missed a diverging road which I was directed to pursue, and got into the midst of a vast pine forest. Just before entering the woods, I had a glimpse of *Crowder's Knob*, the highest peak of King's Mountain, estimated to be three thousand feet above the level of the sea.¹ It was about twelve miles distant, and loomed up from the wilderness of pines which intervened, like some ancient castle in the dim light. For more than an hour I pursued the forest road, without perceiving the diverging one which I was directed to follow. I stopped to listen for sounds of habitation. All was silent but the moaning of the wind among the pine boughs, the solemn voice of an owl, and the pattering of the rain upon my wagon-top. For almost another hour I rode on in the gloom, without perceiving an opening in the forest, and I began to think I should be obliged to "camp out" for the night. Again I listened, and was cheered by the distant barking of a dog. I gave Charley a loose rein, and in twenty minutes an open field appeared, and the glimmer of a candle. A shout brought the master of the cottage to the door, and, in reply to my solicitation for food and shelter until morning, he informed me that a contagious disease, which had destroyed two of his family, yet prevailed in his house. He could not offer me the hospitalities of his roof and table, but he would mount his horse and guide me to Falls's, which was four miles distant. I was glad to avoid the contagion, and to reward him liberally for his kind pilotage. I ascertained that I had been within a quarter of a mile of Falls's, but, missing the "turn out," had traversed another road several miles back in the direction of Charlotte!

Mr. Falls was the postmaster, and an intelligent man, apparently about sixty years of age. It was the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, in 1815,^a and as the old man had a brother killed in that engagement, it was a day always memorable to him. I was entertained with the frank hospitality so common in the Carolinas, and at my request breakfast was ready at early dawn. A more gloomy morning can not well be conceived. Snow had fallen to the depth of two inches during the night, and when I departed, a chilling east wind, freighted with sleet, was sweeping over the barren country. King's Mountain battle-ground was fourteen miles distant, and I desired to reach there in time to make my notes and sketches before sunset. The roads, except near the water courses, were sandy and quite level, but the snow made the traveling heavy. Six miles from Falls's, I forded Crowder's Creek, a stream about ten yards wide, deep and sluggish, which rises from

¹ The sides of this peak are very precipitous, and its top is accessible to man only upon one side.

Visit to the King's Mountain Battle-ground.

Character of the Locality.

View of the Battle-ground

Crowder's Knob, and, after a course of eighteen miles, falls into the Catawba. A little beyond it, I passed a venerable post oak, which was shivered, but not destroyed, by lightning the previous summer. It there marks the dividing-line between North and South Carolina. At noon the storm ceased; the clouds broke, and at three o'clock, when I reached the plantation of Mr. Leslie, whose residence is the nearest one to the battle-ground, the sun was shining warm and bright, and the snow had disappeared in the open fields.

When my errand was made known, Mr. Leslie brought two horses from his stable, and within twenty minutes after my arrival we were in the saddle and traversing a winding way toward Clarke's Fork of King's Creek. From that stream, to the group of hills among which the battle was fought, the ascent is almost imperceptible. The whole range, in that vicinity, is composed of a series of great undulations, from whose sides burst innumerable springs, making every ravine sparkle with running water. The hills are gravelly, containing a few small bowlders. They are covered with oaks, chestnuts, pines, beeches, gums, and tulip poplars, and an undergrowth of post oaks, laurel, and sour-wood. The large trees stand far apart, and the smaller ones are not very thick; so that the march of an army over those gentle elevations was comparatively easy. Yet it was a strange place for an encampment or a battle; and to one acquainted with that region, it is difficult to understand why Ferguson and his band were there at all.

We tied our horses near the grave of Ferguson and his fellow-sleepers, and ascended to the summit of the hill whereon the British troops were encamped and fought. The battle-ground is about a mile and a half south of the North Carolina line. It is a stony ridge,

VIEW AT KING'S MOUNTAIN BATTLE-GROUND.¹

extending north and south, and averaging about one hundred feet in height above the ravines which surround it. It is nearly a mile in length, very narrow upon its summit, with steep sides. From its top we could observe *Crowder's Knob* in the distance, and the hills of less altitude which compose the range.² The sun was declining, and its slant rays,

¹ This view is from the foot of the hill, whereon the hottest of the fight occurred. The north slope of that eminence is seen on the left. In the center, within a sort of basin, into which several ravines converge, is seen the simple monument erected to the memory of Ferguson and others; and in the foreground, on the right, is seen the great tulip-tree, upon which, tradition says, ten Tories were hung.

² The range known as King's Mountain extends about sixteen miles from north to south, with several spurs spreading laterally in each direction. One of these extends to the Broad River, near the Cherokee Ford, where I crossed that stream on my return from the Cowpens. Many of its spurs abound in marble and iron, and from its bosom a great number of streams, the beginning of rivers, gush out. The battle-ground is about twelve miles northwest of Yorkville, and one hundred and ninety from Charleston.

Past and Present. Major Ferguson detached to the Upper Country. Gathering of Tories. Surprise at Greene's Spring.

gleaming through the boughs dripping with melting snows, garnished the forest for a few moments with all the seeming splendors of the mines; gold and silver, diamonds and rubies, emeralds and sapphires, glittered upon every branch, and the glowing pictures of the Arabian Nights, which charmed boyhood with the records of wondrous visions, crowded upon the memory like realities. Alas! on this very spot, where the sun-light is braiding its gorgeous tapestry, and suggesting nothing but love, and beauty, and adoration, the clangor of steel, the rattle of musketry, the shout of victory, and the groans of dying men, whose blood incarnadined the forest sward, and empurpled the mountain streams, were once heard—it was an aceldama; and there, almost at our feet, lie the ashes of men slain by their brother man! History thus speaketh of the event:

On the sixteenth of August, 1780, the Americans, under General Gates, were defeated by Cornwallis, near Camden, and dispersed. Two days afterward, Tarleton defeated Sumter at Rocky Mount, and elsewhere the American partisan corps were unsuccessful. The whole South now appeared to be completely subdued under the royal power; and the conqueror, tarrying at Camden, busied himself in sending his prisoners to Charleston, in ascertaining the condition of his distant posts at Ninety-Six and Augusta, and in establishing civil government in South Carolina. Yet his success did not impair his vigilance. West of the Wateree¹ were bands of active Whigs, and parties of those who were defeated near Camden were harassing the upper country. Cornwallis detached Major Ferguson, a most excellent officer and true marksman, of the 71st regiment,² with one hundred and ten regulars under the command of Captain Depuyster, and about the same number of Tories, with an ample supply of arms and other military stores. He ordered him to embody the Loyalists beyond the Wateree and the Broad Rivers; intercept the Mountain Men,³ who were retreating from Camden, and also the Americans, under Colonel Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, who were retiring from an attack upon Augusta; endeavor to crush the spirit of rebellion, which was still rife; and, after scouring the upper part of South Carolina, toward the mountains, join him at Charlotte. Ferguson at first made rapid marches to overtake the Mountain Men, and cut off Clarke's forces. Failing in this, he proceeded leisurely, collecting all the Tories in his path, until about the last of September, when he encamped with more than a thousand men, at a place called Gilbert Town, west of the Broad River, near the site of the present village of Rutherfordton, the county seat of Rutherford, in North Carolina.⁴ These were all well armed,⁵ and Ferguson began to feel strong. True to their instincts, his Tory recruits committed horrible outrages upon persons and property wherever they went; and this aroused a spirit of the fiercest vengeance among the patriots. At different points, large

¹ The Wateree River is that portion of the Catawba which flows through South Carolina. It is the Catawba to the dividing-line of the states, and, after its junction with the Congaree, is called the Santee. The Congaree is formed by a union of the Broad and Saluda Rivers at Columbia, the head of steam-boat navigation upon the Santee and Congaree, from the ocean.

² This was the regiment that behaved so gallantly at the battle of Guilford.

³ The pioneers who had settled in the wilderness beyond the mountains, now Kentucky and Tennessee, were called *Mountain Men*.

⁴ While Ferguson was in Spartanburg District, on his way toward Gilbert Town, a detachment of his little army had a severe skirmish with Colonel Clarke and his men at Greene's Spring. Clarke and his company, some two hundred in number, had stopped at the plantation of Captain Dillard, who was one of them, and, after partaking of refreshments, proceeded to Greene's Spring. The same evening Ferguson arrived at Dillard's, whose wife soon learned, from the conversation of some of his men, that they knew where Clarke was encamped, and intended to surprise him that night. She hastily prepared supper for Ferguson and his men, and while they were eating she stole from the room, bridled a young horse, and, without a saddle, rode to the encampment of Clarke, and warned him of impending danger. In an instant every man was at his post, prepared for the enemy. Very soon Colonel Dunlap, with two hundred picked mounted men, sent by Ferguson, fell upon the camp of Clarke. Day had not yet dawned, and the enemy were greatly surprised and disconcerted when they found the Americans fully prepared to meet them. For fifteen minutes the conflict raged desperately in the gloom, when the Tories were repulsed with great slaughter, and the survivors hastened back to Ferguson's camp.

⁵ Those of his recruits who were without arms Ferguson furnished with rifles. Some of them so fixed the large knives which they usually carried about them, in the muzzle of their rifles, as to be used as bayonets, if occasion should require.

Leaders of the Mountain Men. Ferguson West of the Broad River. Expedition against him. Concentration of Troops.

bodies of volunteers assembled simultaneously, without concert, and placed themselves under tried leaders, the chief of whom were Colonels Campbell, of Virginia; Cleaveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowell, of North Carolina; and Lacy, Hawthorn, and Hill, of South Carolina. They all had but one object in view—the destruction of the marauders under Ferguson. They were men admirably fitted by their daily pursuits for the privations which they were called upon to endure. They had neither tents, baggage, bread, or salt, and no Commissary Department to furnish regular supplies. Potatoes, pumpkins, roasted corn, and occasionally a bit of venison supplied by their own rifles, composed their daily food. Such were the men who were gathering among the mountains and valleys of the Upper Carolinas to beat back the invaders.

On his way to Gilbert Town, Ferguson had succeeded in capturing two of the Mountain Men. These he paroled, and enjoined them to tell the officers on the Western waters, that if they did not desist from their opposition and “take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay waste their country with fire and sword.”¹ While Colonel Charles M'Dowell,² of Burke county, who, on the approach of Ferguson, had gone over the mountains to obtain assistance, was in consultation with Colonels Shelby and Sevier, the paroled prisoners arrived, and delivered their message. These officers were not dismayed by the savage threat of Ferguson, but decided that each should endeavor to raise all the men that could be enlisted, and that the forces thus collected should rendezvous at Watauga on the twenty-fifth of September. It was also agreed that Colonel Shelby should give intelligence of their movements to Colonel William Campbell, of Washington county, in Virginia, hoping that he would raise a force to assist them.

The following official report of events from the meeting of these several forces at Watauga, until the defeat of Ferguson, I copied from the original manuscript among Gates's papers. It is full, yet concise, and being official, with the signatures of the three principal officers engaged in the affair, attached, it is perfectly reliable:³



COLONEL ISAAC SHELBY.⁴

“On receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced up as high as Gilbert Town, in Rutherford county, and threatened to cross the mountains to the Western waters, Colonel William Campbell, with four hundred men, from Washington county, of Virginia, Colonel Isaac Shelby, with two hundred and forty men, from Sullivan county, of North Carolina, and Lieutenant-colonel John Sevier, with two hundred and forty men, of Washington county, of North Carolina, assembled at Watauga, on the twenty-fifth day of September, where they

¹ General Joseph Graham, who lived in the vicinity of King's Mountain, and knew many of those who were employed in the battle, wrote a graphic account of the events connected with that affair. His account is published in *Foot's Sketches of North Carolina*, page 264–269, inclusive.

² The M'Dowells were all brave men. Joseph and William, the brothers of Charles, were with him in the battle on King's Mountain. Their mother, Ellen M'Dowell, was a woman of remarkable energy. Mrs. Ellet relates that on one occasion some marauders carried off some property during the absence of her husband. She assembled some of her neighbors, started in pursuit, and recovered the property. When her husband was secretly making gunpowder in a cave, she burned the charcoal for the purpose upon her own hearth, and carried it to him. Some of the powder thus manufactured was used in the battle on King's Mountain.—*Women of the Revolution*, iii., 356.

³ General Gates sent a copy of this report to Governor Jefferson for his perusal, and desired him to forward it to Congress. His letter to Jefferson is dated Hillsborough, November 1, 1780.

⁴ Isaac Shelby was born on the eleventh of December, 1750, near the North Mountain, a few miles from Hagerstown, in Maryland. His ancestors were from Wales. He learned the art of surveying, and at the age of twenty-one years settled in Western Virginia. He was with his father, Evan Shelby, in the battle at Point Pleasant, in 1774. He was afterward employed as a surveyor under Henderson & Co., in Kentucky. In July, 1776, he was appointed captain of a company of minute-men by the Virginia Committee of Safety. Governor Henry appointed him a commissary of supplies in 1777, and in 1778 he was attach-

Selection of a Commander-in-chief.

March to the Cowpens.

Colonels Shelby, Campbell, and Williams.

were joined by Colonel Charles M'Dowell, with one hundred and sixty men, from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the Western waters. We began our march on the twenty-sixth, and on the thirtieth we were joined by Colonel Cleveland, on the Catawba River, with three hundred and fifty men, from the counties of Wilkes and Surry. No one officer having properly a right to the command in chief, on the first of October we dispatched an express¹ to Major-general Gates, informing him of our situation, and requested him to send a general officer to take command of the whole. In the mean time, Colonel Campbell² was chosen to act as commandant till such general officer should arrive. We marched to the *Cowpens*, on Broad River, in South Carolina, where we were joined by Colonel James Williams,³ with four hundred men, on the evening of the

ed to the Continental Commissary Department. In the spring of 1779, he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature, from Washington county, and in the autumn Governor Jefferson gave him the commission of a major. He was engaged in defining the boundary-line between Virginia and North Carolina, the result of which placed his residence in the latter state. Governor Caswell soon afterward appointed him a colonel of the new county of Sullivan. In the summer of 1780, he was engaged in locating lands for himself in Kentucky, when he heard of the fall of Charleston. He returned home to engage in repelling the invaders. He raised three hundred mounted riflemen, crossed the mountains, and joined Colonel Charles M'Dowell, near the Cherokee Ford, on the Broad River. In that vicinity he was very active, until he joined other officers of like grade in an attack upon Major Ferguson, on King's Mountain. Colonel Shelby soon afterward suggested to Greene the expedition which resulted so brilliantly at the Cowpens. In the campaign of 1781, Shelby served under Marion, and was in the skirmish at Monk's Corner. Colonel Shelby was a member of the North Carolina Legislature in 1782; and ten years afterward, he was among the framers of the Constitution of Kentucky. In May of that year, he was elected the first governor of the new state. He served one term with great distinction; and in 1812, consented again to an election to the chief magistracy of Kentucky. His energy and Revolutionary fame aroused the patriotism of his state when the war with Great Britain broke out. At the head of four thousand volunteers, he marched to the shores of Lake Erie, to assist General Harrison in his warfare with the British and Indians in the Northwest. During the whole war, his services were great and valuable in the highest degree; and for his bravery at the battle of the Thames, Congress honored him with a gold medal. In 1817, President Monroe appointed him his Secretary of War, but on account of his age (being then sixty-seven), he declined the honor. His last public act was that of holding a treaty with the Chickasaw Indians, in 1818, in which General Jackson was his colleague. He was attacked with paralysis, in February, 1820, which somewhat disabled him. He died of apoplexy, on the eighteenth of July, 1826, at the age of seventy-six years. Shelby county, in Kentucky, was named in honor of him in 1792. A college at Shelbyville also bears his name.

¹ Colonel Charles M'Dowell. His brother, Major M'Dowell, commanded his regiment till his return.

² WILLIAM CAMPBELL was a native of Augusta, Virginia. He was of Scotch descent, and possessed all the fire of his Highland ancestors. He was among the first of the regular troops raised in Virginia in 1775, and was honored with a captain's commission. In 1776, he was made lieutenant colonel of the militia of Washington county, and, on the resignation of Evan Shelby, the father of Governor Shelby, he was promoted to colonel. That rank he retained until after the battle on King's Mountain and at Guilford, in both of which he greatly distinguished himself, when he was promoted by the Virginia Legislature to the rank of brigadier. La Fayette gave him the command of a brigade of riflemen and light infantry. He was taken sick a few weeks before the siege of Yorktown, and soon afterward died at the house of a friend. He was only in the thirty-sixth year of his age when he died. His military career, like those of Warren and Montgomery, was short, but brilliant, and on all occasions bravery marked his movements. Foote relates that in the battle on King's Mountain he rode down two horses, and at one time was seen on foot, with his coat off, and his shirt collar open, fighting at the head of his men. He also says, that on one occasion Senator Preston, of South Carolina, a grandson of Campbell, was breakfasting at a house near King's Mountain, and, while eating, the old landlady frequently turned to look at him. She finally asked him his name, and remarked, apologetically, that he appeared very much like the man she had most dreaded upon earth. "And who is that?" Preston inquired. "Colonel Campbell," replied the old lady, "that hung my husband at King's Mountain."*

³ James Williams was a native of Granville county, in North Carolina. He settled upon Little River, Laurens District, in South Carolina, in 1773, where he engaged in the pursuit of a farmer and merchant. He early espoused the patriot cause. Williams first appears as a colonel in the militia, in April, 1778. In the spring of 1779, he went into actual service, and he was probably at the siege of Savannah. He was with Sumter in 1780, but does not seem to have been permanently attached to the corps of that partisan. In the early part of that year, he was engaged in the battle at Musgrove's mill, on the Ennoree River. After that engagement, he went to Hillsborough, where he raised a corps of cavalry and returned to South Carolina; and during Ferguson's movements, after crossing the Wateree, Williams continually hovered around

* *Sketches of North Carolina*, page 271.

Pursuit of Ferguson.

The Battle.

Colonel Sevier.

Frankland.

sixth of October,' who informed us that the enemy lay encamped somewhere near the Cherokee Ford, of Broad River, about thirty miles distant from us. By a council of principal officers, it was then thought advisable to pursue the enemy that night with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and have the weak horse and footmen to follow us as fast as possible. We began our march with nine hundred of the best men about eight o'clock the same evening, and, marching all night, came up with the enemy about three o'clock P.M. of the seventh, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee Ford, in the confidence that they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. Previous to the attack on our march, the following disposition was made: Colonel Shelby's regiment formed a column in the center, on the left; Colonel Campbell's regiment another on the right, with part of Colonel Cleaveland's regiment, headed in front by Major Joseph Winston;² and Colonel Sevier's³ formed a large column on the right wing. The other part of Cleaveland's regiment, headed by Colonel Cleaveland himself, and Colonel Williams's regiment, composed the left wing. In this order we advanced, and got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before we were discovered. Colonel Shelby's and Colonel Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy, while the right and left wings were advancing to surround them, which was done in about five minutes, and the fire became general all around. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes, the greater part of which time a heavy and incessant fire was kept

his camp. In the sanguinary battle upon King's Mountain, he was slain. He was near Major Ferguson, and both officers received their death-wound at the same moment. He died on the morning after the battle, and was buried within two miles of the place where he fell. Tradition says that his first words, when reviving a little soon after he was shot, were, "For God's sake, boys, don't give up the hill!"

¹ Colonel Williams had just been joined by sixty men from Lincoln, under Colonel Hambride and Major Chronicle.

² Joseph Winston was a native of North Carolina, and was the first senator in the Republican Legislature, from Stokes county. He was a member of Congress from 1793 to 1795, and again from 1803 to 1807. He died in 1814.

³ John Sevier was descended from an ancient French family. The original orthography of the name was Xavier. His father settled on the Shenandoah, in Virginia, where this son was born, about 1740. In 1769, he accompanied an exploring party to East Tennessee, where, with his father and brother, he settled on the Holston River. He aided in the construction of Fort Watauga; and while in that fortress as commander, bearing the title of captain, *he caught a wife!* One day, in June, 1776, he saw a young lady speeding, like a fawn, toward the fort, closely pursued by Cherokees, under "Old Abraham." She leaped the palisades, and fell into the arms of the gallant captain. Her name was Catharine Sherrill; and in 1779 she became the second wife of Sevier, by whom he had ten children. Sevier was with Shelby at the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774. During the first five years of the war, he was an active Whig partisan, on the mountain frontier of the Carolinas, was raised to the rank of colonel, and greatly distinguished himself at King's Mountain. He was in the battle near Musgrove's Mills, and early in the following year he chastised some of the turbulent Indians among the mountains. At the close of the war, he received the commission of brigadier; and he was so much beloved by the people, that by acclamation he was acknowledged governor of the "State of FRANKLIN" or FRANKLAND.* He was so often engaged in treaties with the Indians, that they called him the *treaty-maker*. When the State of Tennessee was organized, and admitted into the Union, Sevier was elected its first governor. In 1811, he was elected to a seat in Congress, with Felix Grundy and John Rhea, and in 1813 was re-elected. During the war, Madison appointed him Indian commissioner, and while engaged in his duties, near Fort Decatur, on the east side of the Tallapoosa River, he died, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1815. Under the direction of the late General Gaines, he was buried with the honors of war. No stone marks his grave; but in the Nashville cemetery, a handsome marble monument to his memory has lately been erected. Upon the monument is the following inscription: "SEVIER, noble and successful defender of the early settlers of Tennessee; the first, and for twelve years governor; representative in Congress; commissioner in many treaties with the Indians. He served his country faithfully for forty years, and in that service died. An admirer of patriotism and merit unrequited erects this cenotaph."

* At the close of the Revolution, that portion of North Carolina bordering East Tennessee contained quite a large and exceedingly active population. Dissatisfied with the course pursued by North Carolina, they called a convention, adopted a Constitution, and organized a state government, which they called FRANKLAND, in honor of Dr. Franklin. They chose John Sevier for governor, and organized a judiciary, &c. When informed of this movement, Governor Caswell issued a proclamation against "this lawless thirst for power," and denounced it as a revolt. But the mountaineers did not heed official menaces. Violence ensued. The difficulties were finally settled, and the State of Frankland disappeared.

Surrender of the British and Tories.

Loss in the Battle.

Effect of the Battle.

Death of Ferguson.

up on both sides. Our men in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a distance, two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardor to the attack. The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the

Depeyster

enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Colonel Cleaveland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men. A flag was immediately hoisted by Captain Depeyster,¹ the commanding officer (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before), for a surrender. Our fire

immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms (the greatest part of them charged), and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. It appears from their own provision returns for that day, found in their camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men, out of which they sustained the following loss :

Of the regulars, one major, one captain, two sergeants, and fifteen privates killed ; thirty-five privates wounded, left on the ground not able to march ; two captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, one surgeon, five sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, and forty-nine privates, taken prisoners. Loss of the Tories, two colonels, three captains, and two hundred and one killed ; one major, and one hundred and twenty-seven privates wounded, and left on the ground not able to march. One colonel, twelve captains, eleven lieutenants, two ensigns, one quarter-master, one adjutant, two commissaries, eighteen sergeants, and six hundred privates taken prisoners.

Total loss of the enemy, eleven hundred and five men at King's Mountain.

Given under our hands at camp.

No battle during the war was more obstinately contested than this ; for the Americans were greatly exasperated by the cruelty of the Tories, and to the latter it was a question of life and death. It was with difficulty that the Americans, remembering Tarleton's cruelty at Buford's defeat, could be restrained from slaughter, even after quarter was asked. In addition to the loss of men on the part of the enemy, mentioned in the report, the Americans took from them fifteen hundred stand of arms. The loss of the Americans in killed was only twenty, but they had a great number wounded. Among the killed was Colonel Williams and Major Chronicle. Colonel Hambrite was wounded. Major Chronicle and Major Ferguson were buried in a ravine at the northern extremity of the battle-hill, where the friends of the former erected a plain monument, a few years ago, with inscriptions upon both sides. The monument is a thick slab of hard slate, about three feet high, rough hewn, except where the inscriptions are.²



MONUMENT ON KING'S MOUNTAIN

*Benj^r Cleaveland
Isaac Shelby
Wm Campbell*

¹ Captain Depeyster belonged to a corps of Loyalists, called the *King's American Regiment*. His signature, here given, I copied from a letter of his to General Gates a few days after the battle, while Depeyster was a prisoner.

² The following is a copy of the inscriptions: *North side*.—"Sacred to the memory of Major WILLIAM CHRONICLE, Captain JOHN MATTOCKS, WILLIAM ROBB, and JOHN BOYD, who were killed here fighting in defence of America, on the seventh of October, 1780." *South side*.—"Colonel FERGUSON,* an officer belonging to his Britannic majesty, was here defeated and killed."

* Major Patrick Ferguson was a Scotchman, a son of the eminent jurist, James Ferguson, and nephew of Patrick Murray (Lord Elibank). He entered the army in Flanders at the age of eighteen years. He came to America in the spring of 1777, and was active in the battle on the Brandywine, in September of that year. He was active on the Hudson in 1779, and accompanied Sir Henry Clinton to South Carolina. He so distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston in 1780, that he was partic-

Execution of Tories.	Character of the Battle-ground.	One of Sumter's Men.	Route to the Cowpens.
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On the morning after the battle,^a a court-martial was held, and several of the Tory prisoners were found guilty of murder and other high crimes, and hanged. ^a Oct. 8, 1780. Colonel Cleaveland had previously declared that if certain persons, who were the chief marauders, and who had forfeited their lives, should fall into his hands, he would hang them. Ten of these men were suspended upon a tulip-tree, which is yet standing—a venerable giant of the forest. This was the closing scene of the battle on King's Mountain, an event which completely crushed the spirits of the Loyalists, and weakened, beyond recovery, the royal power in the Carolinas. Intelligence of the defeat of Ferguson destroyed all Cornwallis's hopes of Tory aid. He instantly left Charlotte, retrograded, and established his camp at Winnsborough,^b in Fairfield District, between the Wateree and Broad Rivers. ^b Oct. 20, 1780. It was from this point he commenced the pursuit of Morgan and General Greene, after the battle at the Cowpens, as detailed in a preceding chapter.

After making the sketch on page 629, and that of the monument on King's Mountain, we rode back to Mr. Leslie's. It was twilight when we arrived; for we had proceeded leisurely along the way, viewing the surrounding scenery. I could perceive at almost every turn of our sinuous road the originals of Kennedy's graphic sketches in the scenery of *Horse Shoe Robinson*, and a recurrence to that tale at the house of Mr. Leslie awoke pleasing reminiscences connected with its first perusal. On our return, we ascertained that the grandfather of Mr. Leslie, the venerable William M. Elwees, had just arrived. His company for the evening was a pleasure I had not anticipated. He was one of Sumter's partisan corps, and fought with him at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock. He was also in the battle at Guilford, and during the whole war was an active Whig. Mr. M. Elwees was eighty-seven years of age when I saw him,^c yet his intellect seemed unclouded. His narrative of stirring incidents, while following Sumter, was clear and vivid; and when, at a late hour, the family knelt at the domestic altar, a prayer went up from that patriarch's lips, equal in fervid eloquence, both in words and accents, to any thing I ever heard from the pulpit. ^c Jan., 1849.

A cold, starry night succeeded my visit to the battle-ground on King's Mountain, and at sunrise the next morning I was on my way to the Broad River and the Cowpens. The ground was frozen and very rough. I traversed King's Mountain in a northwesterly direction, and in the deep narrow valley at its western base crossed King's Creek, a large and rapid stream. The country over which I passed, from Leslie's to Ross's Ferry, on the Broad River, a distance of twenty-one miles, is exceedingly rough and hilly. In some places the road was deep gullied by rains; in others, where it passed through recent clearings, stumps and branches were in the way, endangering the safety of wheel and hoof. Within a mile of the ferry, I discovered that the front axle of my wagon was broken, evidently by striking a stump; but, with the aid of a hatchet and strong cord with which I had provided myself, I was enabled to repair the damage temporarily.

The sun was about an hour high when I reached the eastern bank of the Broad River, a little below the mouth of Buffalo Creek. The house of Mrs. Ross, the owner of the ferry, was upon the opposite side. For more than half an hour I shouted and made signals with a white handkerchief upon my whip, before I was discovered, when a shrill whistle responded, and in a few minutes a fat negro came to the opposite shore, and crossed, with a miserable bateau or river flat, to convey me over. The river, which is there about one hundred and twenty yards wide, was quite shallow, and running with a rapid current, yet the ferryman had the skill to "pole" his vessel across without difficulty. I was comfortably lodged at the house of Mrs. Ross for the night, and passed the evening very agreeably in the company of herself and two intelligent daughters. Here I observed, what I so frequently saw in the upper country of the Carolinas, among even the affluent planters—the windows without sashes or glass. In the coldest weather these and the doors are left wide open, the former being closed at night by tight shutters. Great light-wood (pine) fires in the huge chimney-

ularly mentioned by the commander-in-chief. He was on the high road to military fame, when he was slain on King's Mountain. His rank is incorrectly given on the monument. He was only a major.

Ventilation of Southern Houses.

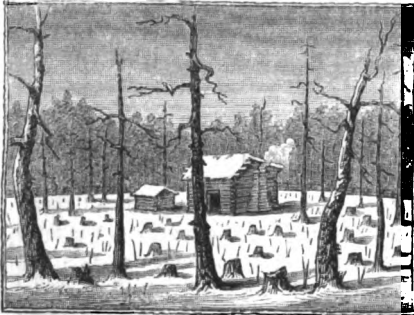
Thicketty Mountain.

Loss of Way.

Visit to the Cowpens Battle-ground.

places constantly blazing, in a measure beat back or temper the cold currents of air which continually flow into the dwellings. This ample ventilation in cold weather is universally practiced at the South. At Hillsborough and Charlotte, I observed the boarders at the hotels sitting with cloaks and shawls on at table, while the doors stood wide open!

^{a Jan. 11, 1849.} I was now within fifteen miles of the Cowpens, and at daybreak the next morning^a started for that interesting locality. I was informed that the place of conflict was among the hills of Thicketty Mountain, and near the plantation of Robert Scruggs. To that gentleman's residence I directed my inquiries. After traversing a rough road, much of it, especially along the water-courses, of red clay, I began the ascent of Thicketty Mountain, upon the Mill-gap road, at the forks leading to Clarke's iron-works and Rutherfordton. Here the ground was covered with snow, and I had no means of discriminating between the beaten track of the Mill-gap way and the numerous forks. I ought to have turned to the northwest after leaving the Rutherfordton Fork half a mile, and descended the northern slope of the mountain. Instead of that, I kept along the ridge road, skirted by the forest on each side, without any indication of habitation. For an hour I slowly traversed this gradually ascending way, and almost imperceptibly approached the summit of Thicketty Mountain, until convinced that I was not in the Mill-gap road. Far to the northward, some thirty miles distant, I could see the azure range of the Blue Ridge, near the Nut-gap, where the springs of the Broad River gush out from the mountains. They were covered with snow, and from their lofty summits came a keen breeze, like that of December at the North. The day was waning, and I had no time to lose in deliberation, so I turned back and sought a lateral road, toward the west, to the settlements below. Presently I heard the crying of a child, and looking in the direction of the sound, I saw some thin blue smoke curling among the trees near. I tied Charley to a laurel shrub, and soon discovered a log cabin, in front of which some children were at play. They fled at my approach, and the mother, a lusty mountaineer, whose husband was at work in the iron-beds which abound in that mountain, appeared astonished at the apparition of a stranger. From her I learned that I had left the Mill-gap road at least three miles back. By her direction I found it, and at about four o'clock reached the residence of Mr. Scruggs. His house is upon the Mill-gap road, and about half a mile west of a divergence of a highway leading to Spartanburg, the capital of Spartanburg District, in which the Cowpens¹ are situated. Upon the gentle hills on the



SCENE AT THE COWPENS.

borders of Thicketty Creek, covered with pine woods, within a triangle, formed by the Spartanburg and Mill-gap roads, having a connecting cross-road for a base, the hottest part of the fight occurred. The battle ended within a quarter of a mile of Scruggs's, where is now a cleared field, on the northeast side of the Mill-gap road, in the center of which was a log-house, as seen in the annexed engraving. The field was covered with blasted pines, stumps, and stocks of Indian corn, and had a most dreary appearance.² In this field, and along the line of conflict, a distance of about

¹ This name is derived from the circumstance that, some years prior to the Revolution, before this section of country was settled, some persons in Camden (then called Pine-tree) employed two men to go up to the Thicketty Mountain, and in the grassy intervalles among the hills, raise cattle. As a compensation, they were allowed the entire use of the cows during the summer for making butter and cheese, and the steers for tilling labor. In the fall, large numbers of the fattest cattle would be driven down to Camden to be slaughtered for beef, on account of the owners. This region, so favorable for rearing cows, on account of the grass and fine springs, was consequently called *The Cowpens*.

² They have a dangerous practice at the South in clearing their wild lands. The larger trees are girdled and left standing, to decay and fall down, instead of being felled by the ax. Cultivation is carried on among them, and frequently they fall suddenly, and endanger the lives of the laborers in the field. Such was the condition of the field here represented.

two miles, many bullets and other military relics have been found. Among other things, I obtained a spur, which belonged to the cavalry of either Washington or Tarleton.

"Come listen a while, and the truth I'll relate,
How brave General Morgan did Tarleton defeat;
For all his proud boasting, he forced was to fly,
When brave General Morgan his courage did try."

Revolutionary Song.

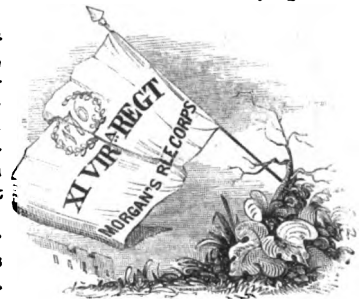
We have noted on page 596 the disposition which General Greene made of the "shadow of an army" (less than two thousand men) which he received from Gates. Brigadier-general Daniel Morgan,¹ an exceedingly active officer, who was placed in command of the



Western division, was stationed, toward the close of 1780, in the country between the Broad and Pacolet Rivers, in Spartanburg District. His division consisted of four hundred Continental infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard of the Maryland line; two companies of the Virginia militia, under Captains Triplet and Tate; and the remnants of the first and third regiments of dragoons, one hundred in number, under Lieutenant-colonel William A. Washington. This force, at the time in question, was considerably augmented by North Carolina militia, under Major M'Dowell, and some Georgia militia, under Major Cunningham. At the close of December,^a Morgan and his troops were encamped near the northern bank of the Pacolet, in the vicinity of Pacolet Springs. From this camp Lieutenant-colonel Washington frequently sallied out to smite and disperse bodies of Tories, who assembled at different points and plundered the Whig inhabitants. He at-

¹ DANIEL MORGAN was a native of New Jersey, where he was born in 1737, and at an early age went to Virginia. He was a private soldier under Braddock, in 1755, and after the defeat of that officer, returned to his occupation of a farmer and wagoner. When the war of the Revolution broke out, he joined the army under Washington, at Cambridge, and commanded a corps of riflemen. He accompanied Arnold across the wilderness to Quebec, and distinguished himself at the siege of that city. He was made a prisoner there. After his exchange, he was appointed to the command of the 11th Virginia regiment, in which was incorporated his rifle corps.* He performed great service at Stillwater, when Burgoyne was defeated. Gates unjustly omitted his name in his report of that affair to Congress. He served under Gates and Greene at the South, where he became distinguished as a partisan officer. His victory at the Cowpens was considered a most brilliant affair, and Congress voted him a gold medal. (See next page). At the close of the war, he returned to his farm. He commanded the militia organized to quell the Whisky Insurrection in Western Virginia, in 1794, and soon afterward was elected a member of Congress. His estate in Clarke county, a few miles from Winchester, Virginia, was called *Saratoga*. He resided there until 1800, when he removed to Winchester, where he died on the sixth of July, 1802, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The house in which he died stood in the northwest part of the town, and a few years since was occupied by the Reverend Mr. Boyd. His grave is in the Presbyterian grave-yard at Winchester; and over it is a plain horizontal slab, raised a few feet from the ground, upon which is the following inscription:

"Major-general DANIEL MORGAN departed this life on July the 6th, 1802, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Patriotism and valor were the prominent features of his character, and the honorable services he ren-



FLAG OF MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS.

* This sketch of the flag of Morgan's rifle corps I made from the original in the Museum at Alexandria, in Virginia.

Defeat of Tories by Washington.

Pursuit of Morgan by Tarleton.

Gold Medal awarded to Morgan.

tacked and defeated two hundred of them at Hammond's store, and soon afterward a section of Washington's command dispersed another Tory force under Bill Cunningham. Cornwallis, who was still at Winnsborough, perceived these successes with alarm, and apprehending a design upon his important post at Ninety-Six, over the Saluda, determined to disperse the forces under Morgan, or drive them into North Carolina, before he should rally the Mountain Men in sufficient numbers to cut off his communication with Augusta. He accordingly dispatched Tarleton with his legion of horse (three hundred and fifty in number), and the foot and light infantry attached to it, the 7th regiment, and the first battalion of the 71st, with two field pieces, to force Morgan to fight, or retreat beyond the Yadkin. Tarleton's entire force consisted of about eleven hundred well-disciplined men, and in every particular he had the advantage of Morgan.

Tarleton commenced his march on the eleventh of January. The roads were in a very bad condition, and it was not until the fifteenth that he approached the Pacolet. He had crossed the Broad River near Turkey Creek, and advanced with all possible speed toward the camp of Morgan. That officer was at first disposed to dispute Tarleton's passage of the Pacolet, but, informed of the superiority of his numbers, and that a portion had already crossed above him, he retreated hastily northward, and took post on the north side of Thicketty Mountain, near the Cowpens. Tarleton passed through the place of Morgan's camp in the evening, a few hours after he had left,^a and leaving his baggage behind, he pressed eagerly forward in pursuit, riding all night, and making a circuit around the western side of Thicketty Mountain. Early the following morning,^b he cap-

^a Jan. 16,

1781.

^b Jan. 17.

dered to his country during the Revolutionary war crowned him with glory, and will remain in the hearts of his countrymen, a perpetual monument to his memory."

In early life General Morgan was dissipated, and was a famous pugilist; yet the teachings of a pious mother always made him reverential when his thoughts turned toward the Deity. In his latter years, he professed religion, and became a member of the Presbyterian church in Winchester. "Ah!" he would



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO MORGAN.*

often exclaim, when talking of the past, "people said old Morgan never feared—they thought old Morgan never prayed—they did not know old Morgan was often miserably afraid." He said he trembled at Quebec, and in the gloom of early morning, when approaching the battery at Cape Diamond, he knelt in the snow and prayed; and before the battle at the Cowpens, he went into the woods, ascended a tree, and there poured out his soul in prayer for protection. In person, Morgan was large and strong. He was six feet in height, and very muscular.

* The following are the devices and inscriptions upon the medal: An Indian queen with a quiver on her back, in the act of crowning an officer with a laurel wreath; his hand resting upon his sword. A cannon lying upon the ground; various military weapons and implements in the back-ground. Legend: DANIEL MORGAN DUCI EXERCITUS COMITIA AMERICANA—"The American Congress to General Daniel Morgan." Reverse: An officer mounted, at the head of his troops, charging a flying enemy. A battle in the back-ground. In front, a personal combat between a dragoon unhorsed and a foot soldier. Legend: VICTORIA LIBERTATIS VINDEX—"Victory, the maintenance of Freedom." EXERGUE: FUGATIS CAPTIS AUT CÆSIS AD COWPENS HOSTIUM, 17TH JANUARY, 1781—"The foe put to flight, taken, or slain, at the Cowpens, January 17, 1781."

Disposition of the American Army.

John Eager Howard.

Silver Medal awarded to Howard.

tured two American videttes, and learned from them the place of Morgan's encampment. At eight o'clock he came in sight of the advanced guard of the patriots, and fearing that Morgan might again retreat, and get safely across the Broad River, he resolved to attack him immediately, notwithstanding the fatigue of his troops.

The Americans were posted upon an eminence of gentle descent, covered with an open wood. They were rested, had breakfasted, and were thoroughly refreshed after their flight from the Pacolet. And now, expecting Tarleton, they were drawn up in battle order. On the crown of the eminence were stationed two hundred and ninety Maryland regulars, and on their right the two companies of Virginia militia, under Major Triplett. These composed the rear line of four hundred and thirty men, and were under the general command of Lieutenant-colonel Howard. One hundred and fifty yards in advance of this line was a body of militia, about three hundred in number, all practiced riflemen, and burning with a spirit of revenge, because of the cruelties which the British and Tories had inflicted. A part of these were commanded by Captain Beatty and Samuel Hammond, of South Carolina.¹

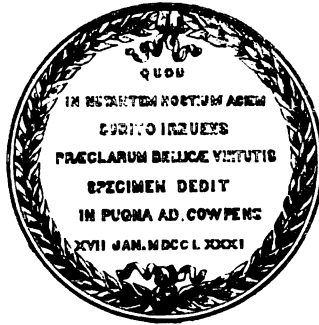


John E. Howard

They were commanded by Colonel Andrew Pickens, who, with his followers, had joined Morgan during the night. About one hundred and fifty yards in advance of this first line, were placed the best riflemen of the corps of M'Dowell and Cunningham. Those on the right were commanded by Cunningham, and those on the left by M'Dowell. These were directed to operate as circumstances should direct, after delivering their first fire, which was to be

¹ No accurate plan of the arrangement of the troops on this occasion has ever been made. Captain Hammond made a sketch many years afterward from memory, which is published in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution*. As it does not fully agree with official reports, I forbear copying it.

² John Eager Howard was born in Baltimore county, Maryland, on the fourth of June, 1752. When the war commenced, he entered the service as captain of one of those bodies of militia termed *flying camps*. He was present at the battle near White Plains, New York. His corps was dismissed in December, 1776.



SILVER MEDAL AWARDED TO COLONEL HOWARD.*

* The following are the device and inscriptions: An officer mounted, with uplifted sword, pursuing an officer on foot bearing a stand of colors. Victory is seen descending in front, over the former, holding a wreath in her right hand over his head. In her left hand is a palm branch. Legend: JOHN EAGER HOWARD, LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO COMMITIA AMERICANA—"The American Congress to John Eager Howard, commander of a regiment of infantry." Reverse: A laurel wreath, inclosing the inscription, QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACIEM SUBITO INRUENS, PRÆCLARUM BELLICÆ VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA, AD COWPENS, 17TH JANUARY, 1781—"Because, rushing suddenly on the wavering line of the foe, he gave a brilliant specimen of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781."

Morgan prepared to Fight.

His Address to his Troops.

The Attack.

Tarleton's Charge.

given when the British should be within one hundred and fifty yards. In the rear of the second line, under Howard, and behind an eminence of sufficient height to conceal them,¹ the American reserve was posted. These consisted of Washington's cavalry, and M'Call's mounted militia of Georgia, armed with sabers.

Tarleton was rather disconcerted when he found that Morgan was prepared to fight him, for he expected to overtake him on a retreat. He rode cautiously forward to reconnoiter, but the shots of the advanced corps of riflemen obliged him to retire precipitately to his lines. Yet, feeling sure of an easy victory, Tarleton quickly arranged his line in battle order upon the Spartanburg road, within three hundred yards of Morgan's first line. At this moment, Morgan, with solemn voice and sententious sentences, addressed his troops. He exhorted the militia of the first line to be steady, and fire with sure aim; and expressed his conviction that, if they would pour in two volleys at a killing distance, victory would be theirs. He addressed the second line in a similar manner, informed them that he had ordered the militia to fall back after delivering two volleys, and exhorted them not to be disconcerted by that movement. Then taking post with his line, near Lieutenant-colonel Howard, he awaited in silence the approach of the British van, already in motion. It consisted of the light troops and the legion infantry, with the 7th regiment, under Major Newmarsh. In the center of this line were the two pieces of artillery. Upon each flank was a troop of cavalry; and in the rear, as a reserve, was Major M'Arthur, with the battalion of the 71st regiment and the remainder of the cavalry. Tarleton placed himself in the first line.

It was now about nine o'clock in the morning. The sun was shining warm and bright over the summits of Thicketty Mountain, and gave brilliancy to the martial array in the forests below. At a signal from Tarleton, his advance gave a loud shout, and rushed furiously to the contest, under cover of their artillery and an incessant discharge of musketry. The riflemen, under Cunningham and M'Dowell, delivered their fire with terrible effect, and then fell back to the flanks of the first line under Pickens. The British still shouting, rushed forward, and poured in a close fire upon the militia. These stood firm, until assailed with bayonets, when they fell back to the second line. M'Call's militia fled to their horses, while the remainder, under Pickens, took post upon Howard's right. Upon the main body Tarleton now made a vigorous charge, and was met with equal valor and determination. The contest was close and severe, and the British line began to bend, when M'Arthur, with the reserve, was ordered to advance. This movement reanimated the quailing Britons, and they plied ball and bayonet with incessant force. While the contest was raging, M'Arthur

and at the solicitation of his friends, he accepted of the commission of major in one of the Continental battalions of Maryland. In the spring of 1777, he joined the army under Washington, in New Jersey, with which he remained until the close of June, when he returned home, on account of the death of his father. A few days after the battle on the Brandywine, he rejoined the army, and was distinguished for his cool courage in the battle at Germantown, of which he wrote an interesting account. In that engagement, he was major of the 4th regiment, commanded by Colonel Hall, of Maryland. Major Howard was present at the battle of Monmouth, in 1778. On the first of June, 1779, he received a commission as lieutenant colonel of the 5th Maryland regiment, "to take rank from the eleventh day of March, 1778." In 1780, he went with the Maryland and Delaware troops to the South, and served under Gates until the arrival of Greene. Soon after this, we find him with Morgan, winning bright laurels at the Cowpens; and for his bravery there, Congress awarded him the honor of a silver medal. Howard again distinguished himself at the battle of Guilford, where he was wounded. At the conclusion of the war, Colonel Howard married Margaret, the daughter of Chief-justice Chew, around whose house at Germantown he had valiantly battled. In November, 1788, he was chosen governor of Maryland, which office he held for three years. He was commissioned major general of militia in 1794, but declined the honor. Washington invited him to a seat in his cabinet, at the head of the War Department, in 1795. That honor he also declined. He was then a member of the Maryland Senate. In 1796, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, where he served until 1803, when he retired from public life. When, in 1814, Baltimore was threatened with destruction by the enemy, the veteran soldier prepared to take the field. The battle at North Point, however, rendered such a step unnecessary. He lost his wife in 1827; and on the twelfth of October, 1827, he, too, left the scenes of earth, at the age of seventy-five years. Honor, wealth, and the ardent love of friends, were his lot in life, and few men ever went down to the grave more truly lamented than *John Eager Howard*.

¹ Between this eminence and the one on which Howard was stationed, the Mill-gap road passes.

Charge of Tarleton.

Bold Maneuver of Howard.

Americans Victorious.

Colonel Washington.

attempted to gain the American flank under Colonel Howard. That officer perceived the movement and its intent, and instantly ordered his first company to charge the British 71st. His order was mistaken, and the company fell back. The whole line also gave way at



Mr. Washington

the same moment, and Morgan ordered it to retreat to the eminence behind which the cavalry were posted. Tarleton, believing this maneuver to be a precursor of flight, ordered another charge, and, with shouts, his infantry rushed forward impetuously, in disorder. When close to Howard, that officer ordered his line to face about and give his pursuers a volley. Instantly a close and murderous fire laid many of the British line dead upon the earth, and the living, terrified by the unexpected movement, recoiled in confusion. Howard perceived the advantage of the moment, and followed it up with the bayonet. This decided the victory in favor of the Americans. At the same time, a portion of Tarleton's cavalry having gained the rear of the Americans, fell upon M'Call's mounted militia. Now was the moment for Lieutenant-colonel Washington¹ to act. With his cavalry, he struck the British horsemen a decisive blow, and drove them in confusion before him. The reserve, under M'Ar-

¹ WILLIAM AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, "the modern Marcellus," "the sword of his country," was the eldest son of Bailly Washington, of Stafford county, Virginia. He was educated for the Church, but the peculiar position of public affairs led him into the political field. He early espoused the patriot cause, and entered the army under Colonel Hugh (afterward General) Mercer, as captain. He was in the battle near Brooklyn, Long Island, distinguished himself at Trenton, and was with his beloved general when he fell at Princeton. He was afterward a major in Colonel Baylor's corps of cavalry, and was with that officer when attacked by General Grey, at Tappan, in 1778. The following year, he joined the army under Lincoln in South Carolina, and was very active in command of a light corps, in the neighborhood of Charleston. He became attached, with his corps, to the division of General Morgan, and with that officer fought bravely at the Cowpens. For his valor on that occasion, Congress presented him with a silver medal. He was an active officer in Greene's celebrated retreat, and again fought bravely at Guilford Court House. He be-



SILVER MEDAL AWARDED TO WASHINGTON.*

* The following are the device and inscriptions: An officer mounted at the head of a body of cavalry, charging flying troops, Victory is flying over the heads of the Americans, holding a laurel crown in her right hand and a palm branch in her left. Legend: GULIELMO. WASHINGTON LEGIONIS EQUIT. PREFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA--The American Congress to William Washington commander of a regiment of cavalry. Reverse: QUOD PARVA MILITUM MANU STRENUUS PROSPECTUS HOSTES VIRTUTIS INGENITAE SPECIMEN DEDID IN PREGNA AD COWPENS. 17TH JANUARY, 1781--"Because, having vigorously pursued the foe with a small band of soldiers, he gave a brilliant specimen of innate valor in the battle at the Cowpens, seventeenth January, 1781." This inscription is within a laurel wreath.

Retreat of the British.

Encounter between Washington and Tarleton.

Result of the Battle.

thur, were too much mixed up with the main forces of Tarleton, to present a rallying point, and the whole body retreated along the Mill-gap road to the place near Scruggs's, delineated on page 636, then covered with an open wood like the ground where the conflict commenced. There the battle ended, and the pursuit was relinquished. It was near the northern border of that present open field that Washington and Tarleton had a personal conflict. In the eagerness of his pursuit of that officer, Washington had got far in advance of his squadron, when Tarleton and two of his aids, at the head of the troop of the 17th regiment of dragoons, turned upon him. An officer on Tarleton's right was about to strike the impetuous Washington with his saber, when his sergeant came up and disabled the assailant's sword-arm. An officer on Tarleton's left was about to strike at the same moment, when Washington's little bugler, too small to wield a sword, wounded the assailant with a pistol-ball. Tarleton, who was in the center, then made a thrust at him, which Washington parried, and gave his enemy a wound in the hand.¹ Tarleton wheeled, and, as he retreated, discharged a pistol, by which Washington was wounded in the knee. During that night and the following morning, the remnant of Tarleton's force reached Hamilton's Ford, on Broad River, and also the encampment of Cornwallis, at Turkey Creek, about twenty-five miles from the Cowpens. For this defeat, Tarleton's cotemporaries censured him severely.²

The loss of the Americans in this decisive battle was about seventy men, of whom, strange to say, only twelve were killed. The British, according to Cornwallis's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, written a few days afterward, lost ten officers and ninety privates killed, and twenty-three officers and five hundred privates taken prisoners. Almost the whole of the British infantry, except the baggage guard, were killed or taken. The two pieces of artillery,³ eight hundred muskets, two standards, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the possession of the Americans.⁴ To the honor of the victors, it is declared that, notwithstanding the cruel warfare which Tarleton had waged had exasperated the Americans to the last degree, not one of the British was killed or wounded, or even insulted, after they had surrendered.

The defeat of the British at the Cowpens has not been inaptly compared to that of the Germans of Burgoyne's army near Bennington. The disaster, in both cases, dealt a severe blow against the success of the main army. The battle near Bennington paralyzed the energies of Burgoyne's army; the battle at the Cowpens equally affected the power of Cornwallis. He was advancing triumphantly toward the heart of North Carolina, having placed

haved gallantly at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, and at the battle at Eutaw Springs he exhibited signal valor; but his horse being shot under him, he was there made a prisoner. He remained a captive until the close of the war. Having become attached to a South Carolina lady during his captivity, he married her, and settled in Charleston. He represented that district in the State Legislature. His talents as a statesman were so conspicuous, that he was solicited to become a candidate for governor. He declined the honor, chiefly because he *could not make a speech*. When President Adams appointed General Washington commander-in-chief of the American army, he chose Colonel Washington to be one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier. Colonel Washington died on the sixth of March, 1810. He was tall in person, possessed of great strength and activity, and in society was taciturn and modest.

¹ It is related that this wound was twice the subject for the sallies of wit of two American ladies, who were sisters, daughters of Colonel Montfort, of Halifax county, North Carolina. When Cornwallis and his army were at Halifax, on their way to Virginia, Tarleton was at the house of an American. In the presence of Mrs. Willie Jones (one of these sisters), Tarleton spoke of Colonel Washington as an illiterate fellow, hardly able to write his name. "Ah! colonel," said Mrs. Willie, "you ought to know better, for you bear on your person proof that he knows very well *how to make his mark!*" At another time, Tarleton was speaking sarcastically of Washington, in the presence of her sister, Mrs. Ashe. "I would be happy to see Colonel Washington," he said, with a sneer. Mrs. Ashe instantly replied, "If you had looked behind you, Colonel Tarleton, at the battle of the Cowpens, you would have enjoyed that pleasure." Stung with this keen wit, Tarleton placed his hand on his sword. General Leslie, who was present, remarked, "Say what you please, Mrs. Ashe, Colonel Tarleton knows better than to insult a lady in my presence."—Mr. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*.

² These two pieces of artillery were first taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga; then retaken by the British at Camden; now were recovered by the Americans, and afterward fell into the hands of Cornwallis at Guilford. They were of the kind of small field-pieces called "grasshoppers."

⁴ Ramsay, Gordon, Marshall, Lee, Johnson, Tarleton, Moultrie.

The Heroes of the Cowpens.	Departure from that Place.	Cherokee Ford.	Indians in the Carolinas.
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South Carolina, as he thought, in submission at his feet. The defeat of Ferguson at King's Mountain, and now of Tarleton, his favorite partisan, withered his hopes of Tory organization and co-operation. His last hope was the destruction of Greene's army by his own superior force, and for that purpose he now commenced the pursuit which we have considered in a preceding chapter, the capture of Morgan and his prisoners being his first object.

The victory of the Cowpens gave great joy to the Americans throughout the confederacy. Congress received information of it on the eighth of February,^a and on the ninth of March that body voted an award of a gold medal to Morgan; a silver medal to How-^{a 1781.} ard and Washington; a sword to Colonel Pickens; and a vote of thanks to the other officers and men engaged in the battle.¹

It was almost sunset when I left the Cowpens to return to a house of entertainment upon the road to the Cherokee Ford, seven miles distant; for the resident there could not find a corner for me in his dwelling, nor for Charley in his stable, that cold night, "for love nor money," but generously proposed that I should send him a copy of my work when completed, because he lived upon the battle-ground! To a planter on horseback, from Spartanburg, who overtook me upon the road, I am indebted for kindness in pointing out the various localities of interest at the Cowpens; to the other for the knowledge that a small building near his house was the depository of a field-piece used by an artillery company in the vicinity, when celebrating the anniversary of the battle.

After dark, I reached the house of Mrs. Camp, where I was comfortably lodged for the night; and early the following morning, accompanied by one of her sons on horseback, I proceeded to the Cherokee Ford, on the Broad River, ten miles distant. The road was very rough most of the way, and quite hilly. At the ford, on the west side of the river, is a large iron manufactory. The ore is brought from the neighboring mountains, smelted there, and wrought into hollow-ware, nails, spikes, tacks, &c. Around the establishment quite a little village has grown up, and there, as at Matson's Ford (Conshohocken), on the Schuylkill, where hostile parties were seen during the Revolution, and all around was a wilderness, the hum of busy industry is heard, and the smiles of cultivation are seen. Here, as we have observed (page 633), the Americans, who gained the victory at King's Mountain, crossed this stream on the morning of the battle.

Before crossing the Broad River, the *Eswawpuddenah* of the Cherokee Indians, let us take a historical survey of the most important occurrences westward of this stream, in the beautiful country watered by the Tyger, the Ennoree, and the Saluda, and further on to the noble Savannah. Standing here upon the western selva of civilization when the war broke out, and where the aborigines were sole masters but a few years before, let us glance, first, at the record of events which mark their conflicts with the over-reaching white race, who beat them back beyond the mountains.²

We have already noticed, on page 562, the efforts of the Corees, Tuscaroras, and other Indians of the Neuse and Cape Fear region to expel the Europeans.^b This conflict^{b 1712.} was soon succeeded by another, more serious in its character. For a while, the very existence of the Southern colony was menaced. The powerful nation of the Yamassees, who

¹ *Journals of Congress*, vii., 47.

² South Carolina was occupied by twenty-eight Indian nations when the Europeans first made a permanent settlement upon the Ashley River. The domain of these tribes extended from the ocean to the mountains. The Westos, Stonos, Coosaws, and Sewees occupied the country between Charleston and the Edisto Rivers. They were conquered by the Savannahs, and expelled from the country. The Yamassees and Tuspahs held the territory in the neighborhood of Port Royal. The Savannahs, Serannahs, Cussobos, and Eucheas occupied the middle country, along the Isundigia, or Savannah River. The Apalachians inhabited the head waters of the Savannah and Alatamaha, and gave their name to the mountains of Apalachy, and the bay of Apalachicola. The Muscoghees or Creeks occupied a part of the country between the Savannah and Broad Rivers, being divided by the latter from the country of the Cherokees. The Congarees, Santee, Waterees, Saludas, Catawbias, Peedeas, and Winyaws lived along the rivers which bear their respective names. The Muscoghees and Catawbias were the most warlike; the Cherokees were more numerous than either, but more peaceful. These various nations, when Charleston was founded, could muster, probably, fifty thousand warriors.—See Simms's *History of South Carolina*, page 67.

War with the Indians.

Peril of the White People.

Defeat and Conquest of the Indians.

Seminoles

possessed the territory around Port Royal, where the French Huguenots first attempted settlement, had long evinced their friendship for the Carolinians, whose first settlement was in the neighborhood of the present city of Charleston, by engaging with them as allies in their wars against the Spaniards and some Indian tribes. The Spaniards at St. Augustine, who were the mortal enemies of the Carolinians, finally succeeded in uniting the Cherokees—"the mountaineers of aboriginal America"¹—the Muscoghees, Apalachians, and other Indian nations, in a league for the destruction of the colony. They also won the confidence of the Yamassees, and suddenly that powerful tribe appeared in arms against the Carolinians. Already the Apalachian tribes, occupying a large portion of the present State of Georgia, instigated by the Spaniards, had desolated some of the frontier settlements.²

^a 1703. Governor Moore, at the head of a body of Carolinians and friendly Indians, penetrated into the very heart of the Apalachian settlements, between the Savannah and the Altamaha Rivers. He laid their villages in ashes, devastated their plantations, slew about eight hundred people, and, with a large number of captives, marched back in triumph to Charleston. This invasion broke the spirit of the tribe, and made the power of the Carolinians thoroughly respected among their neighbors.

When the confederacy of the tribes of the upper country was effected, and the Yamassees lifted the hatchet against the white people,^b Governor Craven, who had promptly sent aid to the people of the northern provinces, as promptly met the danger at his own door. So secretly had the confederation been formed, and their plans matured, that the first blow was struck, and almost a hundred people were slain,³ before the Carolinians were aware of danger. The Yamassees, the Muscoghees or Creeks, and Apalachians, advanced along the southern frontier, spreading desolation in their track. The Cherokees, the Catawbas, and the Congarees joined them, and the Corees, and some of the Tuscaroras, also went out upon the war-path. Almost a thousand warriors issued from the Neuse region, while those of the southern division amounted to more than six thousand. Within forty days, the Indian tribes from the Cape Fear to the St. Mary's, and westward to the Alabama, were banded together for the destruction of the colony at Ashley River.

Governor Craven, whose character was the reverse of his name, acted with the utmost energy when the confederation and its purposes were made known. He immediately proclaimed martial law; laid an embargo on all ships to prevent men or provisions from leaving the colony, and seizing arms wherever they could be found, placed them in the hands of faithful negroes, to co-operate with the white people. With twelve hundred men, white and black, he marched to confront the Indians, now approaching with the knife, hatchet, and torch, in dreadful activity. In the first encounters of his advanced parties with the enemy the Indians were victors, but Craven finally compelled them to fall back to their chief camp upon the Salk-hatchie,⁴ whither the governor pursued them. Desperate were the conflicts which ensued, and for a while the victory was doubtful. The fate of the whole colony was suspended upon the result, and the Carolinians contended with all the energy of men fighting for life, home, and family. The Indians were repulsed, and, hotly pursued by the white people and their black aids, they were driven across the Savannah and sought shelter under the guns of the Spanish fortress at St. Augustine. No longer useful to them, the Spaniards drove their savage allies into the wilderness, and fearing to return to their hunting-grounds north of the Savannah, the Indians set up their wigwams among the everglades of Florida, and became, it is believed, the ancestors of the powerful Seminoles of our day.

^c 1729. When the division of the Carolinas occurred,^c and the southern portion became a

¹ Bancroft, iii., 246.

² This massacre was at Pocotaligo, an old village in the parish of Prince William, in Beaufort District. It then contained about three hundred inhabitants. There stood Fort Balfour, which was captured, during the Revolution, by a few Americans under Colonel Harden.

³ This is the name of the south fork of the Combahee River, which empties into St. Helena Sound. The place of the encampment was near Barnwell, the capital of Barnwell District.

Embassy to the Indians.

Erection of Forts.

War with the Cherokees.

Small-pox at Charleston.

royal province, the first care of the administration was to secure the friendship of the neighboring tribes. In 1730, an embassy under Sir Alexander Cumming, visited and explored the Cherokee country, three hundred miles from Charleston. They made a favorable impression, secured advantageous treaties, and laid, as they hoped, the foundation of a permanent peace. For twenty years the treaty remained unbroken. In 1755, the Cherokees renewed their treaty with the Carolinians, and at the same time made cessions to them of large tracts of land. Upon this ceded territory, stretching along the Savannah to the Tennessee River, Glenn, then governor of South Carolina, built forts, and named them respectively Prince George,¹ Moore, and Loudon. The first was upon the Savannah, three hundred miles from Charleston; the second was about one hundred and seventy miles below; and the latter was upon the waters of the Tennessee River, five hundred miles from Charleston. These forts were garrisoned by troops from Great Britain, and, promising security, settlements rapidly extended in that direction. They served to awe the Indian nations, and peace might have been always secured, had the white people exercised ordinary prudence. But one rash act scattered the power of treaties to the wind, and lighted the flames of war along the Carolina frontier.

In 1757, during the administration of Governor Lyttleton (afterward Lord Wescott), while a large party of the Cherokees, who had been assisting the English against the French on the Ohio, were returning home, they took possession of some horses from the back settlers of Virginia. The white people pursued them, killed a number of warriors, and took several captives. This violence exasperated the Indians, and they retaliated by scalping every white man whom they met. Parties of young warriors fell upon the border settlements of the Carolinas, and war was kindled along the whole frontier. Lyttleton called the Carolinians to arms. The Cherokee chiefs were alarmed, and sent a deputation to Charleston to appease the wrath of the English. Lasting friendship might have been at once secured had not Lyttleton indiscreetly refused to listen. He collected fourteen hundred men upon the Congaree, conducted the Cherokee delegation thither, under guard, and, extorting a pledge of peace and alliance, he returned to Charleston, after sending to Fort George twenty-two hostages, whom he had demanded for the delivery of the warriors who had desolated the border settlements. The Cherokees were very indignant, and the governor had scarcely reached his capital, when he received intelligence that fourteen white people had been murdered within a mile of Fort George. Soon the Cherokees surrounded that fortress, led on by Oconastota, a chief of great influence, and the implacable enemy of the English. Perceiving the power of his arms to be vain, he had recourse to stratagem. Withdrawing his warriors, he spread them in ambush, and while conferring with the commander of the garrison and two other officers, whom he had decoyed to the margin of a stream by expressions of friendship, he gave a signal, and instantly they were surrounded by armed savages. The commander was slain, and the other two were wounded and made prisoners. The garrison proceeded to put the hostages in irons. They made a deadly resistance, and were all slain. This event maddened the whole Indian nation, and, with gleaming hatchets, they swept along the Carolina frontier like the scythe of Death. Men, women, and children were butchered without mercy; and the war-belt was sent to the Catawbias and other tribes, inviting them to confederate for the extermination of the English.

About this time, Charleston was severely scourged by the small-pox, and was too weak to send efficient succor to the frontiers. Lyttleton had been appointed governor of Jamaica, and, sailing for that island about this time, was succeeded by William Bull, a native Carolinian. Bull sent to Virginia and North Carolina for aid, and those states furnished seven troops of rangers for the service. These, with the British regulars under Colonel Montgomery (afterward Earl of Eglinton), sent from Canada by General Amherst, marched into the

¹ Fort Prince George was a strong work. It was quadrangular, with an earthen rampart six feet high, upon which stockades were placed. Around it was a ditch, and it had a natural glacis on two sides. At each angle was a bastion, on which four small cannons were mounted. It contained barracks for a hundred men.

Montgomery's Expedition against the Indians.

Peace.

Renewal of War.

Grant and Middleton's Expedition.

Indian country. Before proceeding, Montgomery rendezvoused at Monk's Corner,^a near Charleston, where volunteers flocked to his standard. The Cherokees were advised of these preparations for invading their territory, and were at first uneasy. Their beautiful domain spread out between the Broad and Savannah Rivers, and was fenced in by rugged mountains. They had then sixty-four towns and villages, and upon an emergency could call six thousand warriors to the field. Reflecting upon this force, they felt strong. Montgomery, with only two thousand men, proceeded against the Indians. In several engagements he chastised them severely, and pressed on to the relief of Fort Prince George, then closely invested by the red warriors. The Indians fled at his approach toward the secure fastnesses of the mountains and morasses, and hither Montgomery pursued them. The wilderness was vast and fearful over which he marched, and the streams to be forded were often deep and turbid. The enemy finally made a stand at Etchoes, the nearest town of their middle settlements. Within five miles of this village a severe battle was fought. The Cherokees fell back slowly before the cold bayonet; and when they saw the English pressing toward the town, they fled thither precipitately, to save their women and children. Montgomery, feeling unsafe in that far off and desolate region, returned to Fort Prince George, and from thence toward Charleston. All the way to the populous settlements, he was annoyed by the Indians, who hung upon his rear, and the purpose of the campaign was only half accomplished. Montgomery and his regulars soon afterward returned to New York.

While this retreat was in progress, the distant post of Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee, was invested by the Cherokees. The garrison of two hundred men was daily melting away by famine. The Virginia Rangers attempted its relief, but without success. The garrison finally surrendered. Safe guidance to the frontier settlements, with ammunition and other baggage was promised them; but they had gone only a short distance on their way, when their guides forsook them, and another body of Indians fell upon and massacred twenty-six of them. A few escaped, and Stuart, their commander, and some others, remained captives a long time.

The Cherokees were now willing to treat for peace, but the French had sent emissaries among them, who kept their fears and animosities constantly excited. Soon the war was renewed with all its former violence, while Carolina was left almost wholly to her own resources. She raised a provincial regiment of twelve hundred men, and gave the command to Colonel Middleton, a brave and accomplished officer. Among his subordinates were Henry Laurens, Francis Marion, William Moultrie, Isaac Huger, and Andrew Pickens, all of whom were very distinguished patriots during the Revolution. This was their first military school, and the lessons they were there taught were very useful in a subsequent hour of need. When this little band was ready to march into the Cherokee country, Colonel James Grant, with the regiments formerly commanded by Montgomery, landed at Charleston.^b The united forces of Grant and Middleton, with some of the Chickasaw

^b April, 1761.

and Catawba Indians as allies, in all twenty-six hundred men, reached Fort

^c June 7. Prince George on the twenty-ninth of May. Nine days afterward they advanced toward Etchoes, where, upon the ground where Montgomery fought them, a large body of Cherokees were gathered. Well skilled in the use of fire-arms, and now well supplied by the French, they presented a formidable front. They also had the advantage of superior position, and the battle which ensued was severe and bloody. For three hours the conflict raged in that deep wilderness; and it was not until the deadly bayonet, in the hands of desperate men, was brought to bear upon the Indians, that they gave way. Inch by inch they fell back, until finally, completely overpowered, they fled, hotly pursued by their conquerors. How many were slain is not known; the English lost nearly sixty men. Like Sullivan in the Seneca country, Grant followed up his victory with the torch. Etchoes was laid in ashes; the cornfields and granaries were destroyed, and the wretched people were driven to the barren mountains.¹ So terrible was the punishment, that the name of Grant was to them a synonym for *devastation*.

¹ Marion, in a letter quoted by Weems, mentioned the wanton destruction of the corn, then in full ear,

Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

Influence of Royal Emissaries.

Indian Hostilities renewed.

John Stuart.

By this victory, the spirit of the Cherokee Nation was broken, and the French, whose machinations had urged them to continued hostilities, were hated and despised by them. Through the venerable sachem, Attakullakulla, who had remained a friend of the white people, the chiefs of the Nation humbly sued for peace. "The Great Spirit," said the old man, "is the father of the white man and the Indian; as we all live in one land, let us all live as one people." His words of counsel were heeded; a treaty of amity was concluded, and a bloody war was ended. The Treaty of Paris, between the English and French, was concluded in 1763, and, except the feeble Spaniards on the South, the Cherokees had no enemies of the English thereafter to excite them to war.

From 1761, until the war of the Revolution commenced, the Indians upon the Carolina and Georgia frontiers were generally quiet and peaceful. Pursuant to the secret instructions which the royal governors received from the British ministry, to band the Indians against the colonists, Tory emissaries went up from the sea-board and excited the Cherokees and their neighbors to go upon the war-path. Among the most active and influential of these emissaries of the crown was John Stuart, a Scotchman, and at that time his majesty's Indian agent for the Southern colonies.¹ Stuart arranged a plan with Wright, Campbell, Martin, Dunmore, and other royal governors, to land a British army at St. Augustine, in Florida, which, uniting with the Indians and Tories, might invade the state at an interior point, while a fleet should blockade its harbors, and land an invading army on the sea-board. This plan was discovered by the Carolinians, but not in time entirely to defeat it; for, when Parker and Clinton made their attack upon Charleston,^a the Cherokees commenced a series of massacres upon the western frontiers of the province. Already a few June 28,
1776. stockade forts had been erected in that section, and to these the terrified borderers fled for safety. Colonel Williamson, of the district of Ninety-Six, who was charged with the defense of the upper country, raised about five hundred true men, and in his first skirmish with the Indians, in which he took some prisoners, discovered thirteen white men, Tories, disguised as savages, and wielding the tomahawk and scalping knife. The indignation excited against these men extended to their class, and this discovery was the beginning of those bloody scenes between bands of Whigs and Tories which characterized many districts of South Carolina. The domestic feuds which ensued were pregnant with horrid results; the ferocity of the tiger usurped the blessed image of God in the hearts of men, and made them brutes, with fearful power to be brutal.

When intelligence of the affair at Charleston reached the interior, the patriots were encouraged, and Williamson soon found himself at the head of a force of twelve hundred men, and daily augmenting. With a detachment of three hundred horsemen, he proceeded to attack an Indian and Tory force at Oconoree Creek. He fell into an ambuscade, and himself and companions narrowly escaped destruction. His horse was shot under him; his squad-

and said, "I saw every where around the footsteps of the little Indian children, where they had lately played under the shelter of the rustling corn. No doubt they had often looked up with joy to the swelling shocks, and gladdened when they thought of their abundant cakes for the coming winter. When we are gone, thought I, they will return, and, peeping through the weeds with tearful eyes, will mark the ghastly ruin poured over their homes, and the happy fields where they had so often played. 'Who did this?' they will ask their mothers. 'The white people; the Christians did it!' will be the reply."

¹ John Stuart came to America with Oglethorpe, probably with the Highlanders under M'Intosh, the father of General Lachlan M'Intosh, of the Revolution, who settled upon the Alatomahaw, and called the place New Inverness. The Indians were greatly pleased with the dress and character of the Highlanders, and to this circumstance is attributed Stuart's influence among them. Stuart went to Charleston; became Indian agent; married Miss Fenwick, daughter of one of the wealthiest men in the province, and finally became one of the king's council. He lived in the house on the corner of Wadd and Orange Streets, Charleston, now (1851) owned by William Carson, Esq. He had commanded a corps on Cumberland Island, who gallantly repulsed the Spaniards in 1745, and this was the commencement of his popularity which led up to the civil station that he held in council. He chose the royal side when the Revolution broke out, and to him was attributed all of the difficulties with the Indians upon the frontier during the first year of that struggle. Alarmed for his personal safety, he fled to St. Augustine. His estate was confiscated. He died in England. His son, Sir John Stuart, became a distinguished general in the British army.—See Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution*, page 107.

ron were thrown into disorder; and but for the skill and coolness of Colonel Hammond in rallying them, they would have been routed, and many slain. They were victorious, and shortly after this event, Williamson marched, with two thousand men, to lay waste the Cherokee country. Again he fell into an ambuscade, in a narrow defile among the rugged mountains, near the present town of Franklin. From the rocky heights, and from behind the huge trees of the forest, twelve hundred warriors, with some Tories, poured a destructive fire upon the Whigs. But again the Indians were repulsed, and Williamson pressed forward cautiously but efficiently in the work of conquest and desolation. The valleys were smiling with crops of corn, and numerous villages dotted the water-courses. Towns were laid in ashes; the standing corn was trampled down and destroyed; and over all the Indian settlements eastward of the Appalachian Mountains, the broom of desolation swept with terrible effect. The destruction of food invited famine to a revel, and, to avoid starvation, five hundred warriors crossed the Savannah and fled to the Loyalists in Florida.

In the mean while, General Rutherford, of North Carolina, with a force fully equal to Williamson's, crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap, and proceeded to the valley of the Tennessee River, laying waste the Indian country on the line of his march. There he joined Williamson on the fourteenth of September. The work of destruction being completed, Rutherford returned to Salisbury in October, where he disbanded his troops. The conquest was consummate. The Cherokees sued for peace, but they had no Attakullakulla to intercede for them, for he had gone down into silence. They were compelled to submit to the most abject humiliation, and to cede to South Carolina all their lands beyond the mountains of Unacaya, now comprised within the fertile districts of Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens, watered by the tributaries of the Savannah, the Saluda, and the Ennoree.¹

Only once again did the Cherokees lift the hatchet, during the war. In 1781, British emissaries induced them to go upon the war-path. With a large number of disguised white men, they fell upon the inhabitants in Ninety-Six, massacred some families, and burned their houses. General Pickens, with a party of militia, penetrated the Cherokee country, and in the space of fourteen days he burned thirteen of their villages, killed more than forty of the Indians, and took nearly seventy of them prisoners. They sued for peace, promised never to listen to the British again, and from that time they remained quiet.²

The spirit of the North Carolina Regulators was infused into the back settlers of South Carolina, beyond the Broad River, and about 1769, the leading men of that region took the law into their own hands. To suppress their rising power and importance, the governor employed a man of low habits, but of haughty demeanor, named Scovill, to go thither and enforce the laws of the province. He gave him the commission of colonel, and, with the mistaken policy of a narrow mind, he used rigorous measures, instead of evincing forbearance and a spirit of conciliation. The sufferings which they endured made them reprobate all government, and when asked to espouse the cause of Congress, they refused, on the ground that all congresses or instruments of government are arbitrary and tyrannical. These formed the basis of the Tory ascendancy in that section of the state at the beginning of the war; and before the names of Whig and Tory became distinctive appellations, the name of Scovillites was applied to those who opposed the Republicans. There were also many Dutch settlers between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, who had received bounty lands from the king.

¹ Moultrie, Ramsay, Simms, Johnson.

² A greater portion of the Cherokee Nation, now in existence, occupy territory west of the Mississippi. A remnant of them remain in North Carolina, at a place called Qualla Town, in Haywood county. They were allowed to remain when the general emigration of their nation took place. They have a tract of seventy-two thousand acres of land. Almost every adult can read in the Cherokee language, and most of them understand English. They manufacture all their necessities; have courts, lawyers, and judges of their own, and have all the political rights of free citizens of the state. They are sober, industrious, and religious. Their present business chief (1851) is William H. Thomas, Esq., senator from that district (50th). The Qualla Town Cherokees exhibit some remarkable cases of longevity. In 1850, Messrs. Mitchell and Smoot, while on an official visit there, saw *Kalosteh*, who was then one hundred and twenty years old. His wife "went out like a candle," as *Kalosteh* said, the year before, at the age of one hundred and twenty-five years. It is said that people one hundred years old are not uncommon there.

The Western Settlers.

Growth of Party Spirit.

The Cunninghams.

Seizure of Powder.

Government emissaries persuaded these settlers to believe that an espousal of the rebel cause would be the sure precursor of the loss of their lands. These augmented the loyal population when the inhabitants were called upon to make a political decision. Still another class, the Scotch-Irish Protestants, had experienced the bounty of the king, and these, with a feeling of gratitude, adhered to the royal government. Over all these, Lord William Campbell, the royal governor when the war broke out, had unbounded influence, and probably in not one of the thirteen colonies was loyalty more rampant and uncompromising than in South Carolina. Many, whose feelings were all in harmony with the opposers of royal rule, were urged by self-interest to remain quiet; for they felt secure in person and property under present circumstances, and feared the result of commotion. Thus active and passive loyalty sat like an incubus upon the real patriotism of South Carolina; and yet, in every portion of the state, the Tories were outnumbered by the Whigs, except in the section we are now considering, between the Broad and Saluda Rivers. The inhabitants there could not be persuaded to furnish men and arms for the army of Congress, nor to sign the American Association.

Early in 1776, William Henry Drayton,¹ Colonel William Thomson, Colonel Joseph Kershaw, and Reverend William Tennent, were sent by the Council of Safety at Charleston into that district, to explain to the people the nature of the dispute. Emissaries of government counteracted their influence by persuading the people that the inhabitants of the seaboard desired to get their tea free of duty, while those in the interior would be obliged to pay a high rate for salt, osnaburgs, and other imported necessities. The baneful seeds of suspicion and mutual distrust were sown broad-cast among the settlers. The men of each party banded together in fear of the violence of the other, and soon opposing camps were formed. Moderate men endeavored to prevent bloodshed, and a conference of their respective leaders was finally effected. A treaty of mutual forbearance was agreed to, and for a while agitation almost ceased. But restless spirits were busy. Among these, Robert and Patrick Cunningham,² Tory leaders, were the most active, and they soon disturbed the repose of party suspicion and animosity. By their machinations, it was aroused to wakefulness. The Whigs, fearful of Robert Cunningham's influence, seized and conveyed him to Charleston, where he was imprisoned. His brother Patrick raised a force to attempt a rescue.

At about this time, a thousand pounds of powder, on its way as a present to the Cherokees, was seized by these Loyalists. This excited the already vigorous efforts of the Council of Safety to more efficient measures. Colonel Williamson (the same officer who chastised the Cherokees), with a party of patriots, was sent to regain the powder. They seized Patrick Cunningham, the leader, when the Tories gathered in strength, and drove Williamson into a stockade fort at Ninety-Six. After remaining there some days, an agreement for a cessation of hostilities was concluded, and both parties dispersed to their homes.

¹ Mr. Drayton was, at this time, quite a young man, a descendant of one of the leading families of South Carolina. He was a nephew of Governor Bull. When Republican principles began to work up to the surface, and become visible at the South, in 1771, his pen was employed on the side of government, in opposition to Christopher Gadsden and others. These essays brought him into notice. He was introduced at court, and was appointed one of Governor Bull's council. As the Revolution advanced to a crisis, Drayton saw the injustice of Great Britain, and espoused the Republican cause. He became a favorite of the people, and, while a delegate in the Continental Congress, he died in their service in 1779.

² Robert Cunningham was an Irish settler in the District of Ninety-Six, now Abbeville, where he was commissioned a judge in 1770. After his release, in 1776, he removed to Charleston. In 1780, he was appointed a brigadier general to command the Loyalists of that province. His estate was confiscated in 1782, and not being allowed to remain in the province at the close of the war, he went to Nassau, New Providence, where he died in 1813, at the age of seventy-four years. The British government indemnified him for his losses, and gave him a pension. His brother Patrick was deputy surveyor of the colony in 1769. He received the commission of colonel, under Robert, in 1780. His property, also, was confiscated in 1782, and at the close of the war he went to Florida. The South Carolina Legislature afterward treated him leniently, and restored a part of his property. He was elected a member of the Legislature by his Tory friends. He died in 1794.

Tory Faithlessness.

Expedition against them

Battle at Musgrove's Mill.

The treaty at Ninety-Six was soon violated by the Tories, when the Provincial Congress, resolving no longer to rely upon words, sent a large body of militia and newly-raised regulars, under Colonels Richardson¹ and Thomson,² to apprehend the leaders of the party which seized the powder, and to do all other things necessary to suppress the present and future insurrections.³ They were joined by seven hundred militia from North Carolina, under Colonels Thomas Polk and Griffith Rutherford, and two hundred and twenty regulars, commanded by Colonel James Martin. This was a wise step. It gave the Tories an exalted idea of the strength of the friends of government, and entirely destroyed their organization. Colonel Richardson used his discretionary powers with mildness. The most obstinate leaders were seized and carried to Charleston. Quiet was restored, and the Loyalists made no demonstration of moment until after the reduction of Savannah, when a considerable party arose in favor of the royal government, having for their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by the British government to head the Tories. These were routed and dispersed at Kettle Creek, while on their way to the British posts in Georgia. This event will be noticed in detail hereafter. From that time until the British took possession of Charleston, in 1780, the Tories remained rather quiet upon their plantations. On the eighteenth of August, 1780, Colonel Williams (who was killed at King's Mountain a few weeks afterward), with Colonels Shelby and Clarke, attacked quite a large body of British under Colonel Innis and Major Fraser, near Musgrove's Mill, upon the Ennoree River, in the northeast corner of Laurens's District. Many Tories were collected there, and were joined on the seventeenth by Innis and Fraser. The whole force was about three hundred strong, and were encamped upon the south side of the river, where they commanded a bad, rocky ford. The Americans, whose force was much less, took post upon the north side, upon a small creek which empties into the Ennoree just below the Spartanburg line, about two miles above Musgrove's Mill. It was agreed that Williams should have the chief command. He drew up his little army in ambush, in a semicircle within a wood, and then proceeded to entice his enemy across the river. For this purpose he took a few picked men, appeared at the ford, and fired upon the enemy. The stratagem was successful. Innis immediately crossed the ford to dislodge the "rebels." Williams and his party retreated, hotly pursued by Innis until within the area of the patriot ambuscade, when a single shot by Colonel Shelby gave the signal for attack. With a loud shout, the concealed Americans arose, and within two minutes the Tories were completely surrounded. Colonel Innis was slightly wounded, but with the larger part of his regulars he escaped. Major Fraser was killed, with eighty-five others. Colonel Clary, the commander of the militia, escaped, but

¹ Richard Richardson was a native of Virginia, where he was employed as a land-surveyor at the time when Washington was engaged in the same pursuit. He afterward settled in old Craven county, in South Carolina; and during the Indian border wars, he commanded a regiment. As a representative in the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, Colonel Richardson assisted in forming the first Republican Constitution for that state. He was with General Lincoln in his Southern campaigns, and with that officer became a prisoner at Charleston, at which time he was a brigadier. With others, he was sent to St. Augustine, from whence he returned in September with a broken constitution, and soon died at his residence, near Salisbury, in Sumter District, at the age of about seventy-six years. Soon after his death, Tarleton occupied his house, and, believing the family plate was buried with him, had his body disinterred. When he was about leaving, that cruel man applied the torch to the house with his own hand, avowing his determination to make it the "funeral pile of the widow and her three young rebels." His son, James B., was afterward governor of South Carolina.—See Johnson's *Traditions, &c.*, page 158.

² William Thomson was a native of Pennsylvania, and a relative of Charles Thomson, the secretary of the Continental Congress. He was born about the year 1727, and, while a child, was taken to Orangeburg District, in South Carolina. He was a patriot, and was placed in command of the 3d regiment, called the Rangers. With his regiment, he fought in the battle on Sullivan's Island in 1776. He was with General Howe in Georgia, and served under the command of D'Estaing at Savannah. He behaved gallantly, and suffered much during the greater part of the war. At its close, he returned to his estate at Belleville, near Fort Motte, mentioned on page 687, with shattered health and fortune. There he continued in the pursuit of an indigo planter, which he began before the war, until 1796, when declining health induced him to go to medicinal springs in Virginia. He died there on the twenty-second of November of that year, at the age of sixty-nine years.

³ Instructions of the Provincial Congress to Colonel Richardson.

Gathering of Troops by Sumter.

His partisan Compatriots.

Attack upon Wemyss at Fish Dam Ford.

most of his men were made prisoners. The Americans lost four men killed and eleven wounded. After this victory, Williams, with the prisoners, encamped at the Cedar Spring, in Spartanburg District, and from thence proceeded to Charlotte. Williams and Clarke returned to the western frontier, and the prisoners, under Major Hammond, marched to Hillsborough.

General Sumter,¹ after his defeat at the mouth of the Fishing Creek, on the Catawba,



Thos. Sumter

in August, 1780,^a collected a small volunteer force at Sugar Creek. Although, when the defeat of Gates at Camden was effected, there was no regular army in the field in South Carolina for three months, Sumter with his volunteers, maintained a warfare, and kept up the spirit of liberty upon the waters of the Broad River and vicinity for a long time. He crossed that stream, and by rapid marches ranged the country watered by the Ennoree and Tyger Rivers, in the neighborhood of the Broad. His men were all mounted. They would strike a blow in one place to-day; to-morrow, their power would be felt far distant. Marion was engaged, at the same time, in similar service in the lower country; while Clarke and Twiggs of Georgia, and Williams, Pickens, and others of Ninety-Six, were equally active. The utmost vigilance of Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, was necessary to maintain a communication between his various posts. While Tarleton was engaged in endeavors to find, fight, and subdue

Marion, the "Swamp Fox," then making his valor felt on and near the banks of the Santee, Cornwallis perceived the operations of Sumter with alarm. He surmised (what was really the fact) that Sumter designed to attack his fort at Ninety-Six; he accordingly detached Major Wemyss, a bold and active officer, to surprise the partisan, then on the east side of the Broad River, at Fish Dam Ford, in Chester District, fifty-three miles from Camden. Wemyss, with a considerable force of well-mounted men, reached the vicinity on the evening of the eighth of November.^b Fearing Sumter might be apprised of his proximity before morning, and cross the river, Wemyss resolved to attack him at midnight, and immediately formed his corps for battle. At about one o'clock in the morning, he rushed upon Sumter's camp. That vigilant officer was prepared to receive him. Colonel Taylor, who commanded Sumter's advanced guard, had taken particular precautions. The horses were all saddled and bridled, ready to retreat or pursue, as circumstances might require. This preparation astonished the British, for they believed their approach was unknown. As soon as they were

¹ Thomas Sumter was one of the South Carolina patriots earliest in the field. Of his early life and habits very little is known. In March, 1776, he was a lieutenant colonel of a regiment of riflemen. After the fall of Charleston, in 1780, when a partisan warfare was carried on in the Carolinas, Sumter began to display those powers which made him so renowned. Governor Rutledge, perceiving his merits, promoted him to brigadier of militia. His battles at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock gave him great eolot. He was defeated by Tarleton at Fishing Creek, on the Catawba, just after the unfortunate battle near Camden. With a few survivors, and other volunteers, he crossed the Broad River, ranged the districts upon its western banks, and on the eighth of November, 1780, defeated Colonel Wemyss, who had attacked his camp. He afterward defeated Tarleton at Blackstocks. Sumter was wounded, but was able to take the field early in February, 1781. While Greene was retreating before Cornwallis, Sumter, with Marion, was humbling British garrisons in the lower country. He continued in active service during the whole campaign of 1781. Ill health caused him to leave the army before the close of the war. He served a long time in the Congress of the United States. He died at his residence at Statesburg, near Bradford Springs, in Sumter District, on the first of June, 1832, at the remarkable age of ninety-eight years.

Defeat of Wemyss.

Sumter pursued by Tarleton.

Halt and Battle at Blackstocks's.

within rifle shot, Sumter gave a signal; a deadly volley ensued, and twenty-three of the enemy were laid dead upon the field. The British recoiled, but rallying in a moment, they renewed the attack. A hot skirmish ensued, when the British gave way and retreated precipitately, leaving their commander (who was wounded at the first attack), with many slain and wounded comrades, upon the field. Major Wemyss was found the next morning, bleeding profusely. The blood was stanchd, and, notwithstanding he had been guilty of various cruelties toward the Whigs, and in his pocket was a list of houses he had burned, Sumter treated him kindly, and allowed him to go to Charleston on parole.

Sumter now prepared to cross the Broad River, for the purpose of effecting his design upon Ninety-Six. He had agreed with Colonels Clarke, Twiggs, and others, from Georgia, to join them on the west side of the Broad River, and proceed to invest that post. For the purpose of covering this expedition, and deceiving the British, he first approached and menaced Camden, and then wheeling, by forced marches he crossed the Broad River and joined Clarke and his associates between the Tyger and Ennoree. Sumter took the command of the whole, and had crossed the Ennoree, when he was intercepted by Tarleton. Cornwallis, alarmed for the safety of Ninety-Six, had recalled that officer from the expedition against Marion, and ordered him to proceed immediately in pursuit of Sumter. With his usual celerity, Tarleton soon crossed the Broad River, and, pushing up the southern side of the Ennoree, attempted to gain Sumter's rear. A deserter from the British infantry informed that officer of the approach and design of Tarleton, and he immediately ordered a retreat. Backward they turned, but so near was the enemy, that, while crossing the Ennoree, the rear guard of the Americans were handled roughly by Tarleton's van. They escaped, however, with a trifling loss. Sumter continued his retreat until he reached the plantation of Blackstocks, on the southwest side of the Tyger River (in the extreme western part of Union District), still closely pursued by Tarleton. That place appeared favorable for a small force to do battle, and Sumter resolved there to face his pursuers, maintain his ground during the day, if possible, and, if compelled to retreat, to cross the river at night. Tarleton did not approach as early as was apprehended, and it was near the close of the ^{Nov. 20,} ^{1780.} afternoon,^a when, with about four hundred of his command, he appeared near Blackstocks's. He was in such haste to overtake Sumter before he should cross the Tyger, that he pressed forward without waiting for the remainder of his force. He found the Americans upon a hill near Blackstocks's house, ready for battle and determined to fight. Major Jackson, of Georgia, who acted as Sumter's volunteer aid on that occasion, assisted him essentially in the proper formation of his troops, and in directing their movements.

In Sumter's front was a very steep bank, with a small rivulet at its base, a fence, and some brushwood. His rear, and part of his right flank, was upon Tyger River; his left was covered by a large log-barn. Tarleton took position upon an eminence near by, and, believing the victory for himself quite sure, he leisurely prepared to attack the Americans, as soon as the remainder of his command should arrive. When Sumter perceived that the whole of Tarleton's force was not with him, he determined not to wait to be attacked, but to act on the offensive. He issued his orders hastily, and in a few minutes his troops descended suddenly from the hill, and poured a well-directed fire upon the British. The latter met the unexpected shock with great valor, and then rushed upon the American riflemen with bayonets. These fell back in good order, when a reserve of riflemen, with a second volley, slew many of the British, and repulsed the remainder. Tarleton, now observing the peril of his little army, charged directly up the hill with his cavalry. The Americans stood firm, and, making sure aim with their rifles, drove the cavalry back beyond the rivulet. Tarleton, amazed at the result, drew off his whole force, then, wheeling his cavalry, made a furious charge upon Sumter's left flank, where the hill was less precipitous. Here he was met by a little band of one hundred and fifty Georgia militia, under Twiggs and Jackson, who, like veterans of many wars, stood firm, and made a noble resistance for a long time,¹ until

¹ (Colonel (afterward General) James Jackson, in a letter to the late Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, written many years subsequent to the war (the original of which is in possession of H. C. Baird, Esq., of

Flight of Tarleton.

Sumter Wounded.

His Retreat.

Thanks of Congress.

Patriotic Women.

hoof, and saber, and pistol, bore too hard upon them, and they gave way. At that moment, the rifles of a reserve, under Colonel Winn, and a sharp fire from the log-barn, decided the day. Tarleton fled, leaving nearly two hundred upon the field. Of these, more than ninety were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. The Americans lost only three killed and five wounded. Among the latter was General Sumter, who received a ball in his breast early in the action, and was taken to the rear, when Colonel Twiggs assumed the command. Though Sumter's wound was severe, and kept him from the field for several months afterward, it did not completely disable him at the time. Without waiting for the remainder of Tarleton's force to come up, Sumter, as soon as he had buried the dead, and made the wounded of the enemy as comfortable as possible, forded the swift-flowing Tyger, bearing his wounded on litters, and continued his retreat to the eastern side of the Broad River, where a large portion of his followers separated, some to go home, others to join new commanders. He proceeded into North Carolina, and remained there until his wounds were healed. The Georgians turned westward, and marched along the base of the mountains toward Ninety-Six. The valorous achievements of Sumter (several more of which will be noticed in detail hereafter) during the campaign of 1780 acquired for him the title of the *Carolina Game-cock*. Cornwallis was obliged to speak of him as the most troublesome of his enemies. On the thirteenth of January, 1781, Congress passed a very complimentary resolution of thanks to him and his men, in the preamble of which, his victory at Hanging Rock, and his defeat of Wemyss and Tarleton, are particularly mentioned.¹ With these latter events ended all the important military operations westward of the Broad River, and north of the Saluda.²

The day is waning; let us cross the Esawapuddenah, and resume our journey.

Philadelphia), says, "General Sumter was wounded early in the action, and retired. Colonel (now General) Twiggs and myself fought the enemy three hours after this, and defeated them totally, bringing off upward of thirty dragoon horses."¹ *Journals of Congress*, vii., 14.

² Tradition has preserved many thrilling accounts of the sufferings, self-sacrifice, and great courage of the women westward of the Broad River. The gentle maiden and the rough woodsman were taught in the same school of rude experience, and imbibed from the events of daily life a spirit of self-reliance seldom seen in more refined society. Among the heroines of this region, Sarah Dillard, of Spartanburg District, mentioned on page 630, and Dicey Langston, of Laurens District, were among the most conspicuous. Of the latter, Mrs. Ellet, in her admirable sketches of *Women of the Revolution*, has recorded many interesting anecdotes. One of these will suffice to illustrate the courage of this young girl—a noble type of her class. Her father was infirm; her brothers were abroad; and Dicey, then only sixteen, was her father's chief companion and solace. A Tory band, called the *Bloody Scout*, under the notorious Bill Cunningham, spread terror over that lonely region; and the known patriotism of Dicey often jeopardized the life and property of her father. On one occasion, she learned that the *Scout* were about to fall upon a settlement beyond the Tyger, where her brothers dwelt. She resolved to save them. At night and alone, she crossed the Enoree and hastened to the banks of the Tyger. It was swollen, yet she did not recoil from the danger. The blackness of midnight was upon the land, yet she went boldly into the stream. Neck deep in the channel, she became confused, and did not know which way to go. God led her to the northern bank; and, like an angel of mercy, she sped to the settlement. When the *Bloody Scout* reached there the next day, no man was to be found.

Miss Langston married Thomas Springfield, of Greenville, South Carolina, where many of her descendants are still living. She died only a few years ago. Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Simms, Mrs. Otterson, Miss Jackson, Mrs. Potter, and other less conspicuous of the women west of the Broad River, were copatriots with Dicey Langston. Of these, Mrs. Ellet has made many interesting records.

CHAPTER XXV.

"Ours are no hirelings train'd to the fight,
 With cymbal and clarion, all glittering and bright;
 No prancing of chargers, no martial display;
 No war-trump is heard from our silent array.
 O'er the proud heads of freemen our star-banner waves;
 Men, firm as their mountains, and still as their graves,
 To-morrow shall pour but their life-blood like rain:
 We come back in triumph, or come not again!"—T. GRAY.



At noon I crossed the Broad River at the Cherokee Ford, and turning to the southeast, pressed on toward Yorkville and the interesting fields of conflict beyond, near the waters of the Catawba and its surname, the Wateree, where the chivalrous partisans of the South, scorning the Delilah lap of ease, retained their strength and battled manfully with the Philistines of the crown. The river at the ford is about eight hundred

yards wide, and upon the firm pathway, which has been constructed at considerable expense, the average depth of water did not exceed one foot. Unless the river is much swollen, the ford is perfectly safe.

A strong dam, owned by the proprietors of the iron-works, crosses the river an eighth of a mile above; and so shallow and rapid is the current, and so rocky the bed of the river, for many miles

VIEW AT THE CHEROKEE FORD.¹

ern country. From a ravine, just wide enough for the passage of a small stream and the high-way, the hills rise almost perpendicularly to a considerable altitude. They were covered with the various evergreens which give beauty to Southern forests in winter; and from the fissures of the rocks, where the water-fountains were bursting forth, hundreds of icicles were glittering in prismatic beauty wherever the sun shed its rays upon them. It was truly a gorgeous scene. Along this sinuous mountain stream, rock-bound on either side, the road continued to an iron establishment, where it ascends the steep margins of the hills, presenting a surface of deep adhesive red earth. Descending the eastern side of the eminence, I crossed King's Creek, a dozen miles below the place where I passed it two days before when on my way to the Cowpens. Soon again I was among the rough hills, and so bad was the road, that at sunset I had traveled only ten miles from the Cherokee Ford.

in this vicinity, that it is quite unnavigable, except in a few places.

Soon after leaving the ford, I passed through a gorge of a spur of King's Mountain, which here comes down in a precipitous ridge to the Broad River. The scenery within this gorge was the most romantic I had observed in the South-



MOUNTAIN GORGE NEAR THE CHEROKEE FORD.

¹ This view is from the east bank of the river. Toward the extreme right is seen the dam, made to supply water-power for the iron-works delineated toward the left of the picture. The fording-place, which crosses a small island in the middle of the stream, is indicated by the slight fall toward the left.

A Night on the Mountains.

Contentment.

Mule Driving.

Yorkville.

Catawba Indians.

I discovered that the temporary repairs of my wagon had not been sufficient to withstand the rough usage of the way, and that more thorough work was necessary before I could pursue my journey with safety. Yorkville, the nearest place in advance where a smith could be found, was fourteen miles distant, so I was compelled to halt for the night at a small log-house, of forbidding aspect, among the mountains. The food and shelter was of the plainest kind imaginable. There was no "light in the dwelling," except the blaze of pine wood upon the hearth, and I wrote a letter by the glare of a resinous knot, brought from the "wood pile" for the purpose. Lying in bed, I could count the stars at the zenith; while the open floor below afforded such ample ventilation, that my buffalo robe, wrapped around me, was not uncomfortable on that keen frosty night. But generous, open-handed hospitality was in that humble cabin, which made amends for trifling discomforts, and I felt satisfied.

"Out upon the calf, I say,
Who turns his grumbling head away,
And quarrels with his feed of hay,
Because it is not clover.
Give to me the happy mind,
That will ever seek and find
Something fair and something kind,
All the wide world over."

"Our hungry eyes may fondly wish
To revel amid flesh and fish,
And gloat upon the silver dish
That holds a golden plover
Yet if our table be but spread
With bacon and with hot corn-bread,
Be thankful if we're always fed
As well, the wide world over."

Unwilling to risk a journey to Yorkville in my broken buggy, I hired a team of mules and a lumber-wagon from my host, to convey myself and baggage thither; and placing Charley and the vehicle in charge of his son, a lad of fourteen years, we started for the distant village at daybreak the next morning. All the way over that rough road I had practical evidence that mules are, like facts, "stubborn things." I was furnished with a hickory goad as long as an angler's rod, and with this I labored faithfully, full half of the way, to whip the animals into a trot where a level space occurred. But I made no visible impression; walk they would, until they reached the brow of a hill, when they would descend with the vehemence of the swine of old, who, filled with devils, ran down into the sea. Down three long hills, rocky and gullied, they ran, while my energies were fully occupied in pulling at the reins with one hand, and securing my seat upon a loose board, covered with a sheepskin, with the other. I reached Yorkville in safety at a little past meridian, resolved never again to play postillion with mules or donkeys, whether biped or quadruped.

Yorkville, the capital of York District, in South Carolina, almost two hundred miles from Charleston, is a very pleasant village of about eight hundred inhabitants, situated in the midst of a high plain, on the dividing-ridge between the waters of the Broad and Catawba Rivers. Sheltered from the northwest winds by the mountains, the climate is mild in winter; elevated far above the low country of the Carolinas, it is salubrious in summer. The streets of the village are regularly laid out, and adorned with beautiful Pride of India trees, filled, when I was there, with clusters of fruit. I saw some elegant mansions; and in the gardens, fine palmettoes, the first I had seen, were growing. I passed the Sabbath pleasantly in Yorkville, and left it early on Monday morning, with the impression that not a lovelier village flourishes in the "upper country" of the South. Leaving the great highway to Columbia on the right, I traversed the more private roads in the direction of the Catawba, to visit the scenes of valor and suffering in the vicinity of that stream. The weather was fine, and the roads generally good. Soon after leaving Yorkville, I passed through a part of the Catawba reservation, a narrow tract of land on the Catawba River, near the southeast corner of Yorkville District. The Catawba tribe, once so powerful, have dwindled down to the merest remnant. For their general adherence to the patriots during the Revolution, they have always received the fostering care of the state. Their number now does not exceed one hundred, and in a few years that once great rival tribe of the Five Nations will be extinct.¹ So the aborigines pass away, and the few survivors in our land may chant in sorrow,

¹ The Catawbias spoke a language different from any of the surrounding tribes. They inhabited the

Fishing Creek and its Associations.

Generous Hospitality.

Petition of a Catawba Indian.

"We, the rightful lords of yore,
Are the rightful lords no more;
Like the silver mist, we fail,
Like the red leaves in the gale—
Fail, like shadows, when the dawning
Waves the bright flag of the morning."

J. M'LELLAN, Junior.

"I will go to my tent and lie down in despair;
I will paint me with black, and will sever my hair;
I will sit on the shore when the hurricane blows,
And reveal to the God of the tempest my woes;
I will weep for a season, on bitterness fed,
For my kindred are gone to the hills of the dead;
But they died not of hunger, or lingering decay—
The hand of the white man hath swept them away!"

HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT.

I crossed the Fishing Creek at sunset; and at the house of a young planter, a mile beyond, passed the night. There I experienced hospitality in its fullest degree. The young husbandman had just begun business life for himself, and, with his wife and "wee bairn," occupied a modest house, with only one room. I was not aware of the extent of their accommodations when I asked for a night's entertainment, and the request was promptly complied with. It made no difference to them, for they had two beds in the room, and needed but one for themselves; the other was at my service. The young man was very intelligent and inquiring, and midnight found us in pleasant conversation. He would accept no compensation in the morning; and I left his humble dwelling full of reverence for that generous and unsuspecting hospitality of Carolina, where the people will give a stranger lodgings *even in their own bedrooms*, rather than turn him from their doors.

"Plain and artless her sons; but whose doors open faster
At the knock of the stranger or the tale of disaster?
How like to the rudeness of their dear native mountains,
With rich ore in their bosoms, and life in their fountains."

GASTON.

My journey of a day from Fishing Creek to Rocky Mount, on the Catawba, was delightful. The winter air was like the breath of late April in New England; and the roads, passing through a picturesque country, were generally good. Almost every plantation, too, is clustered with Revolutionary associations; for this region, like Westchester county, in New York, was the scene of continual partisan movements, skirmishes, and cruelties, during the last three years of the war. Near the mouth of the Fishing Creek (which empties into the Catawba two miles above the Great Falls), Sumter suffered defeat, after partial success at Rocky Mount below; and down through Chester, Fairfield, and Richland, too, Whigs and Tories battled fearfully for territorial possession, plunder, and personal re-

country south of the Tuscaroras, and adjoining the Cherokees. In 1672, the Shawnees made settlements in their country, but were speedily driven away. In 1712, they were the allies of the white people against the Corees and Tuscaroras; but in 1715, they joined the other tribes in a confederacy against the Southern colonies. In 1760, they were auxiliaries of the Carolinians against the Cherokees, and ever afterward were the friends of the white people. Their chief village was on the Catawba, twenty-four miles from Yorkville. The following eloquent petition of Peter Harris, a Catawba warrior during the Revolution, is preserved among the colonial records at Columbia, in South Carolina. The petition is dated 1822:

"I am one of the lingering survivors of an almost extinguished race. Our graves will soon be our only habitations. I am one of the few stalks that still remain in the field where the tempest of the Revolution has passed. I fought against the British for your sake. The British have disappeared, and you are free; yet from me have the British took nothing; nor have I gained any thing by their defeat. I pursued the deer for subsistence; the deer are disappearing, and I must starve. God ordained me for the forest, and my ambition is the shade. But the strength of my arm decays, and my feet fail me in the chase. The hand which fought for your liberties is now open for your relief. In my youth I bled in battle, that you might be independent; let not my heart in my old age bleed for the want of your commiseration."

This petition was not unheeded; the Legislature of South Carolina granted the old warrior an annuity of sixty dollars.

Great Falls of the Catawba.

Mount Dearborn.

Cotton Factory.

Rocky Mount and its Associations.

venge. Some of these scenes will be noticed presently. Turning to the left at Beckhamville,¹ I traversed a rough and sinuous road down to the banks of the Catawba, just below the Great Falls. Here yet remain the foundations of a projected United States military establishment, to be called Mount Dearborn, which was abandoned; and upon the brink of the foaming waters stands a cotton-mill, the property of Daniel M'Culloch, operated by white hands, and devoted chiefly to the production of cotton-yarns. At this place, in the midst of a fine cotton-growing country, almost inexhaustible water-power invites capital and enterprise to seek good investment, and confer substantial benefit upon the state. The place is wild and romantic. Almost the whole volume of the river is here compressed by a rugged island into a narrow channel, between steep, rocky shores, fissured and fragmented, as if by some powerful convulsion.

VIEW OF THE GREAT FALLS OF THE CATAWBA.²

There are no perpendicular falls; but down a rocky bed the river tumbles in mingled rapids and cascades, roaring and foaming, and then subsides into comparative calmness in a basin below.

It was late in the afternoon when I finished my sketch of the Falls, and leaving Mount Dearborn, crossed Rock Creek and reined up in front of the elegant mansion of Mrs. Barkley, at Rocky Mount. Her dwelling, where refined hospitality bore rule, is beautifully situated upon an eminence overlooking the Catawba and the surrounding country, and within a few rods of the remains of the old village and the battle-ground. Surrounded by gardens and ornamental trees, it must be a delightful summer residence. Yet there was grief in that dwelling and the habiliments of mourning indicated the ravages of death. The husband and father had been an honored member of the Legislature of South Carolina, and

¹ Here was the scene of exciting events during the early part of the summer of 1780. Rocky Mount was made a royal post. Captain Houseman, the commander, sent forth hand-bills, calling the inhabitants together in an "old field," where Beckhamville post-office now stands, to receive protection and acknowledge allegiance to the crown. One aged patriot, like another Tell, refused to bow to the cap of this tiny Gessler. That patriot was Joseph Gaston, who lived upon the Fishing Creek, near the Catawba. In vain Houseman, who went to his residence with an armed escort, pleaded with and menaced the patriot. His reply was, "Never!" and as soon as the British captain had turned his back, he sent his sons out to ask the brave among his neighbors to meet at his house that night. Under Captain John M'Clure, thirty-three determined men were at Judge Gaston's at midnight. They were clad in hunting-shirts and moccasins, wool hats and deer-skin caps, each armed with a butcher-knife and a rifle. Early in the morning, they prepared for the business of the day. Silently they crept along the old Indian trail by the margin of the creek, and suddenly, with a fearful shout, surrounded and discomfited the assembled Tories upon the "old field," at Beckhamville. The British soldiers in attendance fled precipitately to their quarters at Rocky Mount. Filled with rage, Houseman sent a party to bring the hoary-headed patriot, then eighty years of age, to his quarters; but they found his dwelling deserted. His wife, concealed in some bushes near, saw them plunder the house of every thing, and carry off the stock from the plantation. Nothing was left but the family Bible—a precious relic, yet preserved in the family.

This movement of Justice Gaston and his neighbors was the first effort to cast back the wave of British rule which was sweeping over the state, and threatening to submerge all opposition east of the mountains. Judge Gaston had nine sons in the army. When they heard of the massacre of the patriots on the Waxhaw, by Tarleton, these young men joined hands, pledged themselves thenceforth never to submit to oppression, and from that time they all bore arms in defense of liberty.—See Mrs. Ellett's *Domestic History of the Revolution*, pages 169–174, inclusive.

² This view is from the west side of the Catawba, looking northeast, toward Lancaster District.

A Night at Rocky Mount.

The Battle-ground.

Sumter again in Arms.

His Competitors.

in the midst of his useful public life he was thrown from his gig and killed. Yet the light of hospitality was not extinguished there, and I shall long remember, with pleasure, the night I passed at Rocky Mount. Accompanied by Mrs. Barkley's three daughters, and a

VIEW AT ROCKY MOUNT.¹

young planter from "over the river," I visited the battle-ground before sunset, examined the particular localities indicated by the finger of tradition, and sketched the accompanying view of the principal place of conflict. Here, in the porch, sitting

with this interesting household in the golden gleams of the declining sun, let us open the clasped volume of history, and read a brief but brilliant page.

Almost simultaneously, three distinguished partisans of the South appeared conspicuous, after the fall of Charleston; Marion, between the Pedee and Santee; Sumter, ^{May 12,} upon the Catawba and Broad Rivers; and Pickens, in the vicinity of the Saluda and Savannah Rivers. With the surrender of Charleston, the hopes of the South Carolina patriots withered; and so complete was the subjugation of the state by the royal arms, that on the fourth of June, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to the ministry, "I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us." Many unsubdued patriots sought shelter in North Carolina, and others went up toward the mountains and gathered the cowed Whigs into bands to avenge the insults of their Tory oppressors. Early in July, Sumter (who had taken refuge in Mecklenburg), with a few chosen patriots who gathered around him, returned to South Carolina.

"Catawba's waters smiled again
To see her Sumter's soul in arms;
And issuing from each glade and glen,
Rekindled by war's fierce alarms,
Thronged hundreds through the solitude
Of the wild forest, to the call
Of him whose spirit, unsubdued,
Fresh impulse gave to each, to all."

J. W. SIMMONS.

Already bold Whigs between the Catawba had banded, and, led by Bratton, McClure, Moffit, Winn,² and others, had smitten the enemy at different points. The first blow, struck at Beckhamville, is noticed on the preceding page. To crush these patriots and to band the

¹ This view is from the garden-gate at Mrs. Barkley's, looking northeast. On the left is seen part of a store-house, and on the right, just beyond the post with a pigeon-house, is a hollow, within which are the remains of houses. At the foot of the hill may still be seen the foundations of the house mentioned in the text as having been occupied by the British when attacked by Sumter. The small log buildings across the center, occupying the slope where the conflict occurred, are servants' houses.

² Richard Winn was a native of Virginia. He entered the service early, and in 1775 was commissioned the first lieutenant of the South Carolina rangers. He served under Colonel William Thomson, in General Richardson's expedition against the Tories, in the winter of that year. He had been with Thomson in the battle on Sullivan's Island. He afterward served in Georgia, and was in command of Fort McIntosh, on the north side of the Santilla River. He was subsequently promoted to colonel, and commanded the militia of Fairfield District. He was with Sumter at Hanging Rock, where he was wounded. He was active during the remainder of the war, and at the conclusion, was appointed a brigadier, and finally a major general of militia. He represented his district in Congress from 1793 to 1802. He removed to Tennessee in 1812, and died soon afterward. Winnsborough, the present seat of justice of Fairfield District, was so named in his honor, when he was colonel of that district, in 1779.

Skirmish at Mobley's Meeting-house.

Expeditions of Huck and Cunningham.

Their Defeat.

Loyalists, marauding parties, chiefly Tories, were sent out. At Mobley's meeting-house, on the banks of Little River, in Fairfield District, a party of these men were collected just after the affair at Beckhamville.^a Around them were gathering the Tories of the district, when Captains Bratton and M'Clure fell upon and dispersed them. This June, 1780. disaster, following closely upon the other, alarmed the commander at Rocky Mount, and he sent out Captain Christian Huck, a profane, unprincipled man,¹ with four hundred cavalry, and a body of well-mounted Tories, to "push the rebels as far as he might deem convenient." He executed his orders with alacrity. At one time he destroyed Colonel Hill's iron-works; at another he burned the dwelling of the Reverend William Simpson, of the Fishing Creek church, and murdered an unoffending young man on Sunday morning, while on his way to the meeting-house, with his Bible in his hand. He hated Presbyterians bitterly, and made them suffer when he could. Loaded with the spoils of plunder, Huck fell back to Rocky Mount, and prepared for other depredations.

About this time, Bill Cunningham and his "Bloody Scout" were spreading terror in Union and Spartanburg Districts, and also south of the Ennoree. Against this monster, John M'Clure was dispatched. He chased him across Union District, and almost thirty miles further toward Ninety-Six. Four of the scout were captured, and carried in triumph into Sumter's camp, on the Waxhaw; their leader barely escaped.

Sumter was now gathering his little army, and Huck proceeded to execute his commission as speedily as possible, before the newly-made brigadier should approach. He encamped upon the plantation of James Williamson² (now Brattonville), and there passed the night of the eleventh of July.^b At a little past midnight, Colonel Neil and the companies b 1780. of Captains Bratton and M'Clure came down from Sumter's camp, in Mecklenburg, and cautiously approached the sleeping enemy in his encampment, which was in the middle of a lane. At dawn,^c they entered each end of the lane, and fell upon Huck's party c July 12. with fury. The surprise was complete, and for an hour a fierce battle ensued, when Huck, with Colonel Ferguson of the Tory militia, was killed, and his party dispersed. The whole patriot force was only one hundred and thirty-three men. M'Clure and his party, well mounted, pursued the fugitives almost to Rocky Mount, and within four hours the army of Huck was as completely dissolved as if they had never seen each other. Colonel Neil lost only one of his command.

The defeat of Huck had an important bearing upon the future condition of the state. It encouraged the Whigs, and many joined the standard of Sumter; while the Tories, abashed, were fearful and silent. Strengthened by daily recruits, until he had more than six hundred men under his command, Sumter determined to attack the royal post at Rocky Mount. The massacre of Buford's command on the Waxhaw, in May,^d had fired the d May 29. Whigs with a desire for revenge; and Sumter felt strong enough to attack a force known to be a third larger than his own. The post at Rocky Mount was now commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, with a small garrison, consisting of one hundred and fifty New York volunteers, and some South Carolina militia. These were stationed principally in three buildings, upon a slope surrounded by a ditch and *abatis*, and encircled by an open wood.

On the thirtieth of July,^e Sumter left Major Davie's camp, at the parting of the roads for Rocky Mount and Landsford, and crossing the Catawba at Blair's Ford, e 1780

¹ Huck had often been heard to say, says Ramsay (ii., 136), that "God Almighty was turned rebel; but that if there were twenty Gods on their side, they should all be conquered."

² The house of Colonel Bratton was only half a mile distant from Williamson's. There Huck had first halted, and rudely demanded of Colonel Bratton's wife where her husband was. "In Sumter's army," was her prompt reply. Huck tried to win her to the royal cause, or force her, by menaces, to disclose the place of her husband's retreat. She firmly refused all compliance, even when a sharp reaping-hook was at her throat, in the hands of a brutal soldier. This courageous act of Mrs. Bratton is still remembered with reverence in that section; and as late as 1839, a toast, complimentary of the "fortitude of Martha Bratton," was given at the anniversary of Huck's* defeat.—See Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, i., 237.

* This name is spelled by different authors, Huyck, Huck, and Hucky.

Sumter's unsuccessful Battle at Rocky Mount.

His Success at Wateree Ford.

His Defeat at Fishing Creek.

proceeded cautiously, but swiftly, toward Rocky Mount. Davie, in the mean while, was to attack the outposts of the British camp at Hanging Rock, east of the Catawba, twelve miles distant. Sumter was accompanied by Colonels Neil, Irvine, and Lacy,¹ and Captain M'Clure and some of the Gastons. At an early hour of the day, he appeared with his whole force upon the crown of the hill now occupied by the servants' houses of Mrs. Barkley. The British commander, warned of his approach by a Tory, was prepared to receive him, and though the Americans poured severe volleys upon the fortification (if it might be called one), they produced but little effect. Having no artillery, they resorted to means for dislodging the enemy, seldom used in war. Leaping the *abatis* after three assaults, they drove the garrison into the houses. These, according to Mr. M'Elwees, who was in the engagement (mentioned on page 635), were situated near the bottom of the slope, and were composed of logs. They first attempted to set them on fire by casting burning fagots upon them. Not succeeding in this, an old wagon was procured, and upon it was placed a quantity of dry brush and straw taken from the *abatis*. These were ignited, and then rolled down against the houses. The British, perceiving their danger, hoisted a flag. Supposing they intended to surrender, Sumter ordered the firing to cease. At that moment a shower of rain extinguished the flames, and the enemy defied him. Having no other means at hand to dislodge or seriously injure the garrison, Sumter withdrew, first to the north side of Fishing Creek, near the Catawba (where he was surprised eighteen days afterward), and then to Landsford, where he crossed the river. Seven days^a afterward, he was battling with the enemy at Hanging Rock. Early in the action, in front of the *abatis*, the gallant Colonel Neil was slain, with two other white men and a Catawba Indian. Sumter had ten wounded, also. The British lost ten killed, and an equal number wounded.

^a August,
1780.

On the seventh of August Sumter attacked a British post on Hanging Creek, an event which we shall consider presently. Immediately after that engagement, he recrossed the Catawba. In the mean while, General Gates, with his army, had arrived in the neighborhood. Advised by Sumter that a British detachment, with stores for the main army at Camden, was on its way from Ninety-Six, Gates ordered that officer to intercept it,^b and detached to his aid one hundred infantry and a company of artillery of the Maryland line, and three hundred North Carolina militia, all under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Woodford, of Virginia. They captured a redoubt at the Wateree Ford, in Fairfield District, and, intercepting the escort from Ninety-Six, they secured forty-four wagon loads of stores and clothing, with a number of prisoners. On the seventeenth, Sumter was informed of the defeat of Gates, near Camden. Continuing up the Catawba (here called Wateree), he managed to elude the pursuit of Colonel Turnbull, whom Cornwallis had sent after him, and, on the eighteenth, encamped at the Fishing Creek, near the Catawba, a little above the Great Falls. Here he determined to allow his wearied troops to repose. But a more vigilant and active foe than Turnbull was upon his trail. Cornwallis, anxious to capture Sumter, dispatched Tarleton to overtake and smite him. With one hundred dragoons and sixty mounted light infantry, that officer pressed forward, without halting, in pursuit of his prey. Crossing the Catawba at Rocky Ford, he got into the rear of Sumter, and fell upon his camp while resting, the patriot leader having had no intimation of his approach. The Americans were routed, with great slaughter. More than fifty were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. All the stores, clothing, and prisoners, captured by Sumter on the fifteenth, fell into Tarleton's hands. This blow laid South Carolina in submission at the feet of the royal troops, none but Marion, the wily "Swamp Fox," and a few followers, remaining in arms against the king. The subsequent organization of a

¹ Colonel Lacy was one of the most resolute and sturdy patriots of South Carolina. It is related that when the Americans were pursuing Huck, Lacy sent a small party to secure his own father, who was a Tory, and prevent his giving information to that marauder. Lacy was a man of great personal strength, and was a general favorite with the people. He was one of the most active participants in the action on King's Mountain.

Passage of the Catawba.

Appearance of the Road.

Anvil Rock.

Old Slave at Hanging Rock.

force under Sumter, his exploits west of the Broad River, and also the important events which followed the assumption, by Greene, of the command of the Southern army, have been detailed in former chapters.



APPEARANCE OF THE ROAD.

bles cast upon the beach, when, perhaps, the mammoth and the mastadon slaked their thirst in the waters of the Catawba and the Eswawpuddenah. For several miles the road passed among the erratic rocks and curiously-shaped conglomerates. When within three miles of Hanging Rock, I passed the celebrated Anvil Rock, one of the remarkable curiosities of the South. It stands alone, on the north side of the road, and is, indeed, a curiosity. It appears to be a concretion of the soil around, being composed of precisely similar material; or the soil may be disintegrated rocks of a similar character. In its sides are cavities from which large pebbles have apparently fallen, and also furrows as if made by rains. Its height above the ground is about twelve feet; its form suggested its name.



ANVIL ROCK.

I reached the Lancaster and Camden high-way at noon, and, on inquiry, ascertained that the celebrated Hanging Rock, near which Sumter and his companions fought a desperate battle, was about a mile and a half eastward. Thither I went immediately, notwithstanding the temptation of a good dinner, freely offered, was before me, for I desired to get as far on toward Camden, that night, as possible. The roads were now generally sandy, and in many places soft and difficult to travel, making progress slow. Along a by-road, across the high rolling plain upon which (at Coles's Old Field) tradition avers the hottest of the battle was fought, I rode to the brow of a deep narrow valley, through which courses Hanging Rock Creek, one of the head waters of Lynch's Creek, the western branch of the Great Pedee. The mingled sound of falling waters and grinding mill-stones came up from the deep furrow, while from a small cabin by the road side, upon the verge of the steep bank, I heard a broken melody. Alighting, I entered the cabin, and there sat an aged negro dining upon hoe-cake and bacon, and humming a refrain. He was the miller. His hair was as white with the frost of years, as his coarse garb was with flour. To my question respecting his family, he said, shaking his bowed head, "Ah, massa! I lives all alone now; tree years ago dey sole my wife, and she's gone to Mississippi. Hab to bake my own hoe-cake now. But neber mind; needn't work 'less I'm a mind too; 'nough to eat, and pretty soon I die?" He told me that he was more than eighty years old, and remembered seeing "de red coats scamper when Massa Sumter and Jacky M'Clure pitched into 'em." Pointing to the celebrated Hanging Rock upon the opposite side of the stream, "Dar," he said, "a heap o' red coats sleep de night afore de battle, and dar I hid de night arter." From

The Hanging Rock.

Disposition of Troops there.

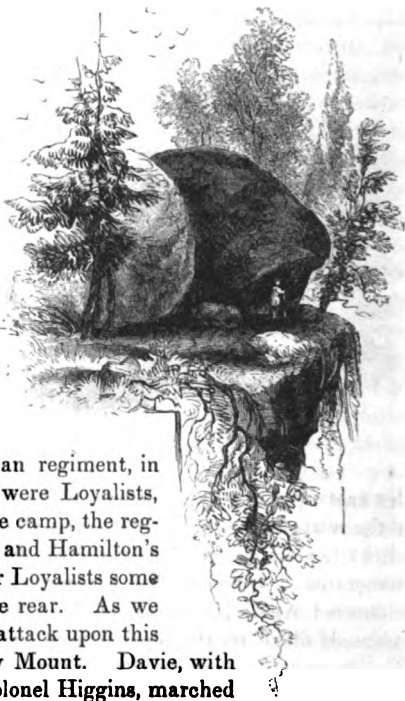
Preliminary Skirmish.

Sumter's Attack.

the venerable slave, whose memory appeared unclouded, I learned the location of several points mentioned in the accounts of the engagement.

Leaving Charley to dine upon the verge of the stream, I proceeded to Hanging Rock, of whose immensity I had heard frequent mention. It is a huge conglomerate boulder, twenty or thirty feet in diameter, lying upon the verge of the high east bank of the creek, nearly a hundred feet above the stream. Around it are several smaller boulders of the same materials. It is shelving toward the bank, its concavity being in the form of the quarter of an orange paring, and capacious enough to shelter fifty men from rain. Beneath its canopy, let us turn to the record of history.

Near the Hanging Rock, on the western bank of the creek, Lord Rawdon, the British commander in that section, had established a post, which was garrisoned by the infantry of Tarleton's legion, part of Brown's corps of South Carolina and Georgia Provincials, and Colonel Bryan's North Carolina Loyalists; the whole were under the command of Major Carden, with the Prince of Wales's American regiment, in number about five hundred. The greater portion were Loyalists, the remainder were regulars. In the formation of the camp, the regulars were on the right; a part of the British legion and Hamilton's regiment in the center; and Bryan's corps and other Loyalists some distance on the left, Hanging Rock Creek being in the rear. As we have seen (page 660), Major Davie proceeded to an attack upon this post, simultaneously with Sumter's assault on Rocky Mount. Davie, with his cavalry, and some Mecklenburg militia, under Colonel Higgins, marched toward Hanging Rock. As he approached, he was informed that three companies of Bryan's Loyalists, returning from a foraging excursion, were encamped at a farm-house. He fell upon them with vigor, in front and rear, and all but a few of them were either killed or wounded. The spoils of this victory were sixty horses with their trappings, and one hundred muskets and rifles. This disaster made the garrison exceedingly vigilant.



HANGING ROCK.

We have observed that after the assault on Rocky Mount, Sumter crossed the Catawba, and proceeded toward Hanging Rock.^a He marched early in the morning cautiously, and approached the British camp in three divisions, with the intention of falling upon the main body, stationed upon the plain at Coles's Old Field. The right was composed of Davie's corps and some volunteers, under Major Bryan; the center, of Colonel Irwin's Mecklenburg militia; and the left, of South Carolina regulars, under Colonel Hill. Through the error of his guides, Sumter came first upon Bryan's corps, on the verge of the western bank of the creek, near the Great Rock, half a mile from the British camp. Irwin made the first attack. The Tories soon yielded and fled toward the main body, many of them throwing away their arms without discharging them. These the Americans seized; and, pursuing this advantage, Sumter next fell upon Brown's corps, which, being on the alert, poured a heavy fire upon him from a wood. They also received him with the bayonet. A fierce conflict ensued, and for a while the issue was doubtful. The riflemen, with sure aim, soon cut off almost all of Brown's officers and many of his soldiers; and at length his corps yielded and dispersed in confusion. The arms and ammunition procured from the vanquished were of great service, for when the action commenced, Sumter's men had not two rounds each.¹

^a Mrs. Ellet relates a circumstance which has some interest in this connection Colonel Thomas, of

Sumter's final Blow.

Victory lost by Intemperance.

Sumter's Retreat.

The Loss.

Captain M'Clure.

Now was the moment to strike for decisive victory ; it was lost by the criminal indulgence of Sumter's men in plundering the portion of the British camp already secured, and drinking freely of the liquor found there. A similar cause plucked the palm of victory from the hands of Greene at Eutaw Springs. Sumter's ranks became disordered ; and while endeavoring to bring order out of confusion, the enemy rallied. Of his six hundred men, only about two hundred, with Davie's cavalry, could be brought to bear upon the remaining portion of the British, who were yet in some confusion, but defended by two cannons. Sumter was not to be foiled. With a shout, he and his handful of brave men rushed forward to the attack. The enemy had formed a hollow square, with the field-pieces in front, and in this position received the charge. The Americans attacked them on three sides, and the contest was severe for a while. At length, just as the British line was yielding, a reinforcement, under Captains Stewart and M'Donald, of Tarleton's legion, returning from an excursion toward Rocky Mount, appeared, and their number being magnified, Sumter deemed a retreat a prudent measure. This was done at meridian, but the enemy had been so severely handled, that they did not attempt a pursuit. A small party appeared upon the Camden road, but was soon dispersed by Davie. Could Sumter have brought all of his forces into action in this last attack, the route of the British would have been complete.

"He beat them back ! beneath the flame
Of valor quailing, or the shock !
He carved, at last, a hero's name,
Upon the glorious Hanging Rock !"

With his few prisoners and booty, Sumter retreated toward the Waxhaw, bearing away many of his wounded. The engagement lasted about four hours, and was one of the best-fought battles, between militia and British regulars, during the war. Sumter's loss was twelve killed and forty-one wounded. Among the former were the brave Captain M'Clure,¹ of South Carolina, and Captain Read, of North Carolina ; Colonel Hill, Captain Craighead, Major Winn, Lieutenants Crawford and Fletcher, and Ensign M'Clure, were wounded. The British loss exceeded that of the Americans. Captain M'Culloch, commander of the legion infantry, and two officers and twenty privates of the same corps, were killed, and forty were wounded.² Brown's regiment also suffered much. Bryan's Tories did not stop to fight,

"——— but ran away,
And lived to fight another day."

About nine miles north of the present Lancaster Court House, and between twenty and

Spartanburg District, was intrusted by Governor Rutledge with a quantity of arms and ammunition. A party, under Colonel Moore (who was defeated at Ramsour's Mill), attacked the house of the colonel, during his absence, for the purpose of seizing the powder. His heroic wife, Jane Thomas, with a son-in-law, her daughter, and a lad, formed the garrison in the house. Mrs. Thomas and her daughter loaded guns as fast as the son-in-law could fire ; and the Tories, believing that the house was filled with men, decamped, and the ammunition was saved. This powder constituted a part of Sumter's supply at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock.

¹ John M'Clure was one of the master spirits of South Carolina. He was a nephew of the venerable Judge Gaston, and partook of that patriot's purity and zeal in the cause of Republicanism. Of him General Davie said, "Of the many brave men with whom it was my fortune to become acquainted in the army, he was one of the bravest ; and when he fell, we looked upon his loss as incalculable." He fell at the first fire of Bryan's Loyalists, pierced by two bullets, and at the same time, four of his cousins, sons of Judge Gaston, lay bleeding near him. When his friends came to his aid, he urged them to leave him and pursue the enemy. After the battle, he was taken, with other wounded soldiers, to Waxhaw church, where his mother went to nurse him. From thence he was taken to Charlotte, and on the eighteenth, the very day when his commander was surprised at Fishing Creek (see page 635), he expired in Liberty Hall, where the celebrated Mecklenburg resolutions were drawn up. M'Clure was a native of Chester District, and his men were known as the Chester Rocky Creek Irish. The first wound which he received in the engagement was in the thigh. He stanched it with wadding, when another bullet passed through him at the breast. Two of the Gastons fell dead across each other ; a third was mortally wounded ; and a fourth had a cheek shot away.

Dootor Richard E. Wylie, of Lancaster, wrote a ballad of twenty stanzas commemorative of this event.

² Gordon, Ramsay, Moultrie, Lee.

The British in South Carolina.

Retreat of Americans.

Massacre of Buford's Regiment near the Waxhaw.

twenty-three miles above Hanging Rock, upon the Waxhaw Creek,¹ the regiment of Colonel Abraham Buford was massacred by Tarleton on the twenty-ninth of May, 1780. Sir Henry Clinton took possession of Charleston on the twelfth, and immediately commenced measures for securing the homage of the whole state. He sent out three large detachments of his army. The first and largest, under Cornwallis, was ordered toward the frontiers of North Carolina; the second, under Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, was directed to pass the Saluda, to Ninety-Six; and the third, under Lieutenant-colonel Brown, was ordered up the Savannah, to Augusta. Soon after he had passed the Santee, Cornwallis was informed that parties of Americans who had come into South Carolina, and had hurried toward Charleston to assist Lincoln, were as hastily retreating. Among these was Colonel Buford. His force consisted of nearly four hundred Continental infantry, a small detachment of Washington's cavalry, and two field-pieces. He had evacuated Camden, and, in fancied security, was retreating leisurely toward Charlotte, in North Carolina. Cornwallis resolved to strike Buford, if possible, and, for that purpose, he dispatched Tarleton, with seven hundred men, consisting of his cavalry and mounted infantry. That officer marched one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, and came up with Buford upon the Waxhaw. Impatient of delay, he had left his mounted infantry behind, and with only his cavalry, he almost surrounded Buford before that officer was aware of danger. Tarleton demanded an immediate surrender upon the terms granted to the Americans at Charleston. Those terms were humiliating, and Buford refused compliance.² While the flags for conference were passing and repassing, Tarleton, contrary to military rules, was making preparations for an assault, and the instant he received Buford's reply, his cavalry made a furious charge upon the American ranks. Having received no orders to defend themselves, and supposing the negotiations were yet pending, the Continentals were utterly dismayed by this charge. All was confusion, and while some fired upon their assailants, others threw down their arms and begged for quarter. None was given; and men without arms were hewn in pieces by Tarleton's cavalry. One hundred and thirteen were slain; one hundred and fifty were so maimed as to be unable to travel; and fifty-three were made prisoners, to grace the triumphal entry of the conqueror into Camden. Only five of the British were killed, and fifteen wounded. The whole of Buford's artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. For this savage feat, Cornwallis eulogized Tarleton, and commended him to the ministry as worthy of special favor. It was nothing less than a cold-blooded massacre; and *Tarleton's quarter* became proverbial as a synonym to cruelty.³ The liberal press, and all right-minded men in England, cried shame!

After the battle, a large number of the wounded were taken to the log meeting-house of the Waxhaw Presbyterian congregation, where they were tenderly nursed by a few who had the boldness to remain. With the defeat of Buford, every semblance of a Continental army in South Carolina was effaced. This terrible blow spread consternation over that region, and women and children were seen flying from their homes to seek refuge from British cruelty in more distant settlements. Among the fugitives was the widowed mother of

¹ This name is derived from the Waxhaw Indians, a tribe now extinct, who inhabited this region.

² Buford's answer, as given by Tarleton in his *Memoirs*, was brief and positive, as follows:

"Waxhaws, May 29th, 1780.

"SIR,—I reject your proposal, and shall defend myself to the last extremity.

"Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, commander of British Legion."

³ Justice demands an audience for Tarleton. In his account of the affair, he alleges that a demand for a surrender was made before his main body had overtaken Buford, and that after that officer's defiant letter was received, both parties prepared for action. He excuses the refusal to grant quarter by the plea that some of the Continentals continued to fire. As Marshall suggests, the fact that Buford's field-pieces were not discharged and so few of the British were wounded, is evidence enough that the attack was unexpected. Tarleton was taunted with his cruelty on this occasion, on his return to England. Stedman, the British historian of the war says, "On this occasion, the virtue of humanity was totally forgot."—See Marshall, i., 338; Gordon, iii., 53; Lee, 78; Stedman, ii., 193.



Family of President Jackson.

Journey toward Camden.

Flat Rock.

Rugeley's Mill.

Andrew Jackson (the seventh President of the United States), who, with her two sons, Robert and Andrew, took refuge in the Sugar Creek congregation, at the house of the widow of the Reverend J. M. Wilson, near Charlotte. This was the first practical lesson of hatred to tyranny which young Jackson learned, and it doubtless had an abiding influence upon his future life.¹

Returning to the Lancaster road at two o'clock, I rode on toward Camden, about thirty-five miles distant, passing on the way the celebrated Flat Rock, a mass of concrete, like that of Anvil Rock, five hundred yards across. It lies even with the surface of the ground, and presents numerous pits or cisterns, supposed to have been hollowed out by the Indians for the purpose of holding water. The road passed over this mass with a gentle descent. Near its southern side, the place was pointed out to me where a severe skirmish occurred in August, 1788, between some militia and Tories, but the result was not very sanguinary. At sunset I arrived at the house of Mrs. Fletcher, within nine miles of Rugeley's Mill, where I was well entertained for the night.² I departed at sunrise the following morning. Being now fairly within the sandy region upon the slopes between the upper and the lower country, the traveling was very heavy. At the first house after leaving Mrs. Fletcher's, I saw Mr. Paine, the brother of Mrs. Lee, an intelligent old man of eighty-four years. During half an hour's conversation with him, I obtained some valuable information respecting the various historical localities between there and Camden. The first of these is Clermont, sometimes called Rugeley's, about thirteen miles north of Camden, where I arrived at an early hour in the forenoon. This is the place where General Gates concentrated his army for an attack upon the British at Camden. The place is also memorable on account of a military event which occurred near Rugeley's Mill, on the fourth of December, 1780. This mill was about one hundred yards east of the road where it crosses Rugeley's Creek. No traces of the mill remain; but an embankment, several rods in extent, partly demolished, and overgrown with pines and shrubbery interlaced with the vines of the muscadine, mark the place of the dam, a part of which, where the creek passes through, is seen in the engraving. Let us consider the event which immortalizes this spot.



VIEW AT THE SITE OF RUGELEY'S MILL.

When Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte (see page

¹ I am informed by the Honorable David L. Swain, that the birth-place of General Jackson is in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, just above the state line. It is about half a mile west of the Waxhaw Creek, upon the estate of W. J. Cureton, Esq., twenty-eight miles south of Charlotte. A month or two after his birth, his mother removed to the southward of the state line, to a plantation about twelve miles north of Lancaster Court House. That plantation is also the property of Mr. Cureton. The house in which she resided when Tarleton penetrated the settlement is now demolished. So the honor of possessing the birth-place of that illustrious man belongs to *North*, and not to *South* Carolina, as has been supposed.

The massacre of Buford's regiment fired the patriotism of young Andrew Jackson; and at the age of thirteen he entered the army, with his brother Robert, under Sumter. They were both made prisoners; but even while in the power of the British, the indomitable courage of the after man appeared in the boy. When ordered to clean the muddy boots of a British officer, he proudly refused, and for his temerity received a sword-cut. After their release, Andrew and his brother returned to the Waxhaw settlement with their mother. That patriotic mother and two sons perished during the war. Her son Hugh was slain in battle, and Robert died of a wound which he received from a British officer while he was prisoner, because, like Andrew, he refused to do menial service. The heroic mother, while on her way home from Charleston, whither she went to carry some necessities to her friends and relations on board a prison-ship, was seized with prison-fever, and died. Her unknown grave is somewhere between what was then called the Quarter House and Charleston. Andrew was left the sole survivor of the family.—See Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 199.

² There I saw Mrs. Lee, the step-mother of Mrs. Fletcher, who was then ninety-two years of age. She lived near Camden during the war, but was so afflicted with palsy when I saw her, that she could talk only with great difficulty, and I could not procure from her any tradition of interest. Mrs. Lee had buried five husbands.

Tories at Rugeley's.

Stratagem of Colonel Washington in capturing the Tories.

Gum Swamp.

Sander's Creek

626), Gates advanced to that place, and General Smallwood was directed to encamp lower down the Catawba, on the road to Camden. Morgan, with his light corps, composed partly of Lieutenant-colonel Washington's cavalry, was ordered to push further in advance, for the purpose of foraging, and to watch the movements of Cornwallis. Smallwood having received information that a body of Tories, under Colonel Rugeley, were on the alert to intercept his wagons, ordered Morgan and Washington to march against them. They retreated, and took post at Rugeley's house, on the Camden road, which he had stockaded, together with his log-barn. Washington, with his cavalry, pursued, and at about ten o'clock on the fourth of Decem-

ber,^a appeared at Rugeley's Mill, on the south side of the creek. The Loyalists were

strongly posted in the log-barn, in front of which was a ditch and *abatis*. Having no artillery, Washington could make but little impression upon the garrison, so he resorted to stratagem. Fashion-

ing a pine-log so as to resemble a cannon, he placed it in such a position near the bridge as, apparently, to command both the house and barn of Colonel Rugeley. He then made a formal demand for a surrender, menacing the garrison with the instant demolition of their fortress. Alarmed at the apparition of a cannon, Rugeley sent out a flag, and, with his whole force of one hundred and twelve men, immediately surrendered. Poor Rugeley never

appeared in arms afterward. Cornwallis, in a letter to Tarleton,^b said, "Rugeley
^c Dec. 4. will not be made a brigadier."³

Soon after leaving Rugeley's, I came to a shallow stream which flows out of Gum Swamp, and known in the Revolution as Graney's Quarter Creek. It was thickly studded with gum shrubs and canes, the latter appearing as green and fresh as in summer. It was now about noon, and while I made the accompanying sketch, Charley dined upon corn, which the generous driver of a team "hauling cotton," gave me from his store. Between this stream and Sander's Creek, within seven miles of Camden, is the place of Gates's defeat.^c The hottest of the engagement occurred upon the hill, just before descending to Sander's Creek from the north, now, as then, covered with an open forest of pine-trees. When I passed through it, the undergrowth had just been

VIEW AT GUM SWAMP.³

burned, and the blackened trunks of the venerable pines, standing like the columns of a vast temple, gave the whole scene a dreary, yet grand appearance. Many of the old trees yet bear marks of the battle, the scars of the bullets being made very distinct by large protuberances. I was informed that many musket-balls have been cut out of the trees; and I saw quite a number of trunks which had been recently hewn with axes for the purpose. Some pines had been thus cut by searchers for bullets which must have been in the seed when the battle occurred. Within half a mile of Sander's Creek, on the north side, are some old fields, dotted with shrub pines, where the hottest of the battle was fought. A large concavity near the road, filled with hawthorns, was pointed out to me as the spot where many of the dead were buried.

Sander's Creek is a considerable stream, about two hundred feet wide, and quite shallow at the ford. Though flowing through a swamp like Graney's Quarter, its waters were very

¹ This view is from the south side of the bridge. The counterfeit cannon was placed in the road where the first wagon is seen. The house and barn of Rugeley were in the cleared field seen beyond the wagons.

² Tarleton's *Memoirs*, &c., 205.

³ This view is from the south side of the stream.

VIEW AT RUGELEY'S.¹

Lincoln Calumniated.

De Kalb sent to the South.

His March.

Sketch of his Public Life.

limpid. Numerous teams drawing heavy loads of cotton, on their way to Camden, were passing at the time, and the songs and loud laughter of the happy teamsters enlivened the dreary aspect of nature.¹

Let us consider the important events which occurred here.

Misfortune is too often mistaken for a fault, and censoriousness seldom makes candid distinctions. When General Lincoln was finally obliged to surrender Charleston and his army

to Sir Henry Clinton,^a
^{May 12,}
^{1780.}

calumny, with its busy tongue, decried his fair fame, and whispered doubts respecting his skill and courage. That blow, struck by a skillful hand, almost demolished the Southern army, and for a moment the patriots were dismayed. But the elasticity of hope was found in the national councils, and preparations were soon made to concentrate the various detachments of the regular army then in the South, and the volunteers whom Sumter and others were collecting, to turn back toward the sea-board the flood of invasion. A month before the fall of Charleston, when it was perceived that the chief theater of the campaign of 1780 was to be in the Southern States, Mary-

VIEW AT SANDER'S CREEK.²*The Baron de Kalb*

land and Delaware troops were sent thither, under the Baron De Kalb,^a a German officer, who had distinguished himself in the French service. He left Morris-town^b with four-
^{April 14,}
^{1780.}
 teen hundred effective men; reached the head of Elk in May; left Petersburg early in June, passed through Hillsborough, and halted on Deep River, in North Carolina, on the sixth of July. In the mean while,

¹ All the way from Yorkville I passed caravans of wagons with cotton, on their way to Camden or Columbia. The teams are driven by negroes, sometimes accompanied by an overseer. They carry corn and fodder (corn-stalks) with them, and camp out at night, in the woods, where they build fires, cook their bacon, bake their hoe-cake, and sleep under the canvas covering of their wagons. It is a season of great delight to those who are privileged to "haul cotton" to market.

² This view is from the north side of the Creek. Like the other stream, it is filled with canes, shrubs, and many blasted pines.

³ The Baron De Kalb, knight of the royal military order of merit, was a native of Alsace (a German province ceded to France), and was educated in the art of war in the French army. He was connected with the quarter-master general's department, and his experience in the duties of that station rendered his services very valuable to the American army. Toward the close of the Seven Years' War, he was dispatched to the British colonies in America, as a secret agent of the French government. He traveled in disguise; yet on one occasion, he was so strongly suspected, that he was arrested as a suspicious person. Nothing being found to confirm the suspicion, he was released, and soon afterward returned to Europe. De Kalb came to America again, in the spring of 1777, with La Fayette and other foreign officers, and was one of the party who accompanied the marquis in his overland journey, from South Carolina to Philadelphia. Holding the office of brigadier in the French service, and coming highly recommended, Congress commissioned him a major general on the fifteenth of September, 1777. He immediately joined the main army under Washington, and was active in the events which preceded the encampment of the troops at Valley Forge. He was afterward in command at Elizabethtown and Amboy, in New Jersey; and while at Morristown in the spring of 1780, was placed at the head of the Maryland division. With these, and the Continental troops of Delaware, he marched southward in April, to re-enforce General Lincoln, but was too late to afford him aid at Charleston. Gates succeeded Lincoln in the command of the Southern army, and reached De Kalb's camp, on the Deep River, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1780. In the battle near

Gates in chief Command.

De Kalb's Monument and Inscription.

Tardiness of Justice.

Charleston had been captured, General Lincoln was a prisoner on parole, and De Kalb became the commander-in-chief at the South. Although Congress reposed confidence in the skill of De Kalb, it was thought proper to send an officer better known to the people for past services, and on the thirteenth of June,^a General Gates was appointed to the command.¹ He was then at his estate in Virginia, a few miles from Shepherdstown, and the glory of Saratoga was not yet dimmed. He immediately departed^b for the camp of De Kalb, taking with him, as ^{b June 26.} secretary, his friend William Clajon, and reached his destination on the twenty-fifth of July. The prospect before him was far from flattering.

Wm Clajon

An army without strength ; a military chest without money ; but little public spirit in the

Camden, which soon followed, De Kalb, while trying to rally the scattered Americans, fell, pierced with eleven wounds. He died at Camden three days afterward, and was buried there. An ornamental tree was placed at the head of his grave,* and that was the only token of its place until a few years since, when the citizens of Camden erected over it the elegant marble monument depicted in the engraving. The corner stone was laid by La Fayette in 1825. It is upon the green, in front of the Presbyterian church, on De Kalb Street. The large base, forming two steps, is of granite ; the whole monument is about fifteen feet in height. Upon the four sides of the monument are the following inscriptions :



DE KALB'S MONUMENT.

South side, fronting the street.—"Here lies the remains of BARON DE KALB, a German by birth, but in principle a citizen of the world." *North side.*—"In gratitude for his zeal and services, the citizens of Camden have erected this monument." *East side.*—"His love of Liberty induced him to leave the Old World to aid the citizens of the New in their struggle for INDEPENDENCE. His distinguished talents and many virtues weighed with Congress to appoint him MAJOR GENERAL, in their Revolutionary army." *West side.*—"He was second in command in the battle fought near CAMDEN, on the sixteenth of

August, 1780, between the British and Americans ; and there nobly fell, covered with wounds, while gallantly performing deeds of valor in rallying the friends and opposing the enemies of his adopted country."

The death of De Kalb was a great public loss. Congress, on the fourteenth of October, 1780, ordered a monument to be erected to his memory in the city of Annapolis, in Maryland,† with an appropriate inscription, but, like kindred resolves, the order was never obeyed.

¹ This appointment was made without consulting the commander-in-chief. He intended to recommend General Greene.

* Alluding to this fact, an anonymous poet wrote :

"But where, O where's the hallowed sod
Beneath whose verd the hero's ashes sleep ?
Is this the cold, neglected, moldering clod ?
Or that the grave at which I ought to weep ?

Why rises not some massy pillar high,
To grace a name that fought for Freedom's prize ?
Or why, at least, some rudely-etch'd stone nigh,
To show the spot where matchless valor lies ?

Yet, soldier, thy illustrious name is known,
Thy fame supported, and thy worth confess'd,
That peerless virtue which in danger shone,
Is shining still, where thou art laid in rest.

And though no monumental script is seen,
Thy worth to publish, and thy deeds proclaim,
Each son of Freedom, passing near this green,
Shall hail DE KALB, and venerate his name."

† In the inscription ordered by Congress (Journal, vi., 147) to be placed upon De Kalb's monument, it is said that he was "in the forty-eighth year of his age." General Henry Lee, who knew him well, says in his Memoirs, page 425, "Although nearer seventy than sixty years of age, such had been the temperance of his life, that he not only enjoyed to the last day the finest health, but his countenance still retained the bloom of youth ; which circumstance very probably led to the error committed by those who drew up the inscription on the monument to be erected by Congress." Lee speaks of him as "possessing a stout frame, moderate mental powers ;" "sober, drinking water only ; abstemious to excess, and exceedingly industrious." The pay of De Kalb was considerably in arrears at the time of his death. Within a few years, some of his immediate descendants have petitioned the American Congress for the payment of these arrearages, principal and interest. Both Houses have had reports in favor of the petitioners, but the money yet (1852) remains unpaid. Among the petitioners are five of De Kalb's great grandchildren, who, by the loss of both parents, are cast upon the support and protection of an aunt, a grand-daughter of the baron. They are residing about thirty miles from Paris.

Situation of Gates's Army.

Plan of Operations.

Sketch of Gates's Public Life.

Commissary Department; a climate unfavorable to health; the spirits of the Republicans pressed down; Loyalists swarming in every direction, and a victorious enemy pressing to spread his legions over the territory he had come to defend, were obstacles in the way of success. Yet he did not despond, and, retaining De Kalb in command of his division, prepared to march into South Carolina. His whole force consisted of the Maryland and Delaware troops, a legionary corps of sixty horse and as many foot soldiers, under Colonel Armand, and three companies of artillery. There was elsewhere a considerable force of North Carolina militia in the field, under General Caswell; and on the morning of the twenty-seventh,^a

^a July, 1780. Gates marched at the head of his little army to effect a junction with those troops. He passed the Deep River at the Buffalo Ford, and in the afternoon encamped upon Spinks's farm, on the road to Camden. There the plan of immediate operations was decided upon. De Kalb and Colonel Otho H. Williams (the deputy adjutant general) thought it expedient to march to Charlotte, establish a hospital and magazine at Salisbury, leave the women and all the heavy baggage there, and from thence proceed toward Camden, without impediment, through a well-cultivated and friendly country, by the way of the Waxhaw. These opinions had no weight with

GENERAL HORATIO GATES.¹

¹ Horatio Gates was a native of England, and was educated to the military profession. He was an officer under Braddock when that general was defeated, but does not seem to have acquired particular distinction. When the Continental army was organized in 1775, he was appointed adjutant general, with the rank of brigadier. He was then residing in Virginia. He accompanied Washington to Cambridge, in July, 1775; and in June, 1776, the chief command of the Northern army was conferred upon him, and he was promoted to major general. In the autumn of that year, he joined the main army in the Jerseys, with a detachment of his command, but his career was not marked by any brilliant action. In the summer of 1776, he was unjustly placed in command of the Northern army, in place of General Schuyler, who had succeeded him in the spring of that year; and the victory over Burgoyne, at Saratoga, by the army under his command, gave him great eclat. The glory of that achievement was not due to him, but to the previous operations of Schuyler, and the bravery and skill of Arnold and Morgan. In the winter of 1778, he was involved in attempts to wrest the supreme command from Washington. His position as President of the Board of War enabled him to throw obstacles in the way of the chief, nor were they withheld. From that period until appointed to the command of the Southern army, his military operations were of little account, and were chiefly in Rhode Island. When Congress gave him the command of the Southern forces, General Charles Lee said, "*His Northern laurels will be exchanged for Southern willows.*" The prophecy was soon fulfilled, when the disastrous battle, near Camden, scattered his troops, and, apparently panic-stricken himself, he fled toward Charlotte. He was superseded in his command by General Greene, in the autumn of that year, and his conduct was scrutinized by a committee of Congress. Upon their report, he was acquitted of blame. He was reinstated in his military command in the main army in 1782, but active service was no longer required. At the close of the war, he retired to his estate in Virginia, and in 1790 took up his permanent abode upon Manhattan Island, almost three miles from the then city of New York. His mansion, which was an elegant country residence, near Rose Hill, was standing as late as 1845, near the corner of Twenty-third Street and Second Avenue. In 1800, he was elected a member of the Legislature of New York, where he served but one term. He died at his residence, on the tenth of April, 1806, at the age of seventy-eight years.

General Gates was an accomplished gentleman in his manners, but did not possess a brilliant or highly-cultivated intellect. He possessed many excellent social qualities, but was entirely deficient in the qualifications necessary for a great military commander. His vanity misled his judgment, and often perverted the finer feelings of his nature. He was always a generous friend, and not an implacable enemy. Humanity marked his treatment of prisoners, and benevolence was a ruling principle of his heart. A few years before his death, he manumitted all his slaves, but so great was the attachment of many, that they preferred to remain in his family. He died without surviving issue, his only son having been taken from him by death, at the moment when he was informed that General Greene had superseded him. On that

Sufferings of the Army.

Alarm of the British.

Cornwallis at Camden.

Approach of Gates.

Gates, whose vanity overruled his judgment, and on the twenty-eighth, having been joined that morning by Lieutenant-colonel Porterfield with about one hundred Virginians, he marched directly for Camden.

The country through which the Americans passed was sparsely populated, and in many places exhibited nothing but swamps and pine barrens. The heat was intense. Sickness and want of provisions soon began the work of death. Lean cattle found in the woods, green corn, and peaches, constituted the principal portion of their food. Dysentery ensued, and at one time the total destruction of the army seemed inevitable. Yet Gates pressed slowly forward, and on the day when Sumter achieved his partial victory at Hanging Rock, he reached the banks of Little Lynch's Creek, a few miles distant, where he was joined by General Caswell.¹

Let us glance a moment at the movements of the British troops. We have noted how the grand army was divided and spread over South Carolina (see page 664) soon after the fall of Charleston, the northern portion of which was placed under the command of Cornwallis. This disposition of the forces of the enemy had hardly taken place, when intelligence of the approach of De Kalb was received; also of the gathering of Virginians under Porterfield; of North Carolinians, under Rutherford, in the west; and of a large body of North Carolina militia, under Caswell, in the east. Then came the intelligence that Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, was on his way, with a large force, to recover all that Lincoln had lost, and more, if possible. Rumor magnified their numbers. The Loyalists became alarmed; the patriots took courage; and, as we have seen, Marion and Sumter had raised their standards. The British officers were perplexed; and Lord Rawdon, who was second in command to Cornwallis, and had his post at Camden, called in some of his more distant outposts. Major McArthur, who was at Cheraw to encourage the Loyalists, was ordered to fall back toward Camden; and the most distant outposts were upon Lynch's Creek, at Hanging Rock, and at Rocky Mount. These, as we have seen (page 662), were attacked by Sumter, Davie, and other active officers, with their men.

Cornwallis, perceiving the gathering storm on the borders of South Carolina, hastened from Charleston to join Rawdon at Camden. He arrived there on the thirteenth of August, and learned, with much concern, the successes of Sumter, and the disaffection of the people, especially in the county between the Black River and the Pedee. Nearly eight hundred of his troops were sick at Camden, and his effective force amounted to only a little more than two thousand men, fifteen hundred of whom were regulars. The remainder were militia and North Carolina refugees. Cornwallis would gladly have retreated to Charleston, but the consideration that he must leave his sick behind, abandon or destroy his magazines, and relinquish all the territory they had gained, except Charleston, prevented that step. He therefore resolved to move forward and attack Gates before the Virginia troops, known to be approaching, could join him.

On the day when Cornwallis reached Camden, Gates advanced to Clermont, and encamped near Rugeley's Mill. Those who had opposed Sumter at Hanging Rock had fled to Camden on the approach of Gates, and Lord Rawdon had also called in the garrison which he had stationed at Rugeley's. The day after his arrival there,^a Gates was joined by General Stevens, with seven hundred militia; and, at about noon, a message from Sumter announced the approach of stores and clothing on the west side of the Wateree, for the enemy at Camden. The capture of these stores, and the dispersion of the escort, we have considered on page 660.

Notwithstanding Gates had weakened his army by sending a strong re-enforcement to Sumter, he prepared to march upon Camden, to divert attention from Sumter's enterprise,

occasion, Washington wrote him a most touching letter, consoling him for his domestic affliction, and sympathizing with him on account of the troubles of his public life. His patriotism is undoubted, and the faults of his military career may be charged to errors of judgment.

¹ Richard Dobbs Spaight, afterward (1792) governor of North Carolina, was General Caswell's aid on this occasion.

Gates's Night-march toward Camden.

Cornwallis's March to meet Gates.

General Gist.

and to fight, if necessary. On the evening of the fifteenth, he sent his sick, extra stores, and heavy baggage, under guard, to the Waxhaw, and at ten o'clock at night commenced his march. Colonel Armand's legion composed the van, flanked upon the right by Porterfield's infantry, in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road; and upon the left by Armstrong's infantry, in the same order. Next followed the first and second Maryland brigades, under Brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, and the Delaware troops, all commanded by De Kalb: then the North Carolina division, under Caswell; the Virginia division, under Stevens; with a rear-guard of volunteer cavalry upon the flanks of the bag-

struck his tents at that place, and proceeded cautiously toward Rugeley's. His troops consisted of the 23d and 33d regiments, under Lieutenant-colonel Webster (who was afterward mortally wounded at Guilford); Tarleton's legion; Irish Volunteers; a part of Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton's North Carolina regiment; and Bryan's corps of Loyalists, under Lord Rawdon, with two six and two three pounders commanded by Lieutenant M'Leod; and the 71st regiment. Camden was left in the care of Major M'Arthur, with the sick and convalescents. Silently both armies marched in the gloom of night. The air was sultry; no moon was in the heavens, but the stars looked down in serene radiance upon the earth. Not a footfall was heard in the deep sand, and neither party was aware that the other had struck his tents, until the advanced guards of each met at about two o'clock in the morning,^a upon the gentle slope about half a mile north of Sander's Creek.



gage. Confident in his strength by such a disposition of his troops, he ordered Colonel Armand to withstand the attack of the enemy's cavalry, whatever its number. The most profound silence was commanded, and instant death was threatened to the soldier who should fire a gun until ordered.^b

Cornwallis, notwithstanding his inferior force, marched to attack

Gates at Rugeley's, being informed that his position was a weak one. At the same hour when Gates marched toward Camden, Cornwallis

^a August 16, 1780.

¹ Mordecai Gist was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1743. His ancestors, early emigrants to Maryland, were English. He was educated for commercial pursuits, and was engaged in the vocation of a merchant when the storm of the Revolution began to lower. The young men of Baltimore associated under the title of the "Baltimore Independent Company," and elected Gist captain. This was the first company raised in Maryland for the defense of popular liberty. Gist was appointed major of a battalion of Maryland regulars in 1776, and was with them in the battle near Brooklyn, at the close of the summer of that year. He was promoted to colonel in 1777, and was in the battle at Germantown, in September of that year. In January, 1779, Congress appointed him a brigadier in the Continental army, and he was honored with the command of the 2d Maryland brigade. He fought bravely, and suffered defeat in the battle near Camden, in 1780. Gist was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, and afterward joined the Southern army, under Greene. When that commander remodeled the army, in 1782, while lying near Charleston, he gave General Gist the command of the "light corps." It was a part of his command, under Colonel Laurens, that dealt one of the last blows upon the enemy, in an engagement upon the banks of the Combahee. At the close of the war, he retired to a plantation which he bought near Charleston, where he resided until his death, which occurred in Charleston, in 1792. General Gist had but two children, sons; one he named *Independent*, and the other *States*.

² When Deputy-adjutant-general Williams received these orders from Gates, with the estimates of the forces, he perceived that the commander was much deceived in his idea of the number of the troops. Instead of there being almost seven thousand men, he showed, by his returns, that there were only three thousand six hundred and sixty-three, exclusive of those detached in aid of Sumter. Gates did not alter his plan on account of this discovery.

Meeting of the Armies.

Skirmish.

Council of War.

Preparations for Battle.

The Attack.

Both parties were surprised, and each fired almost at the same moment. Some of Armand's troops were killed at the first fire, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack that the remainder fell back in disorder upon the first Maryland brigade. That column was broken by the shock, and the whole line was filled with consternation. Porterfield, with his usual gallantry, rushed forward and attacked the left of the enemy's van, while Armstrong, with equal gallantry and decision, attacked them on the right, and they were brought to a pause. Porterfield was severely wounded, carried to the rear of the army, and died a few days afterward. Both armies halted, and some prisoners having been taken by both parties, the position of the respective forces became known to each other. The situation of the British was far more advantageous than that of the Americans. They had crossed Sander's Creek, and they were completely guarded in the rear by an impenetrable swamp. The Americans were upon rising ground in an open wood, and were obliged to be watchful of their flanks.

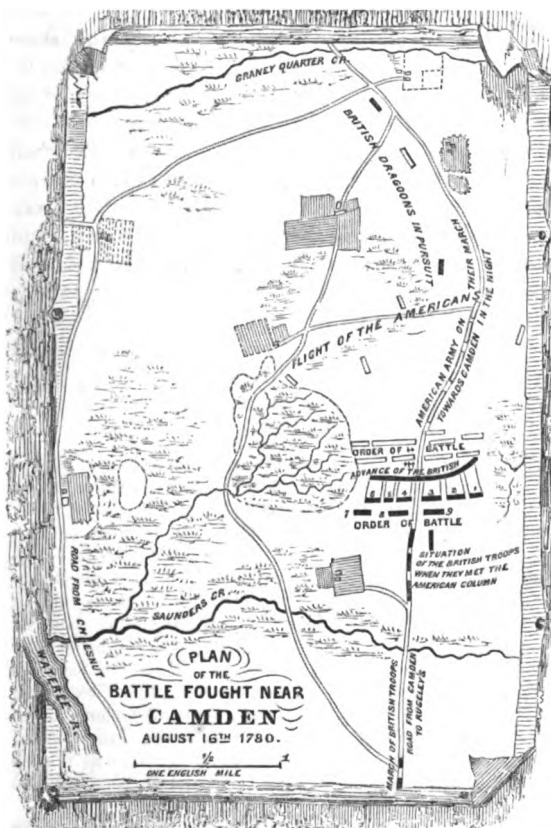
When the first excitement of the encounter had subsided, Gates called a council of officers. A retreat was practicable, and would doubtless have been prudent. No one seemed willing to propose it; and when, to Gates's remark, "Gentlemen, you know our situation, what are your opinions?" General Stevens replied, "It is now too late to retreat;" the silence that ensued was interpreted as favorable to an attack, and the commander-in-chief remarked, "Then we must fight; gentlemen, please take your posts."

The British army formed in line for battle, the right under the command of Webster, and the left under Rawdon, and anxiously awaited the dawn. The Americans, also, soon recovered from the panic produced by the attack, and formed in battle order. The second Maryland brigade, and the Delaware

troops, under General Gist, took the right; the North Carolina militia, under Caswell, the center; and the Virginians, under Stevens, the left. The first Maryland brigade, under Smallwood, was formed in reserve. De Kalb, charged with the line of battle, took post on the right. The artillery of both armies was planted directly in front of the center. All these preparations were made in darkness, and the belligerents were ignorant of each others' movements. In the plan here given, copied from Stedman, the black parallelograms denote the British troops, and the open ones the Americans.

The first beam of morning was the signal for attack. While the British were maneuvering to gain a better position, the American artillery opened its volleys upon them. At the same moment, Colonel Williams, with a band of volunteers,

pressed forward upon the enemy's right, followed by Stevens, with his Virginians, who were urged to rely upon the bayonets with which they had been furnished the day before. Webster immediately brought the British right to bear upon Williams and Stevens, with such



Battle at Sander's Creek.

General William Smallwood.

force, as to break the Virginia column and scatter it to the winds. They delivered only a single fire, and then, panic-stricken, threw away their arms, and fled in great confusion. The North Carolina militia (except Dixon's regiment, which was next to the Continentals) followed the shameful example, and the exertions of Stevens, Caswell, and even of Gates himself, to stop or rally the fugitives, were unavailing. Only the Continental troops, with Dixon's regiment, were now left to oppose the enemy. Upon the Maryland and Delaware troops fell the weight of battle, and for a while they nobly sustained it. On the right, De Kalb and Gist maintained their ground, though sorely pressed by Rawdon and his regulars. Lieutenant-colonel Howard (the subsequent "hero of the Cowpens"), with Williams's regiment, charged the enemy with great vigor, and disconcerted them. Inch by inch the Marylanders gained ground, and, had the militia stood firm, and kept Webster employed, the British must have been routed and driven in confusion across Sander's Creek. That skillful officer had detached Tarleton in pursuit of the fugitives, and when Smallwood¹ came forward with his reserve to fill the place of the scattered militia, Webster brought his regiments to bear upon him. Finally, the battle raged along the whole line, and victory was uncertain. Firm as a rock the phalanx of De Kalb and Gist remained. At length, perceiving an advantage, De Kalb ordered a bayonet charge. The slaughter was great; the enemy recoiled, and fifty men became the prisoners of the Americans. Smallwood, in the mean time, sustained himself gallantly; but at length Webster gained his flank, and his brigade receded. It soon regained its position; was again driven back, and speedily it rallied to the combat. Cornwallis perceived the point of strength to be with De Kalb and Gist, and, concentrating his whole force, he made a terrible charge there. It was the decisive stroke which smote down the American strength and won the victory. Another charge was made; the brave Marylanders gave way, and, with the Delaware regiment, broken and maimed, fled to the swamps. They were hotly pursued, and many were killed in the flight. The militia fell in great numbers under the sabers of Tarleton's cavalry, and for more than two miles the open wood was strewn with the dead and dying. Arms, artillery, horses, and baggage were scattered in every direction. More than a third of the Continental troops were killed; and of the wounded, one hundred and seventy men were made prisoners. The Delaware regiment was nearly annihilated, and Colonel Vaughn and Major Patten being taken prisoners, the remnant, less than two companies, were placed under the command of the brave Kirkwood, the senior captain, who had been with Washington at Trenton and Princeton. De Kalb, while trying to keep his troops firm when the



Smallwood

¹ William Smallwood was a native of Maryland, and was among the patriots of that colony who earliest expressed their attachment to Republican principles. He was appointed a brigadier by the Continental Congress, in October, 1776, and major general in September, 1780. He was in the battle near Brooklyn, in August, 1776, where his command suffered severely. It was chiefly composed of young men from Maryland, many of them members of the most respectable families of that state. He was in the Brandywine and Germantown battles in 1777. He accompanied Gates to the South, and shared in the mortifications of defeat near Camden. It was a month after that event that Congress promoted him to major general. He was elected a delegate in Congress, for Maryland, in 1785, and the same year was chosen to succeed William Paca as governor of the state. He was succeeded in office by John Eager Howard, in 1788. General Smallwood died in February, 1792.

Death of the Baron de Kalb.

Flight of the Americans.

British Victorious.

The *Armed Neutrality*.

last charge was made, fell, pierced with eleven wounds. His lieutenant, Du Buysson, threw his arms around him, gave his name and rank, and while saving him from instant death, was terribly wounded himself by British bayonets. In the mean while Gates had fled, "borne off the field by a current of dismayed militia," who "constituted so great a part of his army, that when he saw them break and flee, he lost all hope of victory." With Caswell, he hastened to Clermont, hoping to check and rally the militia at their old encampment, near Rugeley's Mill. This hope was vain, for the further the dismayed troops fled, the more they became dispersed, and the generals giving up all as lost, proceeded, with a few attendants, to Charlotte, where they arrived in the evening of the same day, though about eighty miles distant. On his way, Gates heard of the success of Sumter at the Wateree Ford, but that triumph came too late to afford him aid, and, as we have seen (page 660), two days afterward,^a Sumter and his band were surprised and dispersed at Fishing Creek. General Rutherford surrendered to a party of the British legion. The other generals escaped, but were separated from their respective commands. The rout was complete, and only Major Andrus, of the third Maryland regiment, succeeded in rallying any part of the fugitives. Most of the Virginia militia retired to Hillsborough by the road they came to camp, and there General Stevens gathered many of them together. Their time of service soon expiring, they were discharged.¹

The victory of Cornwallis was complete, and for a moment the hopes of the patriots, particularly at the South, were crushed; their only chance of success seemed to be the intervention of European nations.² Within the space of three months, two armies had been almost annihilated by capture and dispersion, and the most active partisan corps scattered to the winds.⁴ Cornwallis considered the subjugation of South Carolina accomplished, and,

¹ Gordon, iii., 104.

² Ramsay, ii., 145-152. Gordon, iii., 98-107. Marshall, i., 344-348. Lee, 92-100.

³ It was during the summer of 1780, that Rochambeau and his army arrived at Newport; an auspicious event for the Americans. A movement in Europe, known in history as the *Armed Neutrality*, at about the same time threatened to cripple the power of England, and promised indirect aid to the Americans. The Empress Catharine, of Russia, with the duplicity which has ever marked the diplomacy of that government, professed great friendship toward England, and abhorrence of the rebellion in America. She even entered into negotiations for sending Russian troops to America to assist the British. All this while she was building a navy, and the English were made to believe it was to aid them. As soon as she felt strong enough to set England at defiance, her tone and policy were changed, and on the twenty-sixth of February, 1780, she issued a manifesto, in which she declared the international doctrine (with a qualification) so eloquently promulgated and advocated by Kossuth in America, in 1851-2, namely, *that neutral states have a right to carry on their commerce with belligerent powers unmolested, and even to convey from one port to another of a belligerent power, all goods whatsoever, except what could be deemed contraband in consequence of previous treaties.** Hitherto ports were blockaded, not always by squadrons of ships, but by a simple proclamation. Catharine declared that no port should be considered blockaded, unless there was a *sufficient force present to maintain a blockade*, and this was the qualification of the doctrine concerning the rights of neutral nations; a qualification which contains the essential maxim of despotism, "*Might makes right.*" This doctrine was contrary to the maritime policy of England, and inimical to her interests. In the course of the summer, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden became parties to the policy declared by the Czarina, and entered into a league with her; and in November the States General of Holland acceded to the measure. Spain and France acquiesced in the new maritime code, and at one time a general Continental war against England appeared inevitable. But the personal caprices of Catharine, and her known faithlessness, made the other powers hesitate, and the next year the alliance resulted in inaction.

⁴ The exact loss sustained by the Americans in the engagement on the sixteenth, and Sumter's surprise on the eighteenth, was never ascertained. The estimated loss was as follows: exclusive of De Kalb and General Rutherford, four lieutenant colonels, three majors, fourteen captains, four captain lieutenants, sixteen lieutenants, three ensigns, four staff, seventy-eight subalterns, and six hundred and four rank and file. They also lost eight field-pieces, and other artillery, more than two hundred baggage wagons, and the greater part of their baggage. That of Gates and De Kalb, with all their papers, was saved. The loss of the British was severe. Gates estimated that more than five hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded; Stedman (ii., 210) says the British loss was three hundred less than the Americans. A great many of the fugitive militia were murdered in their flight. Armed parties of Tories, alarmed at the pres-

* See Florida Blanca's Representation, as cited by Arch-deacon Coxé in his *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, of the Throne of Bourbon*.

Confidence of the British.

Rendezvous at Hillsborough.

Governor Nash.

Colonel Buncombe.

confident of future success, moved toward the North State to establish royal rule there. His march to, and retreat from Charlotte; the defeat of his detachments at King's Mountain and the Cowpens; the pursuit of Greene; the battle at Guilford; the retreat of the British to Wilmington; their march into Virginia; and the final capture of Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, have been considered in preceding chapters.

General Gates was much censured on account of the defeat of the Americans on Sander's Creek, because he provided for no place of rendezvous in the event of being obliged to retreat; for not having his baggage and stores at a proper distance from the scene of action; and because of an improper arrangement of his army for attack, placing his unskilled militia on the right, opposite the British veterans of Webster. Armand spoke harshly of Gates, and even intimated that he was a coward or a traitor. Gates's great fault appears to have been a too sanguine belief that he could easily crush the inferior force of his enemy. His vanity was always the source of his greatest trouble. In this instance he was too confident of success, and made no provision for the contingencies of adversity; and hence his utter weakness when the victorious blow was struck by the British, and he was obliged to flee.

On the seventeenth and eighteenth,^a Smallwood and Gist arrived at Charlotte, with several other officers, and there they found more than one hundred regular infantry, Armand's cavalry, Major Davie's partisan corps from the Waxhaw settlement, and a few militia. Gates began to hope that another army might be speedily reorganized, when intelligence of the disaster of Sumter at Fishing Creek reached him. He retreated to Hillsborough, where the Provincial Congress was in session, with Governor Abner Nash¹ at its head. That officer exerted all the power and influence of his station to

^a August,
1780.

ence of the Americans, were marching to join Gates. When they heard of his defeat, they inhumanly pursued the flying Americans, and butchered a large number in the swamps and pine barrens.

¹ Abner Nash was a member of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, and an active politician. When the war of the Revolution broke out, he and his brother Francis* were found in the ranks of the patriots; Abner in the council, Francis in the field. Their father emigrated from Wales, and settled in Prince Edward county, Virginia, where Abner was born. At an early age he went to North Carolina, where he was educated for the bar. He was the first speaker of the North Carolina Legislature under its Republican Constitution; and in 1779, succeeded Caswell, the first governor, in the office of chief magistrate of the state. He represented a constituency in the Assembly, from 1782 to 1785, and was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1786. He resided for many years at Newbern, where he died, greatly respected for his public and private virtues. His memory is perpetuated in the state by a county called by his name. Governor Nash's first wife was the young widow of the venerable Governor Dobbs.



* I have noticed the death of General Francis Nash at Germantown, on page 390. Since writing that account, I have been informed that his wound consisted of a laceration of the flesh and the fracture of the bone of his thigh by a cannon-ball, which killed his horse, and also his aid, Major Witherspoon, son of Dr. Witherspoon, of Princeton College. His remains lie in the Mennonist Burying-ground, at Kulpsville, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia. Through the patriotic endeavors of John F. Watson, Esq., the annalist, the citizens of Germantown and Norristown have erected a neat marble monument to the memory of General Nash, upon which is the following inscription: "VOTA VIA MEA JUS PATRIA. In memory of General Nash of North Carolina, mortally wounded at the battle of Germantown, here interred, October 17, 1777, in presence of the army here encamped. J. F. W."

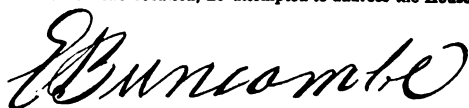


NASH'S MONUMENT.

Among the gallant officers who accompanied General Nash to the North, and fought at Brandywine and Germantown, was Colonel Edward Buncombe. He was wounded and made a prisoner at Germantown, and died soon afterward at Philadelphia. His character for generous hospitality may be inferred from the following dictum, which he affixed over the door of his mansion, in Washington county, North Carolina

"Welcome, all,
To Buncombe Hall."

In 1791, his name was given to a county in North Carolina. From 1817 to 1823, the district which includes Buncombe was represented in Congress by one, not an orator. On one occasion, he attempted to address the House in favor of a bill providing pensions for militiamen; but a determination not to hear him was manifested. He appealed to the late Mr. Lowndes to interpose in his behalf, intimating that he would be satisfied with the allowance of five minutes for a speech that might be published in the newspapers, and assuring him that his remarks were not intended for the House, but for Buncombe. He was gratified, and spoke under the five minutes' rule. To the astonishment of the good people of Buncombe, the speech of their representative (a curious specimen of logic and oratory) appeared in the *Washington City Gazette*, covering



Partial Organization of an Army.

Hobkirk's Hill.

View at the Spring.

Gates's Order.

Parole.

aid the discomfited general. The Legislature provided for procuring arms, ammunition, and stores; ordered militia drafts, and took other vigorous measures for the defense of the state. Salisbury, toward which it was believed Cornwallis would march, was made the place of rendezvous. The fragments of the army broken at Sander's Creek were collected together at Hillsborough early in September, and on the sixteenth of that month, Colonel Buford, having recruited his corps so cruelly handled by Tarleton, reached head-quarters, from Virginia. There he was joined by sixty Virginia militia, and about fifty of Porterfield's light infantry. All of these, with the Maryland and Delaware regiments, were formed into a brigade, under Smallwood. The intervening events, from this time until Dec. 3, 1780. Greene succeeded Gates in the command of the Southern army,^a have already been considered.¹

An hour's ride from Sander's Creek, over a very sandy and gently rolling country,

VIEW AT THE SPRING; HOBKIRK'S HILL.²

brought me to the summit of Hobkirk's Hill, a high ridge overlooking the plains of Camden. Upon the table-land of its summit is a beautiful village, composed of many fine houses, the residences of wealthy inhabitants of that region, who have chosen this spot for its salubrity in summer. It was just at sunset when I first looked from this eminence upon the town below and the broad plain around it. Although it was midwinter, the profusion of evergreens gave the landscape the appearance of early autumn. Here was fought one of the memorable battles of our War for Independence; and yonder, stretching away toward the high hills of Santee, is the plain once red with British legions, and glittering with British bayonets. Before descending to Camden, a mile distant, let us open the old

¹ The irritation which Gates exhibited when he was succeeded by General Schuyler in the command of the Northern army, in 1777, was not visible when Greene reached Charlotte, and gave him the first notification of his having been superseded. On the contrary, he received Greene with the utmost courtesy, and expressed his warmest thanks for the tender manner in which that officer announced the action of Congress and the commander-in-chief. On the morning after Greene's arrival, Gates issued the following order:

"Head-quarters, Charlotte, 3d December, 1780.

Parole, *Springfield*; countersign, *Greene*. The Honorable Major-general Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his excellency, General Washington, with the approbation of the Honorable Congress, to the command of the Southern army, all orders will, for the future, issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him. General Gates returns his sincere thanks to the Southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith, and that victory and the glorious advantages attending it may be the future portion of the Southern army."

The Honorable Major-general Greene, who arrived yesterday

Nov 27th
Alexandria - Parole
Bedford
Colchester } *C. Pi*

FORM OF PAROLE AND COUNTERSIGN.*

² The site of this spring, the source of one of the tributaries of Pine Tree Creek, is denoted in the map, on nearly a broadside of that paper. "Speaking for Buncombe" (not Bunkum) is a term often applied since to men who waste the time of legislative bodies in making speeches for the sole purpose of receiving popular applause.

* This parole (*Alexandria*) and countersign (*Bedford, Colchester*), upon a small slip of paper, is in the handwriting of Washington. The original is in the possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston. It is the practice in camps for the command-

Greene's Movements toward South Carolina.

His Encampment near Camden.

Lee's Legion and Wolves.

chronicle, and peruse an interesting page. It is a balmy evening;^a birds are chirping their vespers among the dark-green foliage of the wild olives in the gardens, and buds are almost bursting into blossoms upon every tree. Here, upon a bench by the bubbling spring, where General Greene was at breakfast when surprised by Lord Rawdon, we will read and ponder in the evening twilight.

We left General Greene and his broken army on their march from Cornwallis's camp, on the Deep River,^b toward Camden. (See page 613.) Greene had determined to strike a blow for the recovery of South Carolina. To secure the provisions which grow upon the borders of the Santee and Congaree Rivers, and to keep a communication with the Indians on the frontier, the British had established military posts at several points, the most important of which was Fort Watson, upon Wright's Bluff, in the present Sumter District. These, with the more remote post of Ninety-Six, Greene resolved to attack almost simultaneously with his movement against Lord Rawdon, then at Camden. He dispatched Lieutenant-colonel Lee with his legion, to join Marion, then encamped in the swamps on Black River, in Williamsburg District.^c These brave partisans met on the fourteenth,^c and immediately prepared to march against Fort Watson. Brigadiers Sumter and Pickens were informed of the intended movement, and refused to co-operate. Greene desired Sumter to join him at Camden, while Pickens was directed to assemble the western militia and invest Ninety-Six, or, at least, to prevent a re-enforcement marching from that post to the relief of Rawdon. With only about fifteen hundred men (after detaching Lee's force), Greene descended the Southern slope of Hobkirk's Hill,^d and encamped at Log Town, within half a mile of the enemy's works, at Camden.

Lord Rawdon, who had been left in command of the



LORD RAWDON.²
From an English Print.

page 676. It is at the head of a ravine, scooped out of the northeastern slope of Hobkirk's Hill. The noble trees which shadow it are tulips, poplars, and pines. The house seen on the top of the hill, toward the left, is the residence of William E. Johnson, Esq., president of the Camden Bank. A few yards below the spring a dike has been cast up, across the ravine, by which a fine duck pond is formed, and adds beauty to the scene, in summer.

¹ Lee, in his *Memoirs* (page 215), relates an amusing circumstance which occurred while he was on his way to join Marion among the swamps on Black River, in Williamsburg District. Lee's detachment had reached Drowning Creek, a branch of the Pedee, and were encamped for the night. Toward morning, the officer of the day was informed that noises, like the stealthy movements of a body of men, were heard in front of the pickets, toward the creek. Presently a sentinel fired, the bugles sounded for the horse patrols to come in, and soon the whole detachment were on the alert for the approaching enemy. Soon another sentinel fired in a different direction, and intelligence came that an invisible enemy were in the swamp. The troops were formed in accordance with the latest information of the whereabouts of the secret foe. With great anxiety they awaited the approach of dawn, not doubting that its first gleam would be the signal for a general assault by the enemy. Suddenly the line of sentinels in their rear, upon the great road they had traversed, fired in quick succession, and the fact that the enemy had gained their rear in force could not be doubted. Lee went cautiously along his line; informed his troops that there was no alternative but to fight; reminded them of their high reputation, and enjoined them to be firm throughout the approaching contest. He conjured the cavalry to be cautious, and not allow any partial success to tempt them to pursue, for no doubt the enemy would ambuscade. At break of day, the whole column advanced cautiously to the great road, infantry in front, baggage in the center, and cavalry in the rear. No enemy appeared, and the van officer cautiously examined the road to find the trail of the foe. He soon discovered the tracks of a large pack of wolves! These animals had attempted to pass along their accustomed path, but finding it obstructed, had turned from point to point when met by the fire of the sentinels. The circumstance occasioned great merriment among the troops. Each considered himself a dupe. The poor pickets, patrols, and officer of the day were made the butt of severest ridicule.

² Francis Rawdon, son of the Earl of Moira, was born in 1754, and entered the army in 1771. He was

er-in-chief to issue a parole and countersign every morning. It is given in writing to his subordinates, and by them communicated to those who wish to leave the camp and return during the day and evening, &c. The object is to guard against the admission of spies into the camp.

Lord Rawdon at Camden.

Greene's Camp on Hobkirk's Hill.

Rawdon's Preparations to Attack Greene.

Southern division of the royal army when Cornwallis marched into North Carolina, was now at Camden. He was apprised of Greene's approach, and notwithstanding his force was inferior (about nine hundred men), he was too strongly intrenched to fear an attack. Greene perceived that his little army was unequal to the task of carrying the place by storm, or even of completely investing it.¹ Hoping to be joined by a re-enforcement of militia, he withdrew to Hobkirk's Hill, and encamped. On the twenty-first, he received the startling information that Colonel Watson, with between four and five hundred men, was marching up the Santee to join Rawdon. To prevent this junction, it was necessary to intercept Watson some distance from Camden. To this task Greene immediately applied

himself. He crossed Sand Hill Creek, and encamped on the east of Camden,^a upon the Charleston road. It being impossible to transport the artillery across the marshes on the borders of that creek, Lieutenant-colonel Carrington was directed to return with it toward Lynch's Creek, where it would be safe from the patrolling parties of the enemy. Finally, convinced that the intelligence of the approach of Watson was false,² Greene hastened back to Hobkirk's Hill, and ordered Carrington to join him, with the artillery, immediately.^b The hill was then completely covered with a forest, and the

Americans were so strongly posted, with the swamp on Pine Tree Creek in their rear, that they felt no fear of an attack from the enemy. Yet the ever-cautious Greene had the army encamped in battle order, ready to repel a sortie of Rawdon, should he have the temerity to attempt one. During the day, he had received information of the capture of Fort Watson by Marion and Lee, and just at evening the prisoners were brought into camp, among whom were several American soldiers, previously captured, and who, as they said, had enlisted in the British service as the best means of escaping to their friends.

During the night of the twenty-fourth, a drummer, named Jones, one of the Americans taken at Fort Watson, deserted, and made his way to the British camp. He informed Rawdon of the detachment of the artillery from the main army, the lack of provisions in the American camp, and the fact that Sumter had not arrived. Rawdon resolved to strike a blow at this favorable moment, for his own provisions were almost exhausted; and before daylight his garrison was in marching order. The country between Hobkirk's Hill and Camden was so thickly wooded that the movements of the enemy were not discerned until his van-guard approached the American pickets. The patriots were unsuspecting of danger. Greene and his officers were leisurely taking breakfast under the shade of the trees at the spring, pictured on page 676 (for it was a clear, warm morning); some of the soldiers were washing their clothes, and the horses of Washington's cavalry were unsaddled. Rawdon did not march directly for the American camp, on the Waxhaw road, but took a circuitous route, toward the Pine Tree Creek. At about ten o'clock, the American advanced guard discerned the approach of the enemy. Their pickets were commanded by Captain Benson, of Maryland, and Captain Morgan, of Virginia, supported by Captain Kirkwood,^c with the re-

distinguished for his bravery during his first campaign in America, and in 1778 was appointed adjutant general of the British forces. He was at the storming of Forts Clinton and Montgomery in 1777, and was with Sir Henry Clinton at the battle of Monmouth. He was promoted to brigadier, and was succeeded in his office of adjutant general by Major André. Rawdon afterward received the commission of a major general. In 1812, he was appointed Governor General of British India, which office he held until 1822. During his administration, the Nepaulese, Pindarees, and other native powers, were subjugated, and the British authority made supreme in India. During his absence in the East, he was created Marquis of Hastings. He died in 1825.

¹ Camden, the capital of Kershaw District, stands upon a gentle elevation, covered on the southwest by the Wateree at a mile distant, and on the east by Pine Tree Creek, a considerable stream. The country around it was heavily wooded at the time in question, and the town itself (formerly called Pine Tree, but then named in honor of Lord Camden) was but a small village of a few houses.

² Colonel Watson had really commenced his march up the Santee, but was obliged to turn back because Marion and Lee, after capturing Fort Watson, had got in front of him, and effectually guarded all the passes and ferries.

³ That portion of Hobkirk's Hill, on its southeastern slope, where the first of the battle commenced, is now called Kirkwood. It is covered with fine residences and beautiful gardens, and is valued as a healthful summer resort by the people of Camden.

Disposition of the Two Armies.

Battle on Hobkirk's Hill.

Yielding of Maryland Troops.

mains of the Delaware regiment. These, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the camp, gallantly received and returned the fire of the British van, and kept them at bay while Greene formed his army in more complete battle order.

Fortunately for Greene, Carrington, with the artillery, had joined him early in the morning, and brought to camp a competent supply of provisions. The line was soon formed, and so confident was Greene of success, that he unhesitatingly ordered Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge in their rear. The American line was composed of the Virginia brigade on the right, under Brigadier Huger, with Lieutenant-colonels Campbell and Hawes; the Maryland brigade, led by Colonel Williams, seconded by Colonel Gunby, and Lieutenant-colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left; and in the center was Colonel Harrison, with the artillery. The reserve consisted of Washington's cavalry, and a corps of two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, under Colonel Reade. (See the map.)

The skirmish of the van-guards was severe for some time, when Rawdon, with his whole force, pressed forward, and drove Kirkwood and his Delawares back upon the main line. The King's American regiment was on his right; the New York Volunteers in the centre; and the 63d regiment composed the left. His right was supported by Robertson's corps, and his left by the Irish Volunteers. (See map.) The British presented a narrow front, which was an advantage to Greene. As they moved slowly up the slope, Campbell and Ford were ordered to turn the flanks of the British, while the first Maryland regiment, under Gunby, was ordered to make an attack in front. Rawdon perceived this movement, and, ordering the Irish corps into line, strengthened his position by extending his front. The battle opened from right to left with great vigor. The two Virginia regiments, led by Greene in person, aided by Huger, Campbell, and Hawes, maintained their ground firmly, and even gained upon the enemy. At the same time, Washington, with his cavalry, was sweeping every thing before him upon the right flank of the British. The artillery was playing upon the center with great execution, and Gunby's veteran regiment rushed forward in a deadly charge with bayonets. Notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers and disadvantage of position, the British maintained their ground most gallantly until Gunby's charge, when they faltered. Hawes was then descending the hill to charge the New York Volunteers, and the falchion that should strike the decisive blow of victory for the Americans was uplifted. At that moment, some of Gunby's veterans gave way, without any apparent cause. Colonel Williams, who was near the center, endeavored to rally them, and Gunby and other officers used every exertion to close their line. In this attempt, Colonel Ford was mortally wounded and carried to the rear. Gunby, finding it impossible to bring them into order, directed them to rally by retiring partially in the rear. This order was fatal. Perceiving this retrograde movement, the British advanced with a shout, when a general retreat of the Amer-



NOTE.—Explanation of the Plan.—This plan of the battle on Hobkirk's Hill is copied from Stedman. *a a*, are the American militia, on the Waxhaw road, leading from Camden to Salisbury; *b b*, the Virginia line; *c c*, the Maryland line; *d*, the reserve, with General Greene; *e*, British light infantry, approaching the American camp from Pine Tree Creek; *f*, volunteers from Ireland; *g*, South Carolina Loyalists; *h*, 63d regiment; *i*, New York Loyalists; *j*, King's American regiment; *k*, convalescents; *l*, with swords crossed, the place where the first attack was made; *m m*, British dragoons. The spring was known as Martin's.

Greene's Retreat.

Washington's Charge upon the Pursuers.

Marion and Lee against Watson.

icans took place. Greene, with his usual skill and energy, conducted the retreat in such order that few men were lost after this first action. Washington had been eminently successful; and at the moment when the retreat began, he had two hundred prisoners. He hastily paroled the officers, and then, wheeling, made a secure retreat, with the loss of three men, and took with him fifty of his prisoners. The action continued at intervals until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Americans had retreated four or five miles, closely pursued by parties of the enemy. Washington, with cavalry and infantry, then turned upon the pursuers, and charging the mounted New York Volunteers with great intrepidity, killed nine and dispersed the rest. This terminated the battle. The British returned to their works at Camden, and Greene, with his little army, encamped for the night on the north side of Sander's Creek. The dead, alone, occupied the battle-field. So well was the retreat conducted, that most of the American wounded (including six commissioned officers), and all of their artillery and baggage, with Washington's fifty prisoners, were carried off. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing, according to Greene's return to the Board of War, was two hundred and sixty-six; that of the enemy, according to Rawdon's statement, two hundred and fifty-eight. The killed were not very numerous. Greene estimates his number at eighteen; among whom was Ford and Beatty, of the Maryland line.¹ Rawdon's loss in killed was thirty-eight, including one officer.²

This defeat was very unexpected to General Greene, and for a moment disconcerted him, for, with the exception of the success of Marion and Lee, in capturing Fort Watson, he did not know how the Southern partisans were proceeding.³ The Maryland troops, so gallant and firm on all former occasions, had now failed; his provisions were short; Sumter, the speedy partisan, had not joined him; and supplies came in tardily and meager. Yet Greene was not the man to be crushed by adversity. On the contrary, he seemed to rise with renewed strength, after every fall. Accordingly, on the morning succeeding the battle,^a he retired as far as Rugeley's, and after detaching a small force with a six pounder under Captain Finley, to Nelson's Ferry, to join Marion and Lee, and prevent Watson from re-enforcing Rawdon, he crossed the Wateree, and took a strong position, where he could not only cut off supplies for the garrison at Camden from that quarter, but prevent the approach of Watson in that direction. In the mean while, Marion and Lee were closely watching Colonel Watson. That officer had now approached near to the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree, in Orangeburg District; where he would cross it was difficult to tell; and the vigilant partisans, fearing he might elude them if they took post on the north side of the Congaree, crossed over, and endeavored to overtake him. But Watson, who was equally vigilant and active, crossed the Congaree,^b near its junction with the Wateree, and on the seventh of May passed the latter stream and joined Rawdon at Camden.

Greene was early apprised of this junction, and, persuaded that Rawdon would resume offensive operations at once, withdrew from the vicinity of Camden Ferry to the high ground

¹ Marshall (ii., 6) says that the fall of Captain Beatty, of Gunby's regiment, was the cause of its defection. His company and the one adjoining it were thrown into confusion, and dropped out of the line, and then the fatal disorder ensued.

² Marshall, ii., 1-8. Ramsay, ii., 230-31. Gordon, iii., 189-91. Lee, 220-24. Stedman, ii., 356-58.

³ The momentary despondency of Greene is expressed in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the Chevalier Luzerne, three days after the battle: "This distressed country, I am sure, can not struggle much longer without more effectual support. They may struggle a little while longer, but they must fall; and I fear their fall will lay a train to sap the independence of the rest of America. . . . We fight, get beaten, rise and fight again. The whole country is one continued scene of blood and slaughter." To La Fayette he wrote, on the first of May: "You may depend upon it, that nothing can equal the sufferings of our little army but their merit." To others he wrote in a similar strain, imploring prompt and decisive action for supplying his handful of troops with sustenance for the summer campaign, and with re-enforcements. It must be remembered, that at this time the French army, under Rochambeau, was lying idle in New England; and through Luzerne (the French minister) and La Fayette, Greene hoped to hasten their advent in the field of active operations. To Governor Read, of Pennsylvania, he wrote, on the fourth of May: "If our good friends, the French, can not lend a helping hand to save these sinking states, they must and will fall."

British Evacuation of Camden.	Destruction of Property.	Fall of British Posts.	Sale of Traveling Establishment.
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beyond Sawney Creek, on the border of Fairfield District. He was not mistaken. On the eighth,^a Rawdon crossed the Wateree, at the ferry below Camden,¹ and proceeded toward Greene's encampment. The two armies were now equal in numbers; about twelve hundred each. On the approach of the British, Greene retired to Colonel's Creek; at the same time, Rawdon became alarmed at the intelligence of the increase of the American army and of Greene's strong position, and returned to Camden. Believing it impossible to drive Greene from his neighborhood, and anxious for the safety of his menaced posts between him and Charleston, Rawdon resolved to evacuate Camden, and with it all the country north of the Congaree. He sent orders to Lieutenant-colonel Cruger to abandon Ninety-Six, and join Lieutenant-colonel Brown at Augusta, and also directed Major Maxwell to leave Fort Granby (near the present city of Columbia), and fall back upon Orangeburg, on the bank of the North Edisto. He then burned the jail, mills, and several private houses at Camden; destroyed all the stores which he could not carry with him, and on the tenth left that place for Nelson's Ferry, hoping to cross there in time to drive off Marion and Lee, then besieging Fort Motte. He took with him almost five hundred negroes; and the most violent Loyalists, fearing the vengeance of the patriots, followed him in great numbers.² Within six days afterward, Orangeburg,^b Fort Motte,^c the post at Nelson's Ferry,^d and Fort Granby,^e fell into the hands of the Americans. Greene, in the mean while, had marched toward Ninety-Six, where he arrived on the twenty-second of May. The military events at these several places will be noticed presently, in the order in which I visited them.

It was almost dark when I rode into Camden and alighted at Boyd's Hotel. Here was the end of my tedious but interesting journey of almost fourteen hundred miles with my own conveyance; for, learning that I could reach other chief points of interest at the South easier and speedier by public conveyance, I resolved to sell my traveling establishment. Accordingly, after passing the forenoon of the next day^f in visiting the battle-ground on Hobkirk's Hill, sketching the scenery at the Spring, and the monument erected to the memory of De Kalb, on the green in front of the Presbyterian church in Camden,^{1849.} I went into the market as a trafficker. A stranger both to the people and to the business I was not successful. I confess there was a wide difference between my "asking" and my "taking" price. My wagon was again broken, and, anxious to get home, I did not "dicker" long when I got an offer, and Charley and I parted, I presume, with mutual regrets. He was a docile, faithful animal, and I had become much attached to him. A roll of Camden bank-notes soothed my feelings, and I left the place of separation at dawn the next morning in the cars for Fort Motte and Columbia, quite light-hearted.

¹ There is now a fine bridge across the Wateree at this place, which cost twenty thousand dollars.

² Many of these, who had occupied their farms near Camden, were reduced to the most abject poverty. Outside of the lines at Charleston, men, women, and children were crowded into a collection of miserable huts, which received the name of Rawdowntown.—Simms's *History of South Carolina*, 223.

³ I was informed, after I left Camden, that the house in which Cornwallis was quartered, while there, was yet standing, and very little altered since the Revolution. It was one of the few saved when Rawdon left the place. I was not aware of this fact while I was in Camden.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Marion. Friends! fellow-soldiers! we again have heard
 The threats of our proud enemies; they come,
 Boasting to sweep us, like the chaff, away.
 Shall we yield? shall we lie down like dogs beneath
 The keeper's lash? Then shall we well deserve
 The ruin, the disgrace that must ensue.
 Ne'er dream submission will appease our foes;
 We shall be conquered rebels, and they'll fear
 The spirit of liberty may rouse again;
 And therefore will they bind us with strong chains,
 New cords, green withes, like those which Samson bound,
 And we, alas! shall have been shorn and weak,
 On Folly's lap, if we yield up our freedom.

MRS. S. J. HALE'S TRAGEDY, "ORMOND GROVESNOR." *Act IV.*



T was a brilliant, frosty morning when I left Camden to visit the scenes of some of the exploits of Marion and his partisan compatriots. Soon after crossing the Big Swift and Rafting Creeks, we reached the high hills of Santee, whereon General Greene encamped before and after the battle at the Eutaw Springs. They extend southward, in Sumter District, from the Kershaw line, twenty-two miles, parallel with the Wateree. They are immense sand hills, varying in width on the summit from one to five miles, and are remarkable for the salubrity of the atmosphere and for medicinal springs. Just at sunrise, while swiftly skirting the base of these hills, with the Wateree Swamp between us and the river on the west, we saw the sharp pencilings of the few scattered houses of Statesburg against the glowing eastern sky. There was the residence of General Sumter after the war, and in his honor the surrounding district was named.¹ After skirting the Wateree Swamp some distance, the road passes through a high sand bluff, and then crosses the great morass to the river, a distance of four miles. Beyond that stream, it joins the rail-way from Columbia. Through the swamp, the iron rails are laid upon a strong wooden frame-work, high enough to overtop a cane-brake. The passage is made at a slow rate to avoid accidents. The scenery was really grand, for below were the green canes waving like billows in the wind, while upon either side of the avenue cut for the road, towered mighty cypresses and gum-trees, almost every branch draped with long moss. Clustered around their stately trunks were the holly, water-oak, laurel, and gall-bush, with their varied tints of green; and among these, sitting in silence, were seen the gray mock-



SCENE IN A SOUTHERN SWAMP.²

¹ I was informed that the house of General Sumter and several others, with a large tract of land, was owned by a mulatto named Ellison, who, with his wife and children, were once slaves. He was a mechanic, and with the proceeds of his labor he purchased the freedom of himself and family. He is now (1850) about sixty years of age, and owns a large number of slaves. His sons and daughters are educated, and the former occupy the position of overseers on his plantation. Mr. Ellison is regarded as one of the most honorable business men in that region.

² This little sketch is from the pencil of J. Addison Richards, one of our most accomplished landscape-

Fort Motte.	Remains of the Revolution.	Position of the Americans there.	General Marion.
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ing-bird and the brilliant scarlet tanniger. Here, I was told, opossums and wild cats abound, and upon the large dry tracts of the swamp wild deers are often seen.

We arrived at the junction station at a little past eight o'clock, and, crossing a narrow part of the Congaree Swamp and River, reached Fort Motte Station, on the southern side of that stream, before nine, a distance of forty-four miles from Camden.

The plantation of Mrs. Rebecca Motte, whose house, occupied and stockaded by the British, was called Fort Motte, lies chiefly upon a high rolling plain, near the Buck's Head Neck, on the Congaree, a little above the junction of that river with the Wateree,¹ thirty-three miles below Columbia, the capital of the state. This plain slopes in every direction, and is a commanding point of view, overlooking the vast swamps on the borders of the Congaree. It is now owned by William H. Love, Esq., with whom I passed several hours very agreeably. His house (seen in the engraving) is built nearly upon the site of Mrs. Motte's mansion, desolated by fire at her own suggestion, while occupied by the British. The well used by that patriotic lady is still there, close by the oak-tree seen on the right; and from it to the house there is a slight hollow, which indicates the place of a covered way, dug for the protection of the soldiers when procuring water. The other large tree seen in the picture is a blasted sweet-gum, and in the extreme distance is seen the Congaree Swamp.



VIEW AT FORT MOTTE.



VESTIGE OF A BATTERY

This house was built by Mrs. Motte immediately after the close of the war. The Americans, whose exploits we shall consider presently, were stationed upon an eminence about a quarter of a mile northeast of the house, toward the Congaree, in the direction of M'Cord's Ferry. A little eastward of the house there was an oval mound, when I was there in 1849, about twelve feet in height, and dotted with the stumps of trees recently cut down. This is the vestige of a battery, upon which the assailants planted a field-piece to dislodge the British. We shall better understand these localities after consulting the oracle of history.

Among the bold, energetic, and faithful patriots of the South, none holds a firmer place in the affections of the American people than General Francis Marion.² His adventures were

painters. The cypress "knees," as they are called, are here truthfully shown. They extend from the roots of the trees, sometimes as much as two feet above the earth or the water, but never exhibit branches or leaves. They appear like smooth-pointed stumps.

¹ The Congaree is formed by the junction of the Broad and Saluda Rivers at Columbia. Its junction with the Wateree (the Catawba of North Carolina), at the lower end of Richland District, forms the Santee, which name is borne by the whole volume of united waters from that point to the ocean. Buck's Head Neck is formed by a sweep of the Congaree, of nearly eight miles, when it approaches itself within a quarter of a mile. The swamp land of this neck has been reclaimed in many places, and now bears good cotton. At the rundle of this bow of the river is the ancient M'Cord's Ferry, yet in use.

² Francis Marion was born at Winyaw, near Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1732. He was so small at his birth, that, according to Weems, "he was not larger than a New England lobster, and might easily enough have been put into a quart pot." Marion received a very limited share of education, and until his twenty-seventh year (1759), he followed agricultural pursuits. He then became a soldier, by joining an expedition against the Cherokees and other hostile tribes (see page 646) on the Western frontier of the Carolinas. When the Revolution broke out, he was found on the side of liberty, and was made captain in the second South Carolina regiment. He fought bravely in the battle at Fort Sullivan, on Sullivan's Island. He was afterward engaged in the contest at Savannah, and from that period until the defeat of Gates, near Camden, in the summer of 1780, he was an active soldier. Soon after that affair, he organized a brigade, having passed through the several grades to that of brigadier of the militia of his state. While Sumter was striking heavy blows, here and there, in the northwestern part of North Carolina, Marion was performing like service in the northeastern part, along the Pedee and its tributaries. In 1781, he was engaged with Lee and others in reducing several British posts. After the Battle at Eutaw, Marion did not long remain in the field, but took his seat as senator in the Legislature. He was soon again called to the field,

The Song of Marion's Men.

full of the spirit of romance, and his whole military life was an epic poem. The followers of Robin Hood were never more devoted to their chief than were the men of Marion's brigade to their beloved leader. Bryant has sketched a graphic picture of that noble band, in his

SONG OF MARION'S MEN.

Our band is few, but true and tried,
Our leader frank and bold;
The British soldier trembles
When MARION's name is told.
Our fortress is the good green wood,
Our tent the cypress-tree;
We know the forest round us,
As seamen know the sea.
We know its walls of thorny vines,
Its glades of reedy grass;
Its safe and silent islands
Within the dark morass.

Woe to the English soldiery,
That little dread us near!
On them shall light at midnight,
A strange and sudden fear;
When, waking to their tents on fire,
They grasp their arms in vain,
And they who stand to face us
Are beat to earth again;
And they who fly in terror deem
A mighty host behind,
And hear the tramp of thousands
Upon the hollow wind.

Then sweet the hour that brings release
From danger and from toil;
We talk the battle over,
And share the battle's spoil.
The woodland rings with laugh and shout,
As if a hunt were up,
And woodland flowers are gather'd
To crown the soldier's cup.
With merry songs we mock the wind
That in the pine-top grieves,
And slumber long and sweetly
On beds of oaken leaves.

Well knows the fair and friendly moon
The band that MARION leads—
The glitter of their rifles,
The scampering of their steeds.
'Tis life to guide the fiery barb
Across the moonlight plain;
'Tis life to feel the night wind
That lifts his tossing mane.

A moment in the British camp—
A moment—and away
Back to the pathless forest.
Before the peep of day.

Grave men there are by broad Santee;
Grave men with hoary hairs,
Their hearts are all with MARION,
For MARION are their prayers.
And lovely ladies greet our band
With kindest welcoming,
With smiles like those of summer,
And tears like those of spring.
For them we wear these trusty arms,
And lay them down no more,
Till we have driven the Briton
Forever from our shore.



Francis Marion

and did not relinquish his sword until the close of the war. When peace came, Marion retired to his plantation, a little below Eutaw, where he died on the twenty-ninth of February, 1795, in the sixty-third year of his age. His last words were, "Thank God, since I came to man's estate I have never intentionally done wrong to any man."

Marion's remains are in the church-yard at Belle Isle, in the parish of St. John's, Berkeley. Over them is a marble slab, upon which is the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Brigadier-general FRANCIS MARION, who departed this life on the twenty-ninth of February, 1795, in the sixty-third year of his age, deeply regretted by all of his fellow-citizens. History will record his worth, and rising generations embalm his memory, as one of the most distinguished patriots and heroes of the American Revolution; which elevated his native country to Honor and Independence, and secured to her the blessings of liberty and peace. This tribute of veneration and gratitude is erected in commemoration of the noble and disinterested virtues of the citizen, and the gallant exploits of the soldier, who lived without fear and died without reproach."

Marion in Gates's Camp.	Description of his Regiment.	Rebecca Motte.	Her House fortified and garrisoned
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When Gates was pressing forward toward Camden, Marion, with about twenty men and boys, were annoying the Tories in the neighborhood of the Pedee. With his ragged command, worse than Falstaff ever saw, he appeared at the camp of Gates, and excited the ridicule of the well-clad Continentals.¹ Gates, too, would doubtless have thought lightly of him, if Governor Rutledge, who was in the American camp, and knew the partisan's worth, had not recommended him to the notice of that general. Gates listened to his modestly-expressed opinions respecting the campaign, but was too conceited to regard them seriously, or to offer to Marion a place in his army. While he was in Gates's camp, the Whigs of Williamsburg District, who had arisen in arms, sent for him to be their commander. Governor Rutledge gave him the commission of a brigadier on the spot, and he hastened to organize that *brigade*, which we shall hereafter meet frequently among the swamps, the broad Savannahs, and by the water-courses of the South.²

Fort Motte, where the brave Marion exhibited his skill and courage, was the principal depôt of the convoys between Charleston and Camden, and also for those destined for Granby and Ninety-Six. The British had taken possession of the fine large mansion of Mrs. Rebecca Motte,³ a widow of fortune, which occupied a commanding position. They surrounded it with a deep trench (a part of which is yet visible), and along the interior margin of it erected a high parapet.

Mrs. Motte and her family, known to be inimical to the British, were driven to her

with dispatches for Lord Rawdon. They were on the point of leaving, when Marion and Lee appeared upon the height at the farm-house where Mrs. Motte was residing.

After cautiously reconnoitering, Lee took position at the farm-house, and his men, with the field-piece sent to them by Greene, occupied the eastern declivity of the high plain on which Fort Motte stood. This gentle declivity is a little southwest of the rail-way station, in full view of passengers upon the road. Marion immediately cast up a mound (see page



Rebecca Motte

farm-house, upon a hill north of the mansion, and their place was supplied by a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, under Captain M'Pherson, a brave British officer. After Colonel Watson eluded the pursuit of Marion and Lee, and crossed the Congaree (see page 681), those indefatigable partisans moved upon Fort Motte. A few hours before their arrival at that place,

M'Pherson was re-enforced by a small detachment of dragoons sent from Charles-

¹ Colonel Otho H. Williams, in his *Narrative of the Campaigns of 1780*, thus speaks of Marion and his men, at that time: "Colonel Marion, a gentleman of South Carolina, had been with the army a few days, attended by a very few followers, distinguished by small leather caps and the wretchedness of their attire; their numbers did not exceed twenty men and boys, some white, some black, and all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped; their appearance was, in fact, so burlesque, that it was with much difficulty the diversion of the regular soldiery was restrained by the officers; and the general himself was glad of an opportunity of detaching Colonel Marion, at his own instance, toward the interior of South Carolina, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy, and furnish intelligence."

² So certain was Gates of defeating Cornwallis, that when Marion departed, he instructed him to destroy all the boats, flats, and scows, which might be used by the British in their flight.

³ Rebecca Brewton was the daughter of an English gentleman. She married Jacob Motte, a planter, in 1758, and was the mother of six children. General Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, married in succession her two eldest daughters; the third married Colonel William Alston, of Charleston. Her other three children did not live to reach maturity. Mrs. Motte died in 1815, at her plantation on the Santee. The portrait here given is copied, by permission of the author, from Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Motte's descendants.

American Battery.

Siege of Fort Motte.

Lee's Expedient.

Patriotism of Mrs. Motte.

683), upon which he planted the six-pounder, in a position to rake the northern face of the parapet of the fort, against which Lee prepared to approach. M'Pherson had no artillery, and his safety depended upon timely extraneous aid, either from Camden or Ninety-Six.

Between the height on which Lee was posted and Fort Motte is a narrow vale, which allowed the assailants to approach within four hundred yards of the fort. From that vale they began to advance by a *parallel*, which, by the assistance of some negroes from neighboring plantations, was sufficiently advanced by the tenth^a to warrant the Americans in demanding a surrender. A flag was accordingly dispatched, with a formal summons, but M'Pherson gallantly refused compliance. That evening, intelligence of Rawdon's retreat from Camden toward Nelson's Ferry was communicated to the Americans, and in the course of the night a courier from Greene confirmed the report. Delay would be dangerous, for Rawdon, with his superior force, could easily repulse them. Early on the morning of the eleventh, the light of his beacon-fires were seen on the high hills of Santee, and that night their gleamings upon the highest ground of the country, opposite Fort Motte, gave great joy to the beleagured garrison. To batter down the enemy's works with the field-piece, or to approach by a trench, was too slow for the exigency of the case. The fertile mind of Lee, full of expedients, suggested a quicker plan for dislodging the garrison. The mansion of Mrs. Motte, in the center of the enemy's works, was covered with shingles, now very dry, for no rain had fallen for several days, and the rays of the sun were powerful. To communicate fire to this mansion was Lee's expedient. That officer had enjoyed the hospitality of Mrs. Motte during the siege, and her only marriageable daughter was then the wife of his friend, Major Thomas Pinckney. These circumstances made it a painful duty for him to propose the destruction of her property. Her cheerful acquiescence, and even patriotic desire to be able to serve her country by such a sacrifice, gave him joy; and, communicating his plan to Marion, they hastened to execute it. It was proposed to hurl ignited combustibles upon the roof of the house, by arrows. These were prepared, when Mrs. Motte, observing their inferiority, brought out a fine bow and a bundle of arrows which had been brought from the East Indies, and presented them to Lee. On the morning of the twelfth,^a Lee sent Dr. Irvine, of his cavalry, with a flag, to state truly the relative position of the belligerents; that Rawdon had not yet crossed the Santee, and that immediate surrender would save many lives. M'Pherson still refused compliance; and at meridian, when the ditch was advanced within bow-shot of the fort, several arrows from the hand of Nathan Savage, a private in Marion's brigade, winged their way, with lighted torches, toward the house. Two struck the dry shingles, and instantly a bright flame crept along the roof. Soldiers were ordered up to knock off the shingles and put out the fire, when one or two shots from Marion's battery, raking the loft, drove them below. M'Pherson hung out a white flag, the firing ceased, the flames were extinguished, and at one o'clock the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. By invitation of Mrs. Motte, both the victorious and the captive officers partook of a sumptuous dinner from her table, while she presided with all the coolness and easy politeness for which she was remarkable when surrounded by friends in the enjoyment of peace.¹

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, 229-32. Simm's *Life of Marion*, page 236, 239. In this siege Marion lost two of his brave men, Sergeant M'Donald and Lieutenant Cruger. The British did not lose a man killed, and the prisoners were all paroled. Colonel Horry, in his narrative, mentions some pleasing incidents which occurred at the table of Mrs. Motte on this occasion. Among the prisoners was Captain Ferguson, an officer of considerable reputation. Finding himself near Horry, Ferguson said, "You are Colonel Horry, I presume, sir." Horry replied in the affirmative, when Ferguson continued, "Well, I was with Colonel Watson when he fought your General Marion on Sampit. I think I saw you there with a party of horse, and also at Nelson's Ferry, when Marion surprised our party at the house. But," he continued, "I was hid in high grass, and escaped. You were fortunate in your escape at Sampit, for Watson and Small had twelve hundred men." "If so," replied Horry, "I certainly was fortunate, for I did not suppose they had more than half that number." "I consider myself," added the captain, "equally fortunate in escaping at Nelson's Old Field." "Truly you were," answered Horry drily, "for Marion had but thirty militia on that occasion." The officers present could not suppress laughter. When Greene inquired of Horry how

Rawdon's Retreat.

Belleville.

A Slave "Pass."

Trial of a Slave.

Columbia.

The prisoners were treated with great humanity, notwithstanding some of them were Tories of a most obnoxious stamp. As soon as paroled, they were sent off to Lord Rawdon, then crossing the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, near Eutaw Springs. The fall of Fort Motte greatly alarmed that officer, and two days afterward,^a he blew up the fortifications at Nelson's Ferry, and hastened toward Charleston. During the day of the capitulation,^{a May 14.} Greene arrived with a small troop of cavalry, being anxious to know the result of the siege, for he was aware Rawdon was hastening to the relief of the garrison.¹ Finding every thing secure, he returned to his camp, then on the north side of the Congaree, after ordering Marion to proceed against Georgetown, toward the head of Winyaw Bay, near the coast, and directing Lee with his legion, and Captain Finley with his six pounder, to attack Fort Granby, thirty-two miles above Fort Motte, near the present city of Columbia. Thither we will presently proceed.

About a mile eastward of Fort Motte is the residence of Charles Thomson, Esq., known as *Belleville*. It was taken possession of, stockaded, and garrisoned by the Loyalists for a while. The fine old mansion, which I am told exhibits many bullet-marks made by some Whigs, who attacked a party of Tories stationed in the house, was owned by William Thomson, who, next to Moultrie, was most conspicuous in the battle on Sullivan's Island, at the entrance to Charleston harbor, in 1776. I intended to visit Belleville, but it was so late when I had finished dinner with Mr. Love, that I was obliged to mount one of his horses and hasten to the station to take passage for Columbia. While waiting for the cars, the overseer of a plantation near requested me to write a *pass* for a sick female slave, whom he was about to send to her master at Columbia for medical aid. Regardless of the penalty,² I wrote upon a card from my port-folio, "PASS DIDO TO COLUMBIA, January 19, 1849. J. SMOKE." Two hours afterward I was there also, but did not again see the namesake of the Queen of Carthage.

Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, is a fine town, handsomely located upon a high plain three or four miles in extent, a little below the junction of the Broad and Saluda Rivers, where they form the Congaree. It was laid out in 1787, when the region around it was very sparsely populated. The Legislature first met there in 1790. There was a settlement on each side of the river, about two miles below, called Granby, which was a point of departure for the wilderness of the Cherokee country. The climate is mild and salubrious; and Columbia promises to be, from its geographical and political situation, a large inland city. It is the favored seat of learning in the state, the *South Carolina College* and *Theological Seminary of South Carolina and Georgia* being located there.

The morning after my arrival in Columbia was very inclement. A cold drizzle, which iced every thing out of doors, made me defer my visit to Fort Granby until noon, when, seeing no prospect of abatement, I procured a conveyance, and crossing the great bridge over

he came to affront Captain Ferguson; he answered, "He affronted himself by telling his own story."—Horry's *MS. Narrative*, quoted by Simms, *Life of Marion*, p. 239.

¹ Some writers attribute Greene's presence at Fort Motte on this occasion to other motives than here represented. An unsatisfactory correspondence had recently taken place between Greene and Marion, the former having blamed the latter for not furnishing cavalry horses when in his power to do so. Marion, conscious of having been eminently faithful, felt deeply wronged, and tendered the resignation of his commission to Greene. The latter soon perceived the injustice of his suspicions, and took this, the first opportunity, for a personal interview to heal the wound.

² A slave found in the streets of a town after dark, without a *pass*, is liable to be locked in prison until morning, and this was written to prevent such an occurrence. The laws of South Carolina inflict the penalty of fine and imprisonment upon a person found guilty of writing a *pass* for a slave without authority. I was informed of a curious circumstance connected with this fact, which occurred near Fort Motte, a few days previous to my visit there. Two slaves, carpenters, had escaped from their home, and were found near Camden with well-written passes or permits to find work, signed by the name of their master. Who wrote the forged passes, was a question which puzzled the neighborhood. A mulatto on the plantation was suspected, and, on being accused, confessed that he wrote them, having been secretly taught to write by an overseer. A jury was called to try him for the offense, but as the law did not contemplate the ability of a slave to write, and as the term *person* did not apply to a negro, no punishment could be legally awarded. The jury simply recommended his master to flog him.

Fort Granby and its Garrison.

Mr. Friday and Colonel Maxwell.

Capture of Fort Granby.

the Congaree, rode to the house of James Cacey, Esq., the "Fort Granby" of the Revolution, two miles below. It is a strong frame building, two stories in height, and stands upon an eminence near the Charleston road, within three fourths of a mile of Friday's Ferry, upon the Congaree. It overlooks ancient Granby and the country around. Several houses of the old village are there, but the solitude of desolation prevails, for not a family remains. Mr. Cacey was a hopeless invalid, yet he was able to give me many interesting reminiscences connected with that locality,¹ and I passed an hour very pleasantly with him and his family.



FORT GRANBY.

The dwelling of Mr. Cacey was originally built by some gentlemen of Pine Tree (Camden) as a store-house for cotton and other products of the country, whence they were sent upon flat-boats down the river to the sea-board. When the chain of military posts from Camden to Charleston was established, this building, eligibly located, was fortified, and called Fort Granby. A ditch was dugged around it; a strong parapet was raised; bastions were formed; batteries were arranged; and an *abatis* was constructed. The garrison consisted of three hundred and fifty men, chiefly Loyalists, with a few mounted Hessians, under the command of Major Maxwell (a refugee from the eastern shore of Maryland), of the Prince of Wales's regiment. He was neither brave nor experienced, and the want of these qualities of the commandant being known to Lee, he felt no hesitation in attacking him in his strong position. Detaching a small troop of cavalry, under Captain Armstrong, to watch the movements of Rawdon, Lee pushed forward with his usual celerity, to the investment of Fort Granby. Sumter, instead of joining Greene before Camden, had made a demonstration against Fort Granby, a few days before, but finding it too strong for his small arms, had retired, and marched to attack the British post at Orangeburg, fifty miles below. Lee

arrived in the vicinity of the fort on the evening of the fourteenth of May,² the day¹ 1781.

on which Sumter took possession of Orangeburg; and in the edge of a wood, within six hundred yards of the fort, he began the erection of a battery. A dense fog the next morning enabled him to complete it, and mount the six pounder brought by Captain Finley from Fort Motte, before they were discovered by the garrison. When the fog rolled away, Captain Finley discharged his cannon, and, at the same moment, the legion infantry advanced, took an advantageous position, and opened a fire upon the enemy's pickets. This sudden annunciation of the presence of an enemy, and his imposing display, alarmed Maxwell excessively, and he received Captain Eggleston, who was sent with a flag to demand a surrender, with great respect. After a brief consultation with his officers, the major agreed to surrender the fort, on condition that private property of every sort, without an investigation of title, should be left in the hands of its possessors;³ that the garrison should be per-

¹ Mr. Friday, the father-in-law of Mr. Cacey, and his brother, were the only Whigs of that name in the state, and often suffered insults from their Tory kinsman. Mr. Friday owned mills at Granby, and also a ferry called by his name; and when the British fortified that post, the garrison supplied themselves with flour from his establishment. He gave the British the credit of dealing honorably, paying him liberally for every thing they took from him—flour, poultry, cattle, &c. On one occasion, when called to the fort to receive his pay, Major Maxwell, the commandant of the garrison, said to him, "Mr. Friday, I hope you are as clever a fellow as those of your name who are with us." "No!" shouted his Tory uncle, who was standing near, "he's a damned rebel, and I'll split him down!" at the same time rushing forward to execute his brutal purpose. Colonel Maxwell protected the patriot, but dared not rebuke the savage, for fear of offending his Tory comrades. After the battle at Eutaw, Colonel Maxwell, and two or three other officers, passing through Granby, stopped one night at Mr. Friday's. Early in the morning, Maxwell said to Mr. Friday, "You Dutchmen are celebrated for fine gardens; let us go and look at yours." When a little distance from the other officers, the colonel remarked, "Mr. Friday, you are a friend to your country. Remain so. We have not conquered it yet, and never will, and your name will yet be honored, while those of your countrymen who are with us will be despised." I gladly record the patriotism of Mr. Friday, in fulfillment of this prediction.

² Lee says, in his *Memoirs* (page 234), that Maxwell, "zealous to fill his purse, rather than to gather

Terms of Surrender.	Greene's Army at Fort Granby.	The Locality.	Ninety-Six.
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mitted to retire to Charleston as prisoners of war, until exchanged ; that the militia should be held in the same manner as the regulars ; and that an escort, charged with the protection of persons and property, should attend the prisoners to Rawdon's camp. Lieutenant-colonel Lee's practice was always to restore plundered property, when captured, to the rightful owners ; yet, knowing the danger of delay, with Rawdon so near, he acquiesced, on the condition that all the horses fit for public service should be left. To this the mounted Hessians objected, and the negotiations were suspended. During this suspense, Captain Armstrong arrived with the intelligence that Rawdon had crossed the Santee, and was moving upon Fort Motte. Lee waved the exception ; the capitulation was signed, and before noon Captain Rudolph raised the American flag on one of the bastions, and the captive garrison marched, with its escort, for Rawdon's camp.¹ Among the spoils of victory were two pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, salt, and liquor. It was a glorious, because almost a bloodless victory, for no life was lost.

On the surrender of the fort, Lee dispatched a messenger to Greene, who with great expedition had pressed forward, and was within a few miles of Friday's Ferry. He crossed that ferry, and on the evening of the fifteenth^a encamped upon Ancram's plantation, near the river, where the victors and the main army had a joyous meeting. During the night a courier from Fort Motte announced the fact that Rawdon had retreated, after a day's march, toward that post, destroyed the works at Nelson's Ferry, and was pushing on toward Charleston. Early in the morning another courier came with the cheering intelligence of Sumter's success at Orangeburg,^b and the seventeenth of May was a day of rejoicing by the little American army at Fort Granby. ^a May, 1781.
^b May 14.

Resting one day, General Greene moved toward Ninety-Six, which place he reached on the twenty-second of May. In the mean while, he strengthened Lee's legion by the addition of some North Carolina levies under Major Eaton, and then directed him to hasten toward Augusta, on the Savannah River, to join Pickens, who, with a body of militia, was in the vicinity of that post. We will follow them presently.

The house of Mr. Cacey yet bears many "honorable scars" made by the bullets of Lee's infantry ; and in the gable toward the river, between the chimney and a window (indicated by a black spot in the engraving), is an orifice, formed by the passage of a six-pound ball from Finley's field-piece. In one of the rooms are numerous marks made by an ax when cutting up meat for the use of the garrison ; and an old log barn near, which stood within the intrenchments, has also many bullet scars.

I returned to Columbia at four o'clock, where I remained until Monday morning.

While at Columbia, I met a gentleman from Abbeville District, in the vicinity of old Fort Ninety-Six. He informed me that the traveling was wretched, and quite dangerous in that direction, and that nothing of Revolutionary interest worth visiting yet remained at that military post, now the pleasant village of Cambridge, seventy-nine miles westward of Columbia. He also informed me that a gentleman of Cambridge, who was familiar with every historical event in his neighborhood, would cheerfully communicate all I could possibly learn by a personal visit. Willing to avoid a long and tedious journey unless it was necessary, I wrote to that gentleman, and by his kind and prompt compliance I am furnished with all necessary details respecting the locality, together with the plan of the fortification, printed on page 691. We will here consider the events which render Ninety-Six historically famous.

Old Ninety-Six was so called because it was within ninety-six miles of the frontier fort, Prince George, which was upon the Keowee River, in the present Pickens District. Its locality is in the eastern part of Abbeville District, near the borders of Edgefield, and within six miles of the Saluda River. No portion of the state suffered more during the war than

military laurels, had, during his command, pursued his favorite object with considerable success, and held with him in the fort his gathered spoil." This fact accounts for the major's desire to have all private property confirmed to its possessors "without investigation of title."

¹ The Garrison had only sixty regulars (the Hessians) ; the remainder were Tory militia.

Ninety Six Fortified.

Its Garrison and Works.

Capture of Fort Galphin.

The "Galphin Claim."

the district around Ninety-Six. Like the neutral ground in West Chester, New York, Whig nor Tory could dwell there in peace, for armed bands of each were continually disturbing the inhabitants, and in close proximity were the hostile Cherokees, ready, when they dared, to scourge the settlers.

The little village of Ninety-Six was stockaded to defend it from the incursions of the Indians; and when, after the fall of Charleston, the British established several posts in the interior, its location and salubrity indicated it as an important point for a fortification. It was in a position to maintain a communication with the Indians, keep in check the Whig settlements west of it, and cover those of the Loyalists in other directions; and it afforded an excellent recruiting-station for the concentration of Tory material in that quarter.

Ninety-Six was garrisoned by about five hundred and fifty Loyalists, three hundred and fifty of whom were from New York and New Jersey,¹ and the remainder were South Carolina Tories, under Colonel King, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-colonel John Cruger, a native of the city of New York. Cruger was an energetic officer, and possessed the entire confidence of his superiors in the royal army. He did not receive instructions from Rawdon when that officer abandoned Camden, for Sumter cut off all communications; therefore, he had not prepared to evacuate Ninety-Six and join Colonel Browne at Augusta, as Rawdon desired him to do. When he learned that Greene was approaching Camden, he began to strengthen his works; and when informed that Lee, with his legion, had got between him and the post at Augusta, and that Greene was approaching to besiege him, his garrison labored night and day still further to strengthen the defenses. Already he had built a stockade fort on the borders of the village, in addition to a star redoubt. This was strengthened; a parapet was raised; a ditch was dug around it, and a covered way, communicating with the palisaded village, was prepared. Block-houses, formed of notched logs, were erected on the northeastern side of the village, near where a star redoubt was constructed. Before Greene reached there, Cruger's energy and skill had so directed the efforts of the garrison, under the superintendence of Lieutenant Haldane, one of Cornwallis's aids, that the place presented an apparently insurmountable strength against the attacks of Greene's little army of a thousand men.

In the mean while, Marion and Sumter were directed to keep watch between the Santee and Edisto Rivers, and hold Rawdon in check, if he should attempt to march to the relief of either Ninety-Six or Augusta, now menaced by the Americans; while Lee, who left Fort Granby, with his legion, in the evening after its capture, was scouring the country between those two posts, and proceeding to form a junction with Pickens. Informed that quite a large quantity of powder, balls, small arms, liquor, salt, blankets, and other articles, intended for the Indians, and much wanted by the Americans, were deposited at Fort Galphin (sometimes called Fort Dreadnought), a small stockade at Silver Bluff, upon the Carolina side of the Savannah, twelve miles below Augusta,² he hastened thither to capture them.

On the morning of the twenty-first of May,³ he reached the vicinity, and Captain Rudolph, with some of the legion infantry, gallantly rushed upon the fort, while a

¹ According to M'Kenzie, in his *Strictures* on Tarleton's History, there were one hundred and fifty men of Delancey's battalion (Loyalists of New York), and two hundred Jersey volunteers. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger was Colonel Delancey's son-in-law. Colonel Cruger died in London in 1807, aged sixty-nine. His widow died at Chelsea, England, in 1822, at the age of seventy-eight years.

² The house of George Galphin, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, inclosed within stockades, was used for barracks, and as a store-house for various Indian supplies. The land is now owned by Ex-governor Hammond, of South Carolina.

Previous to 1773, Galphin, by his dealings with the Creek Indians, had made them indebted to him in the sum of \$49,000. To secure the payment of this and other debts, the Creeks conveyed to the British government, in 1773, a large tract of land lying within the present limits of Georgia. At the close of the Revolution, this land belonged to that state, and to the local Legislature Galphin applied for the payment of his claim. It was refused. In 1847, Milledge Galphin, surviving heir and executor of the Indian agent, petitioned Congress for a payment of the claim, principal and interest; and in 1850, the general government allowed what the local government had pronounced illegal. The "Galphin claim" took a large sum from our National Treasury, for interest had been accumulating for about seventy years.

Greene before Ninety Six.

Siege commenced by Kosciuszko.

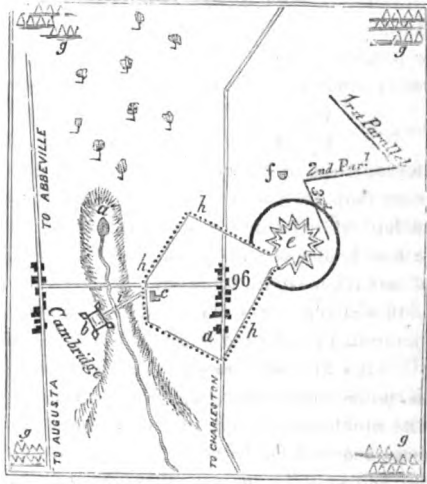
A Sally.

Plan of the Siege.

small body of militia attacked the garrison from another quarter. With the loss of only one man, the fort, with all its contents, was captured by the Americans. After resting a few hours, Lee ordered Major Eggleston, who was a Continental officer, to cross the Savannah, join bodies of militia in that neighborhood, proceed to Augusta with a flag, inform Colonel Browne of the approach of Greene, and demand an instant surrender of Forts Cornwallis and Grierson, at that place. The events which followed will be detailed in another chapter.

Greene arrived before Ninety-Six on the twenty-second of May,^a with less than one thousand regulars¹ and a few undisciplined militia. He found quite a strong fort, well situated. On the left of the village, in a valley, was a spring and rivulet, which furnished water to the garrison. On the western side of this rivulet, upon an eminence, was a stockade fort, and upon the other side, near the village, was a fortified jail. These were to defend the water of the rivulet, for none could be had within the town. Eastward of the village stood the principal work, a star redoubt, consisting of sixteen angles, salient and re-entering, with a ditch and *abatis*, and furnished with three pieces of cannon. Every thing was judiciously arranged for defense, and Lieutenant-colonel Cruger defied Greene when he appeared.

Colonel Kosciuszko was with Greene, and under his direction the besiegers began approaches by parallels. They broke ground near the star redoubt on the evening of the twenty-second. Perceiving this, Cruger placed his three cannons upon a platform, in that direction, before noon the next day, and manned the parapet with infantry. Under cover of these, a sally party, under Lieutenant Roney, rushed out upon the besiegers, drove the guards back toward the lines, bayoneted all who fell in the way, destroyed the American works as far as they had progressed, and carried off all of the intrenching tools. Lieutenant Roney was mortally wounded, and that was all the loss the enemy sustained. All this was accomplished with great gallantry, before a detachment sent by Greene to re-enforce Kosciuszko, arrived upon the ground. Kosciuszko now commenced another approach to the star redoubt. He broke ground on the night of the twenty-third, under cover of a ravine, and day by day slowly approached the fortress. In the mean while, Pickens and Lee besieged and captured Forts Cornwallis and Grierson at Augusta, and hastened to the assistance of Greene. Lee arrived on the eighth of June,^b and Pickens soon afterward joined him. These active partisans were directed to attack the enemy's works on

PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF NINETY-SIX.²

¹ Colonel Williams, deputy adjutant general, in his returns stated them thus: Fit for duty, rank and file, Maryland brigade, 427; Virginia ditto, 431; North Carolina battalion, 66; Delaware ditto [under Captain Kirkwood], 60; in all, 984. The number of the militia is not mentioned.

² This plan is from a sketch sent to me by James M. M'Cracken, Esq., of Cambridge, South Carolina. *a* indicates the spring, with a rivulet running from it; *b*, a stockade fort; *c*, the old jail, which was also fortified; *d*, the court-house; *e*, star redoubt; *f*, first mine, traces of which are yet visible; *g g g g*, the besieging encampments; *h h h*, stockades inclosing the village; *i*, the covered way from the stockade fort to the lines around the village.

Mr. M'Cracken observes, "The trees and shrubbery on the battle-ground are considered by the inhabitants too sacred to be molested. The land is now (1849) owned by John C. M'Gehee, of Madison county, Florida. The present village of Cambridge is within a few hundred yards of the battle-ground, and the road leading through it, north and south, is the great thoroughfare from Hamburg (opposite Augusta) to Greenville. I have three small cannons in my possession, one six and two four pounders, taken from the enemy at the siege of Ninety-Six."

Rawdon informed of the Siege. His march toward Ninety-Six. Attempt to destroy the Stockade. Beale and Cunningham.

the west. They immediately commenced regular approaches to the stockade to cut off the enemy's supply of water; and at a proper distance from it erected a battery to cover further approaches, and planted a six pounder upon it, under the direction of Lieutenant Finn. Cruger saw the inevitable destruction of the garrison when these parallels, made slowly, day by day, should be completed. He had found means to inform Lord Rawdon of his critical situation, and hourly he expected aid from him. To gain time for this succor to arrive, he made nightly sallies, and bloody encounters frequently occurred, while almost daily the American foraging parties were attacked by bands of Tories.¹ Yet slowly and surely the Americans approached; and when the second parallel was completed, Greene sent Colonel Williams to demand a surrender, with promises of kind treatment. Cruger promptly replied that he should defend the fort till the last extremity, and regarded neither the threats nor the promises of the American general. A battery, constructed in the second parallel, now opened upon the redoubt, and under its cover Kosciuszko pressed forward his approach with vigor. On the eleventh,^a Greene received a dispatch from Sumter, announcing

^a June, 1781.

the startling intelligence that on the third, a fleet arrived from Ireland with reinforcements for Rawdon, consisting of three regiments, a detachment from the Guards, and a considerable body of volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Gould. Rawdon had been anxiously awaiting at Monk's Corner, near Charleston, this propitious event. He had heard of the fall of Fort Cornwallis at Augusta and the investment of Ninety-Six, but with his small force, and Marion and Sumter before him, he dared not march to the aid of Cruger. On the arrival of these troops, he repaired to Charleston, and on the sev-

^b June.

enth^b marched to the relief of Ninety-Six, with seventeen hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse. A few other troops from his camp at Monk's Corner joined him, and with more than two thousand men he proceeded toward Orangeburg. Greene dispatched Pickens to the aid of Sumter, and ordered Marion from the lower country to join them in retarding the advance of the royal army. They could do little to oppose him, and Greene began to despair of reducing the garrison to submission before Rawdon's arrival.

The besiegers now deplored the fact that earlier attention had not been bestowed upon attempts on the western side to deprive the garrison of water, and thus force a capitulation. To this object the chief efforts were now directed, and the most effectual step to accomplish it was to destroy the stockade. The method of approaches was too slow, and it was resolved to endeavor to burn it. A dark storm was gathering, and toward evening, covered by its impending blackness, a sergeant and nine privates, with combustibles, cautiously approached, and four of them gained the ditch. While in the act of applying the fire, they were discovered. A volley of musketry was immediately opened upon them, and the sergeant and five of his party were killed; the other four escaped. The attempt was unsuccessful.

On the evening of the nineteenth, a countryman was seen riding along the American lines south of the town, talking familiarly with officers and soldiers. It was a circumstance too common to excite special notice. At length, reaching the great road leading directly into the town, he put spurs to his horse, and, amid a storm of bullets, rode safely to the gate, holding a letter in his raised hand. He was received with the greatest joy, for he was the

¹ Among the most active of these parties was the "Bloody Scout," under the notorious Bill Cunningham. They hovered around the American camp like vultures, and picked off the patriots in detail. The most active opponent of this scoundrel was William Beale, of Ninety-Six. He formed a scouting party of Whigs, and soon they became a terror to the Tories. On one occasion, Cunningham and his party plundered the house of Beale's mother, during his absence. On his return, Beale went in pursuit, and approaching Cunningham, that marauder wheeled and fled. The race continued for almost three miles, when Cunningham turned, and with a pistol, shot Beale's horse dead. Beale retreated backward, daring the Tory to follow. The latter, fearing a Whig ambush, rode off. On another occasion, Cunningham and his party surrounded a house where Beale and a Whig were stopping. They heard the approach of the Tories, when, rushing to their horses and rattling their swords, Beale gave command as if to a troop. It was dark, and Cunningham, who had thirteen men with him, fled in great haste. Cunningham was so mortified, when he learned that they had been frightened away by a couple of Whigs, that he swore vengeance against Beale.—*Letter of James M. M'Cracken, Esq*

Cruger advised of Rawdon's approach.

Assault on the Star Redoubt.

Capture of the Stockade.

A bold Prisoner.

bearer of a dispatch from Lord Rawdon, announcing his approach with a large force. The beleaguered garrison, almost on the point of surrendering (for this was the first intelligence Cruger had received from Rawdon since his evacuation of Camden), were animated with fresh hope, while the besiegers, aware of the approach of succor for the besieged, were nerved to greater exertions. They completed their parallels, and commenced the erection of a Mayham Tower,¹ from which to fire into the star redoubt. To guard against this advantage of height, Major Greene, the commander of the redoubt, piled bags of sand upon the parapets. On the morning of the seventeenth, a general fire was opened upon the works, and so effectual was it upon the stockade and its vicinity, that the garrison was deprived of water from the rivulet. Had this advantage been maintained, and Rawdon been delayed thirty hours longer, Cruger must have surrendered.

Rawdon managed to elude the vigilance of Sumter, after passing Orangeburg, and now approached Ninety-Six. Greene perceived that he must either storm the works at once, fight Rawdon, or retire. He determined upon the former; and at noon on the eighteenth,^a the Mayham Tower being completed, and two trenches and a mine a June, 1781. nearly let into the enemy's ditch, the center battery opened upon the star, as a signal for a general attack. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the first Virginia regiment, with a detachment from the Maryland and Virginia brigades, led the attack on the left; Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with Kirkwood's Delawares, advanced on the right; Lieutenants Duval, of Maryland, and Selden, of Virginia, commanded the forlorn hope of Campbell; and Captain Rudolph that of Lee. Riflemen were stationed in the tower, fascines were constructed to fill the ditch, and long poles, with iron hooks, were prepared to pull down the sand-bags from the parapets. Campbell and Lee rushed to the assault simultaneously. Cruger received the attack with firmness, and, from apertures between the sand-bags, Colonel Greene's riflemen did great execution. Duval and Selden boldly entered the ditch, and commenced pulling down the sand-bags. The parapet bristled with pikes and bayonets, yet they could not reach the assailants. Rapidly the bags were disappearing in the ditch below, and Campbell was pressing to ascend the parapet and fight hand to hand with the garrison, when Captain French, of Delancey's corps, and Captain Campbell, of New Jersey, issued from a sally-port of the star redoubt with a few men, and taking opposite directions in the ditch, fiercely assailed Duval and Selden, at the same time, with bayonets. Terrible was the conflict which followed. The brave patriots were assailed both in front and overhead, yet they maintained their ground for some minutes. At length both leaders of the forlorn hope were wounded, and the whole party retreated to the trenches.

While this bloody scene was transpiring at the star redoubt, one more successful effort for the besiegers occurred at the stockade. Rudolph made his way into the fort, and the enemy, with some prisoners,² hastily retreated to the main works. This advantage Lee intended to follow up, by entering the town, assailing the fortified jail, and then to assist in reducing the star redoubt; but General Greene, perceiving the slaughter in the ditch, and desirous of saving his troops, ordered Lee to do nothing more than to hold the stockade he had gained. Greene then sent a flag to Cruger, proposing a cessation of hostilities for the purpose of burying the dead. Cruger refused, claiming that service for the victor, whoever he might be. Believing the reduction of the post to be doubtful before the arrival of Rawdon, and unwilling to encounter that general's superior force, Greene withdrew the detachment from the stockade, and prepared for a general retreat. Thus ended the siege of

¹ For description of the Mayham Tower, and the origin of its name, see an account of the attack upon Fort Watson, page 707.

² Mr. M'Crackenre aates, that among the prisoners in one of the redoubts was one named Benjamin Eddins. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger frequently visited him, and often importuned him to eschew Republicanism and join the British army. Eddins at length became tired of these importunities, and one day said to Cruger, "Sir, I am a prisoner in your power; you may cut out my heart (baring his bosom), or you may drag my limbs and body asunder with ropes and horses; all this will I endure rather than desert my country's flag." Charmed by his boldness and patriotism, Colonel Cruger replied, "Sir, you are too true a rebel to remain here; you are liberated from this moment."

Raising of the Siege of Ninety-Six.	Arrival of Rawdon.	His pursuit of Greene.	Movements of the two Armies.
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Ninety-Six, which continued twenty-seven days. During this siege, the Americans lost about one hundred and fifty men in killed, wounded, and missing. Captain Armstrong, of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer, was shot through the head, during the assault on the eighteenth, and fell dead. He was the only American officer who was killed. Captain Benson, also of the Maryland line, was severely wounded in the neck and shoulder. The exact loss of the besieged was not reported.

^a June 20, 1781. On the evening of the nineteenth, Greene raised the siege, crossed the Saluda,^a and rapidly retreated toward the Ennoree.¹ He had communicated to Sumter notice of the events of the eighteenth, advised him of the route of his retreat, and ordered the corps in his front, with the cavalry of Washington, to join him as speedily as possible.

On the morning of the twenty-first, Rawdon and his army reached Ninety-Six, and were welcomed with every expression of joy. Cruger was greatly and justly applauded for his gallant defense. On the same evening, when their mutual congratulations had ceased, and his army, after forced marches for fourteen days, were rested, Rawdon started in pursuit of Greene. He was eager to strike and utterly destroy or disperse his little army; regain the various posts he had lost; scatter the partisan forces of Marion and Sumter; revive the hopes and energies of the Loyalists, and thus strengthen the power of Cornwallis, who at this time was devastating Lower Virginia. Rawdon crossed the Saluda in quest of Greene (who had now got beyond the Tyger, in Union District), and gained the banks of the Ennoree, where he acquired information which convinced him that further pursuit would be useless, and with his wearied troops he returned to Ninety-Six.

When Greene heard of the retrograde movement of Rawdon, he halted, and ordered Lieutenant-colonel Lee to follow the enemy with his corps, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence. Greene had intended to retreat to Charlotte, but now his future movements depended upon those of his adversary. Lee soon ascertained that Rawdon had determined to abandon Ninety-Six, and to join a force under Colonel Stewart, whom he had ordered to advance from Charleston to Friday's Ferry at Granby; while Colonel Cruger, with his garrison and those Loyalists, with their property, who might choose to follow, were to march directly to Orangeburg. While Rawdon was thus preparing to abandon the upper country, Sumter intercepted a letter to that officer from Colonel Balfour at Charleston, informing him that he had recalled Stewart after he had commenced his march for Friday's Ferry. This letter was sent to Greene, who immediately directed his hospital and heavy baggage, then at Winnsborough, to be forwarded to Camden, while he prepared to pursue Rawdon with all his force. He sent Lee to gain the front of the British army before it should reach Friday's Ferry, and dispatched messages to Marion and Sumter, ordering them to take a similar position.² Lee accomplished his purpose, and in a skirmish with a part of

¹ The wives of Lieutenant-colonel Cruger and Major Greene were at a farm-house in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six when the American army arrived. General Greene soon quieted their fears, and as they preferred to remain where they were, to joining their husbands in the beleaguered town, he placed a guard there to protect them. This kindness Mrs. Cruger reciprocated on the day when the Americans left, by informing some light troops who had been out scouting, and were passing by the farm-house toward the post, of the termination of the siege and the direction taken by General Greene in his retreat. Without this timely information, they would have been captured.

² It is related that the message to Sumter from Greene was conveyed by Emily Geiger, the daughter of a German planter in Fairfield District. He prepared a letter to Sumter, but none of his men appeared willing to attempt the hazardous service, for the Tories were on the alert, as Rawdon was approaching the Congaree. Greene was delighted by the boldness of a young girl, not more than eighteen years of age, who came forward and volunteered to carry the letter to Sumter. With his usual caution, he communicated the contents of the letter to Emily, fearing she might lose it on the way. The maiden mounted a fleet horse, and crossing the Wateree at the Camden Ferry, pressed on toward Sumter's camp. Passing through a dry swamp on the second day of her journey, she was intercepted by some Tory scouts. Coming from the direction of Greene's army, she was an object of suspicion, and was taken to a house on the edge of the swamp, and confined in a room. With proper delicacy, they sent for a woman to search her person. No sooner was she left alone, than she ate up Greene's letter piece by piece. After a while, the matron arrived, made a careful search, but discovered nothing. With many apologies, Emily was allowed to pursue her journey. She reached Sumter's camp, communicated Greene's message, and soon Rawdon

Courage and Arrest of Emily Geiger.

Rawdon foiled.

Camp at Orangeburg.

Greene on the Santee Hills.

his corps, under Captain Eggleston, a foraging party of fifty or sixty dragoons, with some wagons, were captured and sent to Greene's camp, then on the banks of the Saluda, near its



ARREST OF EMILY GEIGER.

junction with the Broad River at Columbia. Rawdon, not meeting with Stuart, and ignorant of the cause of his delay, was baffled, and turning southward, pushed on toward Orangeburg, unwilling now to encounter the Americans, for he had only a thousand men with him. In the mean while, Stuart had again marched from Charleston; and Marion and Lieutenant-colonel Washington being engaged in retarding his progress, did not join Lee until the morning of the tenth of July, when that officer and his corps were upon Beaver Creek, in the present Lexington District.

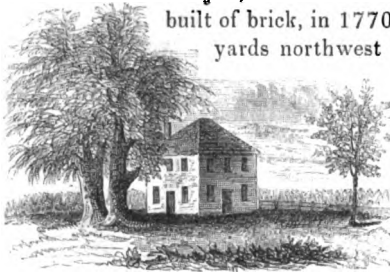
Rawdon halted at Orangeburg, with the intention of establishing a post there, and awaiting the arrival of Cruger and his Loyalists. Greene, advancing rapidly, approached that place with a force now augmented to almost two thousand men, before the British general had time properly to arrange his camp and cast up defenses. Rawdon's force, though inferior to Greene's, was so strongly posted and furnished with artillery, that the latter was unwilling to hazard an assault, particularly as Cruger was hourly expected at Orangeburg. As the heat of the season was oppressive, provisions scarce, and sickness increasing among his troops, he crossed the Congaree, and encamped upon the high hills of Santee, where salubrious air and excellent water soon restored the vigor of his army. Sumter, Marion, and Lee were ordered to make rapid marches toward Charleston, beat up the British quarters at Dorchester and Monk's Corner, cut off convoys between Rawdon and the capital, and then join the main army upon the Santee Hills. Here we will leave the belligerents for the present.

I left Columbia at seven o'clock on Monday morning,* and was at Orangeburg, JAN. 23,
1849. fifty-one miles distant, at half past nine. The weather was delightful. A dreamy haziness was in the atmosphere, and the air was as mild as early June. Leaving my baggage at the rail-way station, I strolled over that village and vicinity, for an hour, with a gentleman from Columbia, who was familiar with its historical localities. The village (which

was flying before the Americans toward Orangeburg. Emily Geiger afterward married Mr. Thurwits, a rich planter on the Congaree. The picture of her capture, here given, I copied from the original painting by Flagg, in possession of Stacy G. Potts, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey.

Orangeburg. Old Court-house. Orangeburg taken by Sumter. Sumter and Lee. Rawdon's Departure

was settled as early as 1735) is beautifully situated upon a gently-rolling plain, near the banks of the Edisto (which is here skirted with swamps), and contains about four hundred inhabitants. There are several elegant dwellings standing upon each side of the broad street extending from the rail-way to the heart of the village, all shaded by lofty trees. It is about eighty miles west of Charleston, and being the seat of justice, is the largest town in Orange District. It has a handsome court-house and jail, and is regularly laid out. The old jail, which the British fortified while they occupied the place, was built of brick, in 1770, and stood upon the crown of the gentle hill, a few yards northwest of the old court-house (represented in the picture),



THE OLD COURT-HOUSE.

which is yet standing. The court-house is a frame building, and was used for a blacksmith's shop when I was there. The two trees seen on the left are venerable *Pride-of-Indias*, choice shade-trees of the South. This edifice exhibited several bullet-marks, the effect of Sumter's assault in 1781. After sketching this—the only remaining relic of the Revolution at Orangeburg, except some vestiges of the works cast up by Rawdon,

half a mile westward, near the Edisto—I hired a horse and gig to visit Eutaw Springs, about forty miles distant, near the south bank of the Santee. It was with great difficulty that I could ascertain their probable distance from Orangeburg; and the person from whom I procured a conveyance supposed it to be twenty-five or thirty miles. His price was determined by the distance, and he was agreeably surprised, on my return, to learn that I had traveled eighty miles. Before departing on this journey, let us consider for a moment the Revolutionary events which distinguish Orangeburg.

Orangeburg was one of the chain of military posts established by the British after the fall of Charleston.^a The jail was fortified and garrisoned by about seventy militia and a dozen regulars. Sumter, when marching to join Greene at Camden, according to orders, conceived a plan for capturing Fort Granby, and therefore did not re-enforce his general. He began the siege successfully, when, learning the fact that Rawdon had ordered the evacuation of Orangeburg, he left Colonel Taylor, with a strong party, to maintain the siege of Fort Granby, while he should strike the garrison at the former place, before it should retire. By a rapid march he reached Orangeburg on the morning of the eleventh of May,^b and, after one or two volleys, the garrison surrendered themselves
^b 1780. unconditional prisoners of war. Paroling his prisoners, Sumter hastened toward Fort Granby; but before his arrival, Lee had invested and reduced it, allowing, as we have seen (page 689), the most favorable terms. Sumter was incensed at the conduct of Lee, for he felt that he had not only snatched from him the laurels he had almost won, but that he had hastened the capitulation, and allowed favorable terms, in order to accomplish the surrender before Sumter could arrive. No doubt the garrison would have surrendered unconditionally, if besieged a day or two longer. Sumter sent an indignant letter of complaint to Greene, inclosing his commission. Greene, knowing his worth, returned it to him with many expressions of regard, and Sumter, sacrificing private resentment for the good of the cause, remained in the army.

On the day after Rawdon's arrival at Orangeburg, he was joined by Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, with the third regiment from Ireland, called the Buffs, whom Rawdon had ordered from Charleston. The retirement of Greene to the high hills of Santee, and the rendezvous there of the several corps of Marion, Sumter, and Lee, indicating a present cessation of hostilities, Lord Rawdon proceeded to Charleston, and embarked for Europe, for the purpose of recruiting his health.¹ The command of all the troops in the field now devolved

¹ While Rawdon was in Charleston preparing to sail for Europe, the execution of Colonel Hayne occurred. This foul stain upon the character of Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, the commandant at Charleston, we shall consider hereafter.

Movements of the two Armies toward Eutaw.	Journey thither.	Four-hole Swamp.	General Sumner.
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upon Colonel Stuart. That officer soon left Orangeburg, and, moving forward, encamped upon the Congaree, near its junction with the Wateree. The two armies were only sixteen miles apart by air line, but two rivers rolled between, and they could not meet without making a circuit of seventy miles. Stuart's foraging parties soon spread over the country. Marion was detached toward the Combahee Ferry, and Washington went across the Wateree to disperse them. Many brisk skirmishes ensued. In the mean time, Greene was re-enforced by a brigade of Continental troops from North Carolina, under General Sumner.¹ Intent upon the recovery of South Carolina, he determined, with his augmented strength, to attack the enemy. He left the Santee Hills on the twenty-second of August,^a with about twenty-six hundred men (only sixteen hundred of whom were fit for active service), crossed the Wateree at the Camden Ferry, and made rapid marches to Friday's Ferry, on the Congaree. There he was joined by General Pickens, with the militia of Ninety-Six, and a body of South Carolina state troops recently organized, under Colonel Henderson. On hearing of Greene's approach, Stuart decamped from Orangeburg, and pitched his tents at Eutaw Springs, forty miles below, vigorously pursued by the Americans. Thither let us proceed, where we shall meet the two armies in terrible conflict.

I left Orangeburg for Eutaw Springs at eleven o'clock.^b The day was so warm ^{Jan. 28, 1849.} that the shade of the pine forests was very refreshing. My horse was fleet, the gign light, the road level and generally fine, and at sunset I arrived at the house of Mr. Avinger (Vance's Ferry post-office), thirty miles distant. About fourteen miles from Orangeburg I crossed the Four-hole Swamp,^c upon a narrow causeway of logs and three bridges. The distance is about a mile, and a gloomier place can not well be imagined. On either side was a dense undergrowth of shrubs, closely interlaced with vines; and above, draped with moss, towered lofty cypresses and gums. At two o'clock I passed one of those primitive school-houses, built of logs (for portrait, see next page), which the traveler meets occasionally in the South. It stood in the edge of a wood, and in front was a fine *Pride-of-India-Tree*, under which the teacher sat listening to the efforts of half a dozen children in the science of orthography. The country is very sparsely populated, and many of the children, living four or five miles away from the school-house, are conveyed on horseback by the negro servants. I stopped a moment in conversation with the pedagogue, who was a Vermonter, one of those New England people described by Halleck as

"Wandering through the Southern countries, teaching
The A B C from Webster's Spelling-book;
Gallant and godly, making love and preaching."

He appeared satisfied with his success in each vocation, and hinted that the daughter of a

¹ Although the name of General Jethro Sumner does not appear very conspicuous in the general histories of the War for Independence, his services in the Southern campaigns were well appreciated by his peers and compatriots in the field. He was a native of Virginia, and as early as 1760 his merits caused him to be appointed a paymaster in the provincial army of that state, and commander of Fort Cumberland. In 1776, he lived in North Carolina, was appointed colonel of a regiment of Continental troops, and joined the army at the North, under Washington. He went South with General Gates, and was in the battle at Sander's

Let Mr. Sumner

Creek (Camden) when the Americans were defeated. He was actively engaged when Greene took command of the army, and continued in North Carolina until he marched to re-enforce Greene upon the High Hills of Santee. When

Greene heard of the abduction of Governor Burke, after the battle at Eutaw, in which Sumner was engaged, he sent that officer into North Carolina to awe the Tories and encourage the Whigs. After the war, General Sumner married a wealthy widow at Newbern. He died in Warren county, North Carolina, and was buried near old Shocco Chapel, and Bute old Court House. * The following inscription is upon his tomb-stone: "To the memory of GENERAL JETHRO SUMNER, one of the heroes of '76."—See Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, page 425.

² This swamp derives its name from the fact that the deep and sluggish stream, a branch of the South Edisto, which it skirts, disappears from the surface four times within this morass. Plunging into one pit, the water boils up from the next; disappearing again in the third, it reappears in the fourth, and then courses its way to the Edisto. These pits are about half a mile apart, and are filled with remarkably fine fish which may be taken with a hook and line at the depth of thirty feet.

A Yankee Schoolmaster.

Road to Eutaw.

Locality and Appearance of the Springs.

neighboring planter had promised him her heart and hand.

When obtained, he intended to cultivate cotton and maize, instead of the dull intellects of other people's children.

I passed the night at Mr. Avinger's, and very early in the morning departed for Eutaw, ten miles distant. I was now upon the Congaree road, and found the traveling somewhat heavier



A SOUTHERN SCHOOL-HOUSE.

than upon ways less used. About three miles from Avinger's, I passed Burdell's plantation, where the American army encamped the night before the battle of Eutaw. It was another glorious morning, and at sunrise I was greeted with the whistle of the quail, the drum of the partridge, the sweet notes of the robin and blue-bird, and the querulous cadences of the cat-bird, all summer tenants of our Northern forests. They appeared each to carol a brief matin hymn at sunrise, and were silent the remainder of the day. I saw several mocking-birds, but they flitted about in silence, taking lessons, I suppose, from their Northern friends, to be sung during their absence.

"Winged mimic of the woods! thou motley fool!
Who shall thy gay buffoonery describe?
Thine ever ready notes of ridicule
Pursue thy fellows still with jest and gibe:
Wit, sophist, songster, YORICK of thy tribe,
Thou sportive satirist of Nature's school!"

RICHARD HENRY WILDE.

Occasionally a wild turkey would start from a branch, or a filthy buzzard alight by the wayside, until, as I came suddenly upon a water-course, a wild fawn that stood lapping from the clear stream wheeled and bounded away among the evergreens of the wood.

At about eight o'clock, I arrived at the elegant mansion of William Sinkler, Esq., upon whose plantation are the celebrated Eutaw Springs. It stands in the midst of noble shade-trees, half a mile from the high-way, and is approached by a lane fringed with every variety of evergreen tree and shrub which beautify Southern scenery in winter. I was courteously received by the proprietor; and when the object of my visit was made known, he ordered his horse and accompanied me to the springs and the field of battle, which are about half a mile eastward of his mansion. The springs present a curious spectacle, being really but the first and second apparition of the same subterranean stream. They are a few rods north of the forks of the Canal and the Monk's Corner roads, at the head of a shallow ravine. The first spring is at the foot of a hill, twenty or thirty feet in height. The water bubbles up, cold, limpid, and sparkling, in large volumes, from two or three orifices, into a basin of rock-marl, and, flowing fifty or sixty yards, descends, rushing and foaming, into a cavern beneath a high ridge of marl covered with alluvium and forest-trees. After traversing its subterraneous way some thirty rods, it reappears upon the other side, where it is a broader stream, and flows gently over a smooth rocky bed toward the Santee, its course marked by tall cypresses, draped with moss. The whole length of the Eutaw Creek, in all its windings, is only about two miles. Where it first bubbles from the earth there is suffi-

¹ This marl appears to be a concretion of oyster-shells, and is said to be an excellent fertilizer when crushed to powder. In this vicinity, many bones of monsters, like the mastodon, have been found.

Remains of the "Citadel" at Eutaw. Greene joined by Marion. American Encampment before the Battle. Captain Coffin.

cient volume to turn a large mill-wheel, but the fountain is so near the level of the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, where the Eutaw enters, that no fall can be obtained; on the contrary, when the Santee is filled to the brim, the waters flow back to the springs.

Just at the forks of the road, on the side toward the springs, was a clump of trees and shrubbery, which marked the spot where stood a strong brick house, famous as the citadel of the British camp, and a retreat for some of the warriors in the conflict at Eutaw. Nothing of it now remains but the foundation, and a few broken bricks scattered among some plum-trees. Let us sit down here, in the shadow of a cypress, by the bubbling spring, and consider the event when human blood tinged the clear waters of the Eutaw, where patriots fought and died for a holy principle.



EUTAW SPRING.¹

"They saw their injured country's woe,
The flaming town, the wasted field;
Then marched to meet the insulting foe;
They took the spear, but left the shield!
Led' by thy conquering standards, GREENE,
The Britons they compelled to fly:
None distant viewed the fatal plain,
None grieved in such a cause to die;
But, like the Parthians, famed of old,
Who, flying, still their arrows threw;
These routed Britons, full as bold,
Retreated, and retreating, slew.—PHILIP FRENEAU.

At Orangeburg, General Greene was informed that Stuart had been re-enforced by a corps of cavalry, under Brevet-major John Coffin² (whose real rank was captain), which Rawdon had formed on his arrival at Charleston. He immediately issued an order^a for Marion (who was then, with his command, scouring the country toward the Edisto, in rescuing Colonel Harden from the toils of Major Fraser) to join him, and then pressed forward toward Eutaw. Marion, by a forced night march, reached Laurens's plantation,³ a few miles from Eutaw, in advance of the American army, on the fifth. In the mean while, Greene's army slowly approached the British camp, preceded by Lee's legion and Henderson's South Carolina corps. The main army reached Burdell's plantation, on the Congaree road, within seven miles of Eutaw, on the afternoon of the seventh,^b and there it encamped for the night.

^a Sept. 4.
1781.

^b Sept., 1781.

¹ This is a view of the reappearance of the stream (or lower spring) from the marl ridge thirty feet in height. These springs are in Charleston District, near the Orangeburg line, about sixty miles northwest of Charleston. It is probable that a subterranean stream here first finds its way to the surface of the earth.

² John Coffin was a native of Boston, and brother of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, of the Royal Navy. He accompanied the British army in the action on Breed's Hill. He soon obtained a commission, rose to the rank of captain in the Orange Rangers, and finally, effecting an exchange into the New York Volunteers, went with that corps to Georgia in 1778. In the campaigns of 1779 and 1780, his conduct won the admiration of his superiors. His behavior in the battle of Eutaw attracted the attention of Greene and his officers. He retired to New Brunswick at the close of the contest. In the war of 1812, he commanded a regiment. He filled several civil offices in the province until 1828, when he retired from public life. He had been a member of the Assembly, chief magistrate of King's county, and a member of the council. He died at his seat in King's county in 1838, at the age of eighty-seven years. He held the rank of lieutenant general at the time of his death.—Sabine's *Lives of the Loyalists*.

³ This plantation belonged to Henry Laurens, who was one of the presidents of the Continental Congress.

Deserters.

Stuart's fancied Security.

Arrangement of the Americans for Battle.

Colonel William Polk.

While the Americans were reposing, two men of Sumner's North Carolina conscripts deserted to the British lines, and gave Colonel Stuart the first intimation of the close proximity of the Republican army. Stuart regarded them as spies, and would not listen to their information, for his scouts, who were out upon the Congaree road the day before, brought him no intelligence of the approach of Greene. His feelings of security were not disturbed by the

^{a Sept. 8.} deserters, and he sent out his foraging parties in the morning,^a as usual, to collect vegetables. Prudence, however, dictated caution, and he detached Captain Coffin, with his cavalry, as a corps of observation, and, if necessary, to call in the foraging parties.

At dawn on the morning of the eighth, the Americans moved from Burdell's in two columns, each composed of the troops intended to form the respective lines of battle. Greene's whole force, according to Lee,¹ amounted to twenty-three hundred men, of whom the Continentals, horse, foot, and artillery, numbered about sixteen hundred. The front or *first line* was composed of four small battalions of militia—two of North, and two of South Carolinians. One of the South Carolinians was under the immediate command of Brigadier Mari-

Malmedy on, who commanded the whole front line. The two North Carolina battalions, under the command of Colonel Malmedy, were posted in the center; and the other South Carolina battalion, under the command of General Pickens, was placed on the left. The *second line* consisted of three small brigades of Continental troops, one each from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. The North Carolinians were formed into three battalions, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel

Ashe, and Majors Armstrong and Blount; the whole commanded by General Sumner, and posted on the right. The Virginians consisted of two battalions, commanded by Major Snead and Captain Edmonds, and the whole by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and were posted in the center. The Marylanders also consisted of two battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Howard and Major Hardman, the whole brigade by Colonel Otho H. Williams, the deputy adjutant general and the State troops formed the advance.



eral, and were posted on the left. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and Lieutenant-colonel Henderson, with the State troops, commanded by Lieutenant-colonels Polk,² Wade Hampton, and Middleton, the left. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his horse, and the Delaware troops, under Captain Kirkwood, formed a reserve corps.

Two three pounders, under Captain-lieutenant Gaines, advanced with the front line, and two sixes, under Captain Brown, with the second. The

¹ *Memoirs*, 331. See, also, Greene's Dispatch to the President of Congress, September 11, 1781.

² William Polk, son of Colonel Thomas Polk, of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, was born in that county in 1759. He was present at the celebrated Mecklenburg convention, in May, 1775. He joined the army early in 1777, and went to the North with General Nash, who was killed at Germantown. He was in the battles on the Brandywine and at Germantown, and was wounded at the latter place. He went South with General Gates, and was with him in the battle at Sander's Creek, near Camden. He was with Greene at Guilford and Eutaw. In the latter battle he received a wound, the effects of which he felt until his death. At the close of the war, he returned to Charlotte, his native place, and in 1787 represented his county in the North Carolina Legislature. He subsequently removed to Raleigh, where he resided until his death. In 1812, President Madison offered him the commission of a brigadier, but, being opposed to the war, he declined the honor. He died on the fourteenth of January, 1835, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Colonel Polk was the last surviving field officer of the North Carolina line. Bishop Leonidas Polk, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Louisiana, and General Thomas G. Polk, of Mississippi, are his sons.

Arrangement of the British Forces.	The Citadel.	Skirmishes.	Commencement of the Battle at Eutaw.
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The British army, under Stuart, at Eutaw, was drawn up in a line extending from the Eutaw Creek, north of the Congaree or Charleston road, near Mr. Sinkler's mansion, across that high-way and the road leading to Roche's plantation, an eighth of a mile southward. The Irish Buffs (third regiment) formed the right; Lieutenant-colonel Cruger's Loyalists the center; and the 63d and 64th veteran regiments the left. Near the creek was a flank battalion of grenadiers and infantry, under Major Majoribanks. These were partially covered and concealed by a thicket on the bank of the stream. To the cavalry of Coffin, and a detachment of infantry held in reserve in the rear, were assigned the support of the left. The artillery was distributed along the front of the line. About fifty yards in the rear of the British line, at the forks of the present Canal and Monk's Corner roads, was a cleared field. There was their camp, and so certain was Stuart of victory, that he left his tents all standing. Close by the road was a two-story brick house (mentioned on page 699), with servant's huts around it. This was palisaded, and so likewise was the garden, extending to the Eutaw Creek.¹ This house was intended as a citadel if their line should be forced back. Such was the situation of the two armies at sunrise on the morning of the eighth of September, 1781.

At about eight o'clock, when the Americans were within four miles of Eutaw, Lee fell in with Captain Coffin, who was acting as an escort for a foraging party of about four hundred men. Ignorant of the proximity of the main army of Greene, Coffin attacked Armstrong, who led Lee's advance. Armstrong fell back to the van, and Lee and Henderson received the assault with spirit. A severe skirmish ensued, when Lee's cavalry, under Major Eggleston, gained Coffin's flank, and attacked him in the rear. The firing drew out the foraging party into the road, when the whole fled precipitately, pursued by Lee's dragoons. Many of Coffin's infantry were killed, and the captain and forty men were made prisoners. Some of the cavalry were also slain, and many of the foraging party were captured.

This little success inspired the Americans, and they pushed forward with vigor. Within a mile of the British camp they encountered another detachment of the enemy, whom Stuart had sent out to aid Coffin and the foragers. It was a surprise for both. While the British fell back a little, Greene quickly prepared for battle, and, pressing forward, the action commenced with spirit in the road and fields, very near the present entrance gate to the seat of Mr. Sinkler. The enemy's cannon swept the road with a destructive fire until Colonel Williams brought up the artillery of Gaines, in full gallop, and returned their fire with severe effect. The British detachments soon yielded and fell back to their lines, dividing right and left, and taking position on the flanks. The Americans, with their line extended on either side of the road, continued to advance, and at a little past nine opened a sharp fire with musketry and artillery upon the British line. The latter received the attack with great gallantry, and a bloody conflict ensued. The artillery of both parties played incessantly, and a continual fire ran from flank to flank, along the whole line of the militia, while it continued to advance. Stuart was now fully convinced that Greene and his whole army were upon him, and every portion of his line was brought into action. In the mean while, Lee's legion infantry were warmly engaged with the veteran 63d of the enemy, when the 64th advanced with a part of the center and fell furiously upon Malmedy and his corps. They soon yielded to the pressure, and the enemy's left pushed forward. Now the corps, under Henderson, sustained not only the fire of the British right, but also of the flank battalion, under Majoribanks. At this moment one of the British field pieces was disabled, and both of Gaines's three pounders were dismounted. Yet the militia, even when unsupported by artillery, fought with all the skill and bravery of veterans. They faced the storm of grape-shot and bullets until they had fired seventeen rounds, when the 64th and center, who had borne down Malmedy, pressed so powerfully upon inferior numbers, that the militia gave way, while Lee and Henderson continued fighting manfully upon the wings of the retiring patriots.

¹ Stuart's dispatch to Lord Cornwallis, September 9th, 1781; Stedman, ii., 378; Lee, 333.

Williams's Bayonet Charge. Death of Campbell and Duval. Defeat and Capture of Washington. Retreat of the British.

Greene now ordered up the second line, under General Sumner, to fill the space occupied by the militia. At the same time, the British reserved infantry were brought into action, and these fresh troops fought each other desperately. Colonel Henderson received a wound that disabled him, and temporary confusion ensued. Order was soon restored by Hamilton, Polk, and Middleton; but Sumner's brigade, which was composed chiefly of recruits from the militia, gave way before the fire of superior numbers, and retreated in much confusion. The British pursued so eagerly that their ranks became disordered. The vigilant eye of Greene perceived this, and he instantly issued the order, "Let Williams advance and sweep the field with bayonets." Like a full-winged storm, pregnant with destruction, the Virginians and Marylanders advanced, the former led by Colonel Campbell, the latter by Colonel Williams. When within forty yards of the British, these Continentals delivered their fire, and the whole second line of the Americans rushed forward, with trailed arms and loud shouts, to a bayonet charge. The confusion of the British was increased by this blow; and as the smoke rolled away and exposed their broken lines, Captain Rudolph, of Lee's legion, wheeled

John Rudolph

upon its flank, and swept down many with an enfilading fire. In the mean while, a corps of Marylanders, under Howard, were closely contending with the Buffs;

so close that some of the combatants were mutually transixed with bayonets. The Marylanders, under Williams, with the Virginians, now pressed upon the British right and center so furiously that the line gave way, and they retreated in confusion. Loud arose a shout of victory from the Americans; but there was, at the same time, occasion for a voice of wail. In the shock which scattered the British line, Colonel Campbell fell, mortally wounded. Informed of the rout of the enemy, he exclaimed, with a faltering voice, like Wolfe at Quebec, "I die contented!" and expired.

When the second line advanced, Majoribanks was ordered to the conflict, and terribly annoyed the American flank. Colonel Washington, with the reserve, and Colonel Wade Hampton, with his corps, were directed to dislodge him. The thicket behind which Majoribanks was covered was impervious to cavalry. Washington perceived a small space between him and Eutaw Creek, and determined, by a quick movement, to gain his rear at that point. Without waiting for Hampton, he divided his cavalry into sections, and, ordering them to wheel to the left, attempted this bold enterprise. It was a fatal step to many of his brave horsemen, for they were brought within range of the enemy's fire. A terrible volley from behind the thicket rolled many horses and their riders in the dust. They laid strewn upon the ground in every direction. Lieutenant Stuart, of Maryland, who commanded the first section, was badly wounded, and many of his corps were killed or maimed. Lieutenants Simmons and King were also wounded. Washington's horse was shot dead under him, and as he fell himself, he was cruelly bayoneted. A moment more, and he would have been sacrificed. A British officer kindly interposed, saved his life, and made him prisoner. Of his whole cavalry corps, one half were killed or wounded, with all the officers except two.

Hampton, in the mean time, covered and collected the scattered cavalry; and Kirkwood, with his Delawares, fell upon Majoribanks. The whole British line were now retreating, and Majoribanks fell back to cover the movement. They abandoned their camp, destroyed their stores, and many fled precipitately along the Charleston road; while some rushed for immediate safety into the brick house near the great springs. Majoribanks halted behind the palisades of the garden, with his right upon Eutaw Creek; and Captain Coffin, with his cavalry, took post in the road below, to cover the British left. During the retreat, the Americans captured more than three hundred prisoners and two pieces of cannon. Upon one of these field pieces, Lieutenant Duval, who fought so bravely in the *fossé* of the star redoubt at Ninety-Six (see page 693), leaped, and, taking off his hat, gave three hearty cheers. A bullet from a retreating soldier brought him to the ground, and he expired within half an hour afterward.

Folly of the Americans.

Bravery of Lee's Legion.

Contest at the "Citadel."

Retreat of Greene.

Although a large portion of the British had retreated, yet the victory was far from complete. Majoribanks was at the garden; a large number of Cruger's New York Volunteers, under Major Sheridan, were in the brick house; and Stuart was rallying the fugitives in considerable force a little below, on the Charleston road. The American soldiers, considering the conflict over, could not be made to think otherwise by their officers; and instead of dislodging Majoribanks, and pursuing the enemy far away from his camp, they stopped to plunder the stores, drink the liquors, and eat the provisions found in the tents. Many became intoxicated; and others, by over-indulgence in eating, and drinking cold water (for the day was very warm), were disabled. Irretrievable confusion followed; and before order could be restored, the British were forming to regain their lost advantage. A heavy fire was poured from the house upon the Americans in the British camp, and at the same time Majoribanks moved from his covert upon the right, and Coffin upon the left of the disordered Americans.

Fortunately, Lee and his legion had not been tempted to indulge in the sensualities of the camp; and so closely had they followed upon those who fled to the house, that the fugitives prevented the entrance of the Americans only by shutting the doors upon them. By so doing, several of their own number were shut out, among whom were two or three officers. Those of the legion who had followed to the door seized each a prisoner, and interposing him as a shield, retreated back beyond the fire from the windows.¹ The two six pounders belonging to the second line were now brought to bear upon the house, but, being in range of a swivel in the second story, and of the muskets, a large portion of the artillerymen were soon killed or wounded, and they were obliged to withdraw the cannons. At the same time, Coffin was advancing on the left. He had fallen upon Captain Eggleston, and drove him back, and was about to attack those who yet lingered among the British tents, when Colonel Hampton, who had been ordered up to the support of Eggleston, charged upon him so vigorously that he was compelled to retreat. The legion cavalry pursued with so much eagerness that they were in front of Majoribanks, and received a murderous volley from his ranks before they were aware of danger. A great number fell, and the remainder were thrown into confusion. Majoribanks perceived this, sallied out, seized the two field-pieces, and ran them under the windows of the house: One of these was soon rescued by Lieutenant Gaines, and remained with the Americans, a trophy of victory.

At every point success now seemed to be turning against the Americans. Colonel Howard, who had just commenced an attack upon Majoribanks with Oldham's company, was wounded near the Great Spring, and his troops fell back. At the same time, the broken ranks of Stuart had been united, and were marching up the Charleston road to renew the battle. Despairing of success in the present crippled condition of his army, his battalions all broken, his artillery gone, his cavalry shattered, and many of his best officers wounded,² Greene deemed it prudent to retreat. Leaving Colonel Hampton near the British camp with a strong picket, he withdrew, with the remainder of the army, to Burdell's plantation, seven miles in the rear. The British were contented to repossess themselves of their camp, and did not attempt a pursuit. Both parties claimed the honor of victory; it belonged to neither, but the advantage was with the Americans. The conflict lasted four hours, and was one of the most severely contested battles of the Revolution. Congress and

¹ Major Garden relates an amusing anecdote in connection with this affair. Among the prisoners captured outside the house was Captain Barré, a brother of the celebrated Colonel Barré, of the British Parliament. He was taken by Captain Manning, who led the legion infantry. In the terror of the moment, Barré began solemnly to recite his titles: "I am Sir Henry Barré," he said, "deputy adjutant general of the British army, captain of the 52d regiment, secretary of the commandant at Charleston—" "Are you, indeed?" interrupted Manning; "you are my prisoner now, and the very man I was looking for; come along with me." He then placed his titled prisoner between himself and the fire of the enemy, and retreated.

² Colonel Otho H. Williams and Lieutenant-colonel Lee were the only officers, of six Continental commanders of regiments, who were not wounded. Washington, Howard, and Henderson were wounded, and Campbell was killed.

Honors awarded to Greene and his Officers.

The Loss.

Retreat of Stuart.

Attacked by Marion and Lee.

the whole country gave warm expressions of their appreciation of the valor of the patriots.¹ The skill, bravery, caution, and acuteness of Greene was highly applauded; and Congress ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the battle, to be struck in honor of the event, and

GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO GREENE.²

presented to him, together with a British standard.³ The loss of both parties, considering the number engaged, was very heavy. The Americans had one hundred and thirty rank and file killed, three hundred and eighty-five wounded, and forty missing; in all, five hundred and fifty-five. There were twenty-two officers killed, and thirty-nine wounded. The loss of the British, according to their own statement, was six hundred and ninety-three men, of whom eighty-five were killed on the field. Including seventy-two wounded, whom they left in their camp when they abandoned it the day after the battle, Greene took five hundred prisoners.

On the day succeeding the battle, Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, confident that he could not maintain his position, decamped for Charleston, after destroying a great quantity of his stores. So precipitate was his retreat, that he left seventy-two of his wounded to be taken care of by the Americans. He also left behind him one thousand stand of arms. He was pursued for some distance, when intelligence being received that Major M'Arthur was advancing with re-enforcements for Stuart, the Americans returned to their camp. It was fortunate for M'Arthur that he met Stuart as soon as he did, for Marion and Lee had been ^{a Sept. 10, 1781.} dispatched to fall upon any detachment coming up from Charleston, and were then only a few miles off. Even with this re-enforcement Stuart did not feel strong enough to meet Greene in battle, and he continued his retreat to Monk's Corner, twenty-five miles from Charleston, leaving the Americans the acknowledged victors at Eutaw.

When Greene was apprised of the positive retreat of Stuart, he followed and pursued

¹ On the twenty-ninth of October, Congress adopted a series of resolutions, expressive of its high appreciation of the services of Greene and his officers and soldiers. In these resolutions, the various corps engaged in the battle were named; also Captains Pierce and Pendleton, Major Hyrne, and Captain Shubrick, his aids-de-camps. Marion was also thanked for the part he had taken in this battle, and also for his gallant conduct on the thirtieth of August, in attacking the British at Parker's Ferry. Congress ordered the Board of War to present a sword to Captain Pierce, who bore Greene's dispatches to that body.—See *Journals of Congress*, vii., 166. On the same day, Congress adopted the complimentary resolutions in honor of the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

² This is a representation of each side of the medal, the full size of the original. On one side is a profile of Greene, with the words, NATHANIEL GREENE EGREGIO DUCI COMITIA AMERICANA; "The American Congress to Nathaniel Greene, the distinguished leader." Upon the other side is a figure of Victory, lighting upon the Earth, and stepping upon a broken shield. Under her feet are broken weapons, colors, and a shield. The legend is, SALUS REGIONUM AUSTRALIUM; "The Safety of the Southern Department." Exergue—HOSTIBUS AD EUTAW DEBELLATIS VIII SEPT. MDCCLXXXI; "The Foe conquered at Eutaw, 8th of September, 1781."

³ *Journals of Congress*, vii., 167.

Retirement of the Americans to the Santee Hills.

Mutiny.

Relic from the Battle-field.

Nelson's Ferry.

him almost to Monk's Corner. Perceiving the strength of the enemy there, he returned to Eutaw, and having a vast number of his troops sick, he proceeded from thence, by easy marches, to his favorite retreat upon the high hills of Santee.^a There he remained until the eighteenth of November, when the health of his army being recruited, he marched into the low country, where he might obtain an abundance of food. In the mean while, the army of Cornwallis had been captured at Yorktown;^b St. Clair had driven the British from Wilmington; and the whole upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia were in possession of the patriots. Nothing now remained but to drive in the British outposts, and hem them within the narrow precincts of their lines at Charleston and Savannah. With this view, Greene, at the head of his cavalry, and about two hundred infantry, proceeded toward Dorchester, a British post in the neighborhood of Charleston, while the main army, under Colonel Williams, crossed the Santee, and marched to the fertile plains upon the Four-hole Creek, a tributary of the Edisto. Here we will leave the two armies for the present, to meet many of the troops again upon other fields of conflict.

Sept. 18, 1781.

Oct. 19.

As there were no works of consequence thrown up at Eutaw, not a vestige of the camp or of the battle remained when I visited the spot in 1849, except the few scattered bricks of the "citadel" already referred to. On returning to his house, Mr. Sinkler showed me a gold watch which one of his negroes found ten years before, while making holes with a stick in planting cotton seed, in the field where Washington was defeated. The negro hit a hard substance, and as there are no stones in the field, he had the curiosity to search for the obstruction, when he drew forth the watch. The hands were almost destroyed by rust; otherwise the watch is well preserved.

Guided by one of Mr. Sinkler's servants, I crossed the Eutaw Creek, near his house, and rode down to Nelson's Ferry, at the mouth of the stream, about a mile and a half distant. At its entrance into the Santee, the bateau of the ferryman was moored, and almost filled its narrow channel. Beneath the moss-draped trees upon the bank of the river, some negro women were washing clothes, and when they found themselves portrayed in my drawing, in all the dishabille of a washing-day, they wanted to arrange their dresses and caps, and be sketched in better plight. Time was too precious to allow compliance, for I wished to get as far toward Orangeburg that evening as possible. Promising to improve their toilet when I got home, I closed my port-folio, and, taking the reins, hastened toward Vance's Ferry.



VIEW AT NELSON'S FERRY.

Nelson's Ferry, the spot here portrayed, was an important locality during the Revolution. It was the principal crossing-place of the Santee for travelers or troops passing between Camden and Charleston, and as such, commanded the attention of the British after they captured the latter city. A redoubt was cast up there upon the north side of the Santee, and garrisoned by a small detachment; and to that point, as we have seen, Lord Rawdon retreated from Camden.

We have noticed, on page 685, that Marion, while in the camp of Gates, was called to

¹ A mutinous spirit was soon manifested in the camp upon the hills, chiefly among the Marylanders. They wished to go home, complained of want of pay and clothing, and in petitions to Greene set forth their various grievances. Finally, some stole away from the camp with their arms, when stringent measures were deemed necessary to prevent open disorder. Things were brought to a crisis by a South Carolina soldier, named Timothy Griffin. He had heard whispers of disaffection, and one day, while drunk, went up to a group of soldiers who were talking to an officer, and said, "Stand to its boys—damn my blood if I'd give an inch!" He supposed they were altercationing with the officer, which was not the fact. Griffin was instantly knocked down by Captain M'Pherson, of the Maryland line, and then sent to the provost. The next day he was tried for mutinous conduct, found guilty, and at five o'clock in the evening was shot in the presence of the whole army. This terrible example suppressed all mutinous proceedings.—Gordon, iii., 246

Success of Marion at Nelson's Ferry.

Site of Fort Watson.

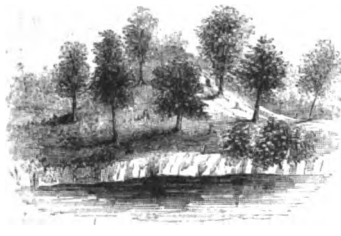
Movements of Colonel Watson.

the command of the patriots of Williamsburg District, and went to duty in the lower country. Ignorant of the operations of the Americans under Gates, that brave partisan was striking successful blows against the enemy here and there, while his commander-in-chief was becoming ensnared in the net of disaster which gathered around him near Camden.

^a Aug. 17, 1780. On the day after Gates's defeat,^a Marion had placed Colonel Peter Horry in command of four companies of cavalry, which he had just formed and sent to operate against the British in the vicinity of Georgetown, while he, with a small band of followers, marched rapidly toward the Upper Santee. On his way, he was informed of the defeat of Gates, but withheld the sad intelligence from his men, fearing its effects upon their spirits. That night his scouts advised him of the approach to Nelson's Ferry of a strong British guard, with a large body of prisoners from Gates's army. Though much inferior in numbers, he resolved to attack them. Just before daylight, he detached Colonel Hugh Horry, with sixteen resolute men, to occupy the road at the Horse Creek Pass, in a broad swamp, while with the remainder he should fall upon the enemy's rear. The maneuver

^b Aug. 20, 1780. was successfully performed at dawn,^b and on that day the brave partisan wrote the following dispatch to Colonel Peter Horry: "On the 20th instant, I attacked a guard of the 63d and Prince of Wales's regiment, with a number of Tories, at the Great Savannah, near Nelson's Ferry; killed and took twenty-two regulars and two Tories prisoners, and retook one hundred and fifty Continentals of the Maryland line; one wagon and a drum; one captain and a subaltern were also captured. Our loss is one killed; and Captain Benson is slightly wounded on the head."

It was past meridian when I reached Vance's Ferry, about ten miles above Eutaw, and one from Mr. Avinger's, where I lodged the night before. I crossed the Santee into Sumter District in a bateau; and driving about five miles up the river, reached Scott's Lake, an expansion of the Santee, a few miles below the junction of the Congaree and Wateree. Upon the north side of the lake, upon the land of Mr. Rufus Felder, at Wright's Bluff Post-office, is an ancient tumulus, almost fifty feet in height, and now covered with trees. Upon the top of this mound the British erected a stockade; and in honor of Colonel Watson, under whose direction it was built, it was called Fort Watson. Its elevated position, and its close proximity to the water, made it a strong post, yet not sufficiently impregnable to resist the successful assault of Marion and Lee in April, 1781. Let us consider that event.



SITE OF FORT WATSON.

We have noticed the junction of the forces of Marion and Lee, in the swamps of the Black River, in Williamsburg District.^c Lee immediately laid the plans of General Greene before Marion; and a scheme of operations was decided upon within a few hours. Colonel Watson, with about five hundred infantry, was near

the site of the present town of Marion, on Cat-fish Creek, in Marion District. He had received orders to re-enforce Lord Rawdon at Camden. For some time he had been greatly annoyed by Marion, who would appear on his flank or rear, strike a severe blow, and then as suddenly disappear among the interminable swamps of the low country. Marion was preparing to smite Watson once more, when he was informed of the approach of Lee. He sent a guide to conduct that partisan over the Pedee, in boats which he kept concealed; and on the day after their forces were united, they started toward Fort Watson,^d leaving Captain Gavin Witherspoon on the trail of Watson, then fleeing

¹ "It will scarcely be believed," says Simms (*Life of Marion*, page 126), "that, of this hundred and fifty Continentals, but three men consented to join the ranks of the liberator. It may be that they were somewhat loth to be led, even though it were to victory, by the man whose ludicrous equipments and followers, but a few weeks before, had only provoked their amusement." The reason they gave was, that they considered the cause of the country to be hopeless, and that they were risking life without an adequate object.

² Marion was very anxious to pursue Watson, who, to facilitate his march toward Camden, had sunk his two field-pieces in Cat-fish Creek, burned his baggage, and was making forced marches toward George-

Fort Watson attacked by Marion and Lee.

Mayham Tower.

Sketch of Colonel Mayham.

toward Georgetown. They sat down before Fort Watson on the evening of the same day.

Fort Watson was garrisoned by eighty regulars and forty Loyalists, under the command of Lieutenant M·Kay, a brave and active young officer of the British army. Marion immediately sent a flag demanding the unconditional surrender of the fort and the garrison. M·Kay promptly refused, for he doubtless hourly expected the approach of Watson with his large force, who, he knew, was on his march thither from Georgetown. Perceiving the garrison to be well supplied with water from Scott's Lake, that resource was cut off by the besiegers; but M·Kay and his men opened another communication with the lake three days afterward. They sunk a well within the stockade to a depth below the level of the lake, and dug a trench at the base of the mound from the well to the water, and secured it by an *abatis*. This circumstance perplexed the assailants, for they had no cannons, and the stockade was too high to be seriously affected by small arms. To the fertile genius of Lieutenant-colonel Maham,¹ of Marion's brigade, this disadvantage was overcome. Near the fort was a small wood. The trees were cut down, carried upon the shoulders of the men within rifle shot of the fort, and piled up so as to form a quadrangular tower of sufficient height to overlook the stockades. Upon the top of this, a parapet was made of smaller trees, for the defense of those upon the top of the tower. All of this work was accomplished during the darkness of the night, which was intensified by a cloudy sky; and at dawn the garrison were awakened by a deadly shower of balls from a company of sure marksmen upon the top of the tower. At the same moment, a party of volunteers of Marion's militia, under Ensign Johnson, and another from the Continentals, of Lee's legion, ascended the mound and attacked the *abatis* with vigor. Resistance was vain; and the fort thus assailed was untenable. M·Kay had anxiously awaited the approach of Watson, but that officer, unwilling to allow any thing to impede his progress toward Camden, left this post to its fate. The garrison, no longer able to hold the fort, surrendered by capitula-

town. It was evident, from the circuitous direction of his march, that Watson feared Marion excessively; for, instead of making a direct line westward toward Camden, across the Great Pedee, he crossed the Little Pedee eastward; marched southward through the present Horry District; crossed the Waccamaw at Greene's Ferry, and Winyaw Bay where it was three miles wide; traversed its western border to Georgetown, and from thence crossed the country toward the Santee, following that stream up as far as the junction of the Congaree and Wateree. Greene's instructions to operate against the British posts below Camden prevented a pursuit.

¹ Hezekiah Maham was born on the twenty-sixth of June, 1739. We have no record of his early life. He was a member of the first Provincial Congress of South Carolina; and in the spring of 1776 was elected a captain in Colonel Isaac Huger's regiment. He was with that officer at the siege of Savannah, and at the battle of Stono. As lieutenant colonel of an independent corps of cavalry, he performed many daring exploits in the low country of the Carolinas. At the close of the campaign of 1781, he was obliged to leave active service on account of sickness. While at home, he was made a prisoner and paroled, by which he was not allowed to enter the army again during the war. He died in 1789, at the age of fifty years. His descendant, J. J. Ward, Esq., living near Georgetown, erected a handsome monument to his memory in 1845, upon which are the following inscriptions:

FRONT SIDE.—"Within this Cemetery, and in the bosom of the homestead which he cultivated and embellished while on earth, lie the mortal remains of COLONEL HEZEKIAH MAHAM. He was born in the parish of St. Stephen's, and died A.D. 1789, æt. fifty years; leaving a name unsullied in social and domestic life, and eminent for devotion to the liberties of his country, and for achievements in arms, in the Revolution which established her independence."

RIGHT SIDE.—"Impelled by the spirit of freedom which animated his countrymen, he devoted himself to its support, and promoted the cause of American Independence, by his service in the state committees, instituted by recommendation of the General Congress, in the Jacksonborough Assembly, and in various other civil capacities."

LEFT SIDE.—"Successively a captain in the first rifle regiment, a commander of horse in Marion's brigade, and lieutenant colonel of an independent corps of cavalry, raised by authority of General Greene, he bore an efficient and conspicuous part in the capture of the British posts, and in the series of skillful maneuvers and gallant actions, which resulted in the final extinction of the British dominion in South Carolina, and secured to her and to the confederacy the blessings of Peace, Liberty, and Independence."

ON THE BACK.—"His relative, Joshua John Ward, of Waccamaw, unwilling that the last abode of an honest man, a faithful patriot, and a brave and successful soldier, should be forgotten and unknown, has erected this memorial, A.D. 1845."

Marion's Residence.

The Wife of Marion.

Return to Orangeburg

Sketch of Marion's House.

April 23, 1781. tion,^a and Marion with his prisoners and booty, pushed forward and encamped upon the high hills of Santee, to await further orders from Greene, while Lee turned his attention to the movements of Watson. The loss of the Americans was only two killed, and three Continentals and three militia-men wounded. The subsequent movements of Marion and Lee, in efforts to prevent Watson's junction with Rawdon, have been noticed in the preceding chapter.

I tarried at the site of Fort Watson only long enough to make the sketch on page 706, when I hastened back to Vance's Ferry, and pushed on toward Orangeburg. Late in the evening I reached the house of Mr. M'Ance, within fifteen miles of Orangeburg, where I was hospitably entertained. There I met an elderly lady who had been very intimate with the wife of Marion for several years previous to her death. She informed me that Mrs. Marion (whose maiden name was Videau, one of the Huguenot families) was much younger than the general. She was a large woman, weighing, a year or two before her death, two

MARION'S RESIDENCE.¹

hundred and thirty pounds. My informant had often visited her at her residence, built by the general at Pond Bluff, on the Santee (near the Nelson's Ferry road to Charleston), about three miles below Eutaw Springs. Miss Videau brought wealth to her husband, and their dwelling was always the abode of liberal hospitality.

I left M'Ance's before daylight on the following morning, traversed the narrow causeway across the Four-hole Swamp by the feeble light of the stars, and arrived at Orangeburg in time to enter the cars for Augusta, on the Savannah River, eighty-five miles distant.

¹ This mansion was demolished a few years before my visit to Eutaw and vicinity (1849), and this drawing was made from a minute description given me by a gentleman with whom I rode in the mail-coach from Augusta to the Ninety-mile station, on the great central rail-way, in Georgia. His brother had resided there for many years and he was perfectly familiar with its appearance. At the station I made this sketch, and my informant pronounced it an excellent representation of the residence of General Marion.

From Orangeburg to Augusta.

A Turkish Traveler.

Augusta.

Hamburg.

Liberty Hill.

CHAPTER XXVII.



HE rail-way journey from Orangeburg to Augusta was extremely monotonous in scenery and incident. At Branchville, on the banks of the Edisto, where the rail-way from Charleston connects, the immobility into which the passengers were subsiding was disturbed by the advent among us of a "turban'd Turk," in full Oriental costume. His swarthy complexion, keen eye, flowing black beard, broad turban, tunic, and trowsers, made him the "observed of all observers," and kept the passengers awake for an hour, for "Yankee curiosity" was too busy to allow drowsiness. "Whence I came, and whither I go, ye know not," were as plain as a written phylactery upon his imperturbable features, and I presume the crowd who gathered around him in the street at Augusta knew as little of his history and destiny as we. It is pleasant sometimes to see curiosity foiled, even though

"It came from heaven—it reigned in Eden's shades—
It roves on earth, and every walk invades:
Childhood and age alike its influence own;
It haunts the beggar's nook, the monarch's throne;
Hangs o'er the cradle, leans above the bier,
Gazed on old Babel's tower—and lingers here."—CHARLES SPRAGUE.

The scenery by the way-side alternated between oozy swamps embellished with cypresses, cultivated fields, and extensive forests of oak and pine, garnished occasionally by a tall broad-leaved magnolia. The country was perfectly level through Barnwell District, until we passed Aiken into Edgefield, and turned toward Silver Bluff, on the Savannah River,¹ when we encountered the sand hills of that region. These continued until we reached the termination of the road at Hamburg, on the northern bank of the Savannah, opposite Augusta.² There we were packed into huge omnibuses, and conveyed to the city across Schultz's bridge.³ It was sunset—a glorious sunset, like those at the north in September—when we reined up at the *United States*. A stroll about the city by moonlight that evening, with a Northern friend residing there, was really delightful; for the air was balmy and dry, and the moon and stars had nothing of the crisp, piercing, and glittering aspect which they assume in a clear January night in New England.

Early on the following morning we rode over to Hamburg, and ascended to the summit of Liberty Hill, a lofty sand bluff, three fourths of a mile from the river. Flowers were blooming in the gardens on its brow; and over its broad acres green grass and innumerable cacti were spread. The view from this eminence was charming. At our feet lay the little village of Hamburg, and across the shining Savannah was spread out in panoramic beauty the city of Augusta—the queen of the inland towns of the South. Like a sea in repose, the level country extended in all directions; and city, river, forest, and plain were bathed in the golden haziness which characterizes our Indian summer at the North. From that point the eye could survey the whole historic arena around Augusta, where Royalists and Republicans battled, failed, and triumphed during our war for independence. While the spirit is charmed with associations awakened by the gleanings of sensuous vision, let us for a moment open the tome of history, and give inquiring thought free wing.

¹ For an account of the capture of Fort Galphin or Dreadnought, at Silver Bluff, see page 690.

² This village was projected by a German named Schultz, who called it Hamburg, in honor of the "free city" of that name in his native land. He also built the noble bridge across the Savannah at that place, delineated on page 715.

Augusta has a history anterior to the Revolution. Her local historians have preserved but little of it which is of general interest, and its records do not bear date back to that period. It was founded in 1735, under the auspices of Oglethorpe; and in 1736, a small garrison was stationed there, in a stockade fort, as a protection for the settlers against any enemy that might appear. Warehouses were built, and quite an extensive trade was opened with the friendly Indians upon the Savannah and its tributaries. Fort Augusta became a general resort for the Indian traders; and there, and at Fort Moore, on the bluff near Sand-bar Ferry, all the Indian treaties were held, down to the year 1750. In 1751, several Quaker families settled there and at a place called Quaker Springs. When French emissaries, about 1754, stirred up the Indian tribes against the English, the fort was strengthened, its magazine was well supplied, and the men were "mustered and drilled for service." Nothing of importance occurred to disturb the quiet of the people, and the settlement flourished. Living in almost unrestrained freedom, far away from the sea-board and its varieties, the agitations wrought throughout the colonies by the Stamp Act and kindred measures, scarcely elicited a thought from the quiet people of this region; but when, month after month, intelligence arrived that chains were forging to fetter their free spirits, they were aroused, and all through the region between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers, and especially in the vicinity of Augusta, the Tree of Liberty budded and blossomed, green, vigorous, and beautiful as the native magnolia. Although Georgia was not represented in the first Continental Congress, yet her children were not less alive to the teachings of the spirit of liberty; and the *American Association* was early approved, and its operations efficiently established. The lines between Whigs and Tories were distinctly drawn, and the requirements of the association were promptly enforced.¹

When the British attacked Savannah, in March, 1776, the Legislature, a majority of which was inimical to the royal government, adjourned to Augusta, where the people were generally friendly. On the fall of Savannah, in 1779, the Legislature was dispersed. John Wreath, then president of the executive council, issued a proclamation, ordering an election of legislators, who were to assemble at Augusta. That town now became the center of Republican power in Georgia, and thither the most active friends of the patriot cause at Savannah fled. George Walton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was chosen governor under the Constitution (adopted in 1777), notwithstanding Sir James

Wright had now^a re-established royal rule in the province. William Glascock was^a 1779. chosen speaker, and the Legislature transacted business without reference to the existence of any other power in the state.²

For the encouragement and support of the Loyalists in the interior, and to awe the Republicans in that quarter after the fall of Savannah, Colonel Campbell, who commanded at

¹ At about mid-summer in 1775, Thomas Brown and William Thompson having openly reviled the cause of the Whigs, and at a dinner-party gave toasts in which the friends of that cause were ridiculed, the Parish Committee of Safety ordered their arrest. Thompson escaped into South Carolina, but Brown, who attempted to flee with him, was captured and brought back. He was tried, and sentenced to be tarred and feathered, and publicly exposed in a cart, to be drawn three miles, or until he was willing to confess his error, and take his oath that he would espouse the cause of the Republicans. He chose the latter course; but he was not a very warm Republican long. His course illustrated the fact that

"He who's convinced against his will,
Remains to be convinced still;"

for he joined the British army, was made lieutenant colonel, and afterward, while commandant of Augusta, fiercely retaliated upon the Whigs.

² John Adam Trueitlen was chosen the first governor under the new Constitution. He was succeeded in 1778, by John Houston; and after the fall of Savannah, Sir James Wright, the last of the royal governors, re-established British rule in the state.

³ A curious legislative act occurred during this session. A resolution was passed censuring Governor Walton for having transmitted a letter to the President of Congress, "containing unjust and illiberal representations respecting General M'Intosh." The attorney general was ordered to prosecute the governor. On the day preceding the passage of these resolutions, the same Legislature had elected Governor Walton chief justice of Georgia. He was thereby made president of the only tribunal competent to try him! To have condemned himself would have been an exercise of "Roman virtue" hardly to be expected.

Tories under Colonel Boyd.

Augusta in possession of the British.

Partisan Skirmishes.

General Elbert.

the siege of that city, was ordered by General Prevost to advance with about two thousand regulars and Loyalists,^a upon Augusta.¹ Already he had sent emissaries among the South Carolina Tories to encourage them to make a general insurrection; and he assured them that, if they would cross the Savannah and join him at Augusta, the Republicans might be easily crushed, and the whole South freed from their pestilential influence. Thus encouraged, about eight hundred Loyalists of North and South Carolina assembled westward of the Broad River, under Colonel Boyd, and marched along the frontier of South Carolina, toward the Savannah. Like a plundering banditti, they appropriated every species of property to their own use, abused the inhabitants, and wantonly butchered several who opposed their rapacious demands. While these depredators were organizing, and Campbell was proceeding toward Augusta, General Elbert² crossed the Savannah, joined Colonels Twiggs and Few, and skirmished with the British van-guard at Brier Creek and other places, to impede their progress. They effected but little, and on the twenty-ninth of January^b Campbell took possession of Augusta, and placed the garrison under Lieutenant-colonel Brown, the Loyalist just mentioned, who, with Lieutenant-colonel M'Girth, had preceded him thither. Campbell then proceeded to establish military posts in other parts of Western Georgia. The Whigs who could leave with their families crossed the Savannah into Carolina. The oath of allegiance was every where administered; the habitations of those who had fled into Carolina were consumed; and Georgia seemed, for the moment, permanently prostrate at the feet of the invaders. The quiet that ensued was only the calm before a gathering storm. Colonel John Dooly collected a body of active militia on the Carolina shore, thirty miles above Augusta, while Colonel M'Girth, with three hundred Loyalists, was watching him on the other side. Dooly crossed over into Georgia, and these partisans had several skirmishes. Finally, Major Hamilton, an active officer under M'Girth, drove Dooly across the Savannah, a short distance below the mouth of Broad River, and encamped at Waters's plantation, about three miles below the present town of Petersburg, in Elbert county. Dooly took post opposite to Hamilton, where he was joined by Colonel Pickens. Their united forces amounted to about three hundred and fifty men.

Brew

Colonel Pickens, who was the senior officer, assumed the command of the whole, and with Dooly crossed the river at Cowen's Ferry, to attack Hamilton.^c That officer had broken up his encampment and marched to Carr's Fort, not far distant, to examine its condition and administer the oath of allegiance to the surrounding inhabitants. The Americans besieged the fort, and were confident of capturing it, having cut off the supply of water for the garrison, when, at ten o'clock at night, a message came to Colonel Pickens, from his brother, informing him of the march of Boyd and his banditti through the district of Ninety-Six. Unwilling to distress the families who had taken shelter within the fort, Pickens declined a proposition to burn it, and raising the siege, he hastened to confront Boyd, the more important foe. He crossed the Savannah near Fort Charlotte, when Boyd, hearing of his approach, hastened toward the Cherokee Ford. At that ford was a redoubt, garrisoned by eight men, with two swivels. They successfully disputed the passage of Boyd,

¹ General Prevost had come from St. Augustine, captured the fort at Sunbury on the way, and, with Campbell's troops, had a force of about three thousand regulars and one thousand militia.

² Samuel Elbert was born in South Carolina in 1740. He became an orphan at an early age, went to Savannah, and there subsequently engaged in commercial pursuits. He joined the Continental army in Georgia early in 1776, as lieutenant colonel, having been a few months previously a member of the Savannah Committee of Safety. He was promoted to colonel in the autumn of 1776, and in May, 1777, commanded an expedition against the British in East Florida. In the following year he was actively engaged in the neighborhood of Savannah, and behaved bravely when it was attacked by Campbell at the close of December. He was promoted to brigadier, and was with Colonel Ashe at Brier Creek, where he was made prisoner. After his exchange, he went to the North, joined the army under Washington, and was at the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. At the close of the war, he was commissioned a major general. He was elected governor of the state in 1785. General Elbert died at Savannah, on the second of November, 1788, at the age of forty-five years. His remains were buried in the family cemetery on the mount, at Rae's Hall, five miles above Savannah. Elbert county, in Georgia, was named in honor of the general.

Dispersion of Boyd's Tories.

Alarm of Campbell.

Ashe ordered to Brier Creek.

General Williamson.

and he marched five miles up the river, crossed on rafts, and pushed on toward Augusta. He was pursued by a detachment of Americans, under Captain Anderson, who attacked him in a cane-brake. A severe skirmish ensued. Boyd lost one hundred men in killed, wounded, and missing; the Americans lost sixteen killed, and the same number taken prisoners.

Boyd hastened forward, and on the morning of the thirteenth^a crossed the Broad

^a Feb., 1779.

River, near the fork, in Oglethorpe county, closely pursued by Pickens, with about three hundred militia. The latter marched in battle order. Colonel Dooly¹ commanded the right wing; Lieutenant-colonel Clark the left; and Colonel Pickens the center. Boyd, ignorant of the proximity of his pursuers, halted on the north side of Kettle Creek, turned his horses out to forage upon the reeds of a neighboring swamp, and proceeded to slaughter

cattle for his army. In this condition he was attacked^b by the Americans. The

^b Feb. 14.

Tory pickets fired, and fled to the camp. The utmost confusion prevailed, and Boyd and his followers began to retreat in great disorder, while skirmishing with the assailants. The contest lasted almost two hours. About seventy of the Tories were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. The Americans lost nine killed and twenty-three mortally wounded. Colonel Boyd was severely wounded, and expired that night. His whole force was scattered to the winds. The seventy prisoners were taken to South Carolina, tried for high treason, and condemned to death. Five of the most active ones were hanged, the remainder were pardoned.^c This was one of the severest blows which Toryism in the South had yet received.

Encouraged by this success, General Lincoln, then in command of the Southern army, determined to drive the British from their posts in the interior, back to Savannah. He formed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly opposite Augusta, while small detachments of militia took post at various points on the Savannah, above Augusta. Lincoln ordered General John Ashe, then in the neighborhood of Puryzburg, to march up the easterly side of the Savannah with about fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and the remains of the Georgia Continentals, to re-enforce General Williamson opposite Augusta. Ashe

^c Feb. 13, 1779.

arrived at Williamson's camp on the evening before the defeat of Boyd.^c This imposing display opposite Augusta, and intelligence of the close pursuit of Boyd, alarmed Campbell, and he speedily decamped that same night with all his force, and hastened toward the sea-coast. He left behind him a considerable quantity of provisions, ammunition, and some arms. At Hudson's Ferry, fifty miles below Augusta, Lieutenant-colonel Prevost had constructed a fortified camp and mounted some light artillery. There Campbell halted, with the determination to attempt to regain the advantage he had just lost, but finally continued his retreat to Savannah.

General Lincoln, who was then encamped at Puryzburg, in Beaufort District, about twenty-five miles above Savannah, with three thousand men, sent orders to Colonel Ashed^d to cross the Savannah, and proceed as far as Brier Creek in pursuit of Campbell. At this time, General Rutherford, of North Carolina, was encamped at Black Swamp, on the Carolina side of the Savannah, a few miles above the mouth of Ebenezer Creek, with seven hundred men; and General Williamson,^e with twelve hundred men, was opposite

¹ Colonel John Dooly entered the Continental army in Georgia, as captain, in 1776, and, rising to the rank of colonel, was very active in the neighborhood of the Savannah, until 1780, when a party of Tories, sent out from Augusta by Colonel Brown, entered his house, in Wilkes county, at midnight, and barbarously murdered him in the presence of his wife and children.—M'Call, ii., 306.

² See M'Call's *History of Georgia*, i., 190–203.

³ We have already noticed the services of this gentleman while colonel of militia in the District of Ninety-Six, against the Indians. (See page 647.) Andrew Williamson was born in Scotland, and when young was taken by his parents to Ninety-Six, in South Carolina. He was a very active lad, and it is believed that he attended Montgomery in his expedition against the Indians in 1760. He was with Colonel Grant in a similar expedition in 1761. He early espoused the Whig cause, and, as we have seen, was active in opposition to the Cunninghams and other Tories. He was promoted to brigadier, and in that capacity was employed in opposing the inroads of Prevost from Florida into Georgia. After the fall of Savannah, he was engaged in watching the movements of the enemy upon the Savannah River. He took possession of Augusta when Campbell retreated from it, and was for some time engaged against the Tories in that vi-

The Americans at Brier Creek.

Preparations for Battle.

The Attack.

Retreat of the Carolinians.

Augusta. General Ashe crossed the river on the twenty-fifth, and proceeded toward Brier Creek, a considerable stream, which flows into the Savannah in Severn county, about forty-five miles below Augusta. He reached Brier Creek on Saturday morning, the twenty-seventh,^a and discovered that the bridge across the stream (which is there skirted with a deep swamp three miles wide) was completely destroyed by the enemy. ^{a Feb., 1779.} General Rutherford, with part of his brigade, was at Mathew's Bluff, five miles above, on the opposite side of the Savannah; and Colonel Marbury, of the Georgia horse, lay a few miles up Brier Creek. Ashe's force consisted of General Bryan's brigade, Lieutenant-colonel Lyttle's light infantry, and some Georgia Continentals; in all about twelve hundred men. His artillery consisted of one four pound brass field-piece, and two iron two pound swivels, mounted as field-pieces. Bryant and Elbert were instructed to form the camp, while Ashe crossed the river to confer with General Lincoln. A guard was dispatched to conduct the baggage across to Mathew's Bluff, in case it was found necessary to retreat; and other guards were stationed at the fords of the creek above, while fatigue-parties were detailed to construct bridges, and to make a road to the river for the passage of Rutherford's troops with two brass field-pieces.

Ashe returned on the evening of the third,^b and was chagrined at not finding the bridge which Campbell had destroyed, repaired. Early the following morning workmen were employed in that duty, but it was too late, and the Americans were quite unprepared for offensive or defensive operations. While in this exposed situation, intelligence came from General Williamson, then on his march from Augusta, that the enemy, under the general command of Prevost, was within eight miles of the American camp above, approaching in full force. Already Marbury, with his dragoons, had encountered the British van, but his express to Ashe had been intercepted. Reconnoitering parties had approached the American pickets, yet they produced neither apprehension nor vigilance. That indifference proved fatal. Prevost, with about eighteen hundred men, had crossed Brier Creek, fifteen miles above Ashe's camp, made a wide circuit, and, unperceived, had gained his rear. To retreat was now impossible. The drums immediately beat to arms; the troops were formed for action, and cartridges were distributed among them.¹ They then advanced about a quarter of a mile; General Elbert and his command, with Colonel Perkins's regiment, forming the advance. The British formed their line when within one hundred and fifty yards of the Americans, and at the moment of their advance, Elbert and Perkins opened a severe fire upon them. The Georgians, after delivering two or three rounds, unfortunately inclined to the left, by which the fire of the advancing Newbern regiment was impeded. At the same moment, the Edenton regiment, moving to the right, left a vacancy in the line. This the enemy perceived, and pushed forward on a run, with a loud shout. The Halifax regiment on the left, panic-stricken, broke and fled, without firing a gun. The Wilmington regiment, except a small part under Lieutenant-colonel Young, advanced and delivered two or three volleys, wheeled, and retreated. The Newbern and Edenton regiments followed their example, and in a few minutes the whole of the North Carolina troops were flying to the coverts of the swamps. The Georgia Continentals maintained their

^{b March.}
^{1779.}

city, in co-operation with General Elbert. He was afterward engaged in the battle at Stono Ferry, below Charleston, and was at the siege of Savannah when D'Estaing aided the Americans. After that, his conduct awakened suspicions that he was becoming unfriendly to the American cause. When Lincoln was besieged in Charleston, he withheld efficient aid; and when that city surrendered, he accepted a British protection. Williamson was called the "Arnold of the South," in miniature. It is generally conceded that he was a double traitor; for while he was with the British in Charleston, he communicated valuable information to General Greene. The time and place of his death is not certainly known. He lived in obscurity and poverty after the war.—See Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution*, 144: Charleston, 1851.

¹ M'Call and others censure General Ashe for not having the soldiers served with cartridges much sooner. Ashe in his letter to Governor Caswell on the seventeenth of March, says, that "prudence forbade a distribution of cartridges until they were wanted; for, lacking cartouch-boxes, the men had already lost a great many." He says that when they marched to meet the enemy, some carried their cartridges "under their arms; others in the bosoms of their shirts; and some tied up in the corner of their hunting-shirts."—*MS. Letter of General Ashe to Governor Caswell.*

Defeat of the Americans.	The Loss.	Ashe Censured.	Acquitted by Court-martial.	His Public Life.
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ground gallantly for some time; but they, too, were finally repulsed, and General Elbert and a large number of his men were made prisoners. General Ashe tried in vain to reach the front of the fugitives and rally them. They had scattered in all directions; took shelter in the swamps; and, on reaching the Savannah, escaped across it, some by swimming, and others upon rafts. In this retreat many were drowned, and others were lost in the swamps. General Ashe reached Mathew's Bluff in safety, and afterward collected the remnants of his little army at Zubley's Ferry,^a two miles above Puyburg. The loss of the Americans in this action was estimated at one hundred and fifty killed and drowned; twenty-seven officers, and one hundred and sixty-two non-commissioned officers and privates, were taken prisoners; and seven pieces of artillery, a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and baggage, with five hundred stand of arms, were either lost or fell into the hands of Prevost. The British lost only one commissioned officer, and fifteen privates killed and wounded.¹

General Ashe² was much censured by contemporary opinion and early historians; and modern compilers have repeated those censures, because he allowed himself to be surprised. Viewing the whole affair from this remote point, and in the light of calm judgment, he appears no more censurable than most other men who were losers instead of winners. Had he succeeded in becoming a victor, his alleged remissness would never have been mentioned; the unfortunate are always blamed. Conscious of having exercised both courage and vigilance, General Ashe appealed from the voice of public opinion to a court-martial, of which General Moultrie³ was president.^b The court acquitted him of every charge of cowardice and deficiency of military skill, but gave their opinion that he did not take all necessary precautions to secure his camp and watch the movements of the enemy. It was an unfortunate affair, for it deprived Lincoln of about one third of his available force, and opened a free communication between the British, Indians, and Tories, in Florida, Western Georgia, and the Carolinas.

We have observed that after the fall of Charleston,^a and the dispersion of Lincoln's army, royal power in South Carolina and Georgia was fully established. The Republican governor of Georgia and part of his council fled into North Carolina, and narrowly escaped being captured on the way. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brown, whom Campbell placed in command of Augusta early in 1779, now proceeded to that place and

¹ *MS. Letter of General Ashe to Governor Caswell*; Ramsay, ii., 16; Gordon, ii., 415; McCall, ii., 206.

² John Ashe was born in England in 1721. He came to America with his father in 1727, who settled on the Cape Fear River, in North Carolina. He served his district in the Colonial Legislature for several years, and was speaker of the Assembly from 1762 to 1765. He warmly opposed the Stamp Act in 1765, and, with others, announced to Governor Tryon his determination to resist its operations. Assisted by General Hugh Waddell, Ashe, then colonel of the militia of New Hanover, headed an armed force, and compelled the stamp-master to resign. He accompanied Tryon against the Regulators in 1771; but when royal rule became odious, and he saw the liberties of his country in peril, he was one of the most zealous advocates, in the North Carolina Assembly, of Republican principles. As a member of the Legislature, and of the Committee of Correspondence and of Safety at Wilmington, he was exceedingly active and vigilant. He was one of the first projectors of a Provincial Congress, and became the most active opponent of Governor Martin, for he was exceedingly popular as a man. With five hundred men, he destroyed Fort Johnston in 1775, and was denounced as a rebel against the crown. He was a member of the first Provincial Congress, convened that year. When he returned home, he raised and equipped a regiment at his own expense; and throughout the whole region around Wilmington, his eloquent words and energetic acts inspired the people with burning patriotism. In 1776, the Provincial Congress appointed him a brigadier of Wilmington District. He was actively engaged in military and civil duties in his district, until the close of 1778, when he joined Lincoln in South Carolina, with regiments from Halifax, Wilmington, Newbern, and Edenton. After his surprise and defeat at Brier Creek, he returned home. Wilmington became a British post in 1781, and Colonel Ashe and his family suffered much at their hands. He was made a prisoner, and suffered a long confinement, during which time he contracted the small-pox. He was released on parole while sick, and died of that disease in October, 1781, at the age of sixty years, while accompanying his family to a place of quiet, in Duplin county.

³ The other members of the court were General Rutherford, Colonels Armstrong, Pinckney, and Locke, and Edmond Hyrne, deputy adjutant general.—See Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i., 338.

John Ashe

Cruelty of Brown.

Forts Cornwallis and Grierson.

March toward Augusta, of Clark and M'Call.

garrisoned the fort with a strong force. Brown, as we have seen (page 710), was an early victim of Whig indignation at Augusta, his native place, and he used his power, while in command there, with a fierceness commensurate with his wrath. He sent out detachments to burn the dwellings of patriots in his vicinity, and dispatched emissaries among the Indians to incite them to murder the inhabitants on the frontier.¹ His command at Augusta consisted of two hundred and fifty men, of several corps, principally of Florida rangers; two hundred and fifty Creek and fifty Cherokee Indians; in all, five hundred and fifty. The defenses consisted of a strong fort, situated on the northwest side of the town, upon a bank

VIEW FROM THE SITE OF FORT CORNWALLIS.²

about one hundred yards from the river. This was the main work, and was called Fort Cornwallis. A little less than half a mile westward of Fort Cornwallis, was a swampy ravine extending up from the river, with a stream running through it. On the western margin of this lagoon, between the present Upper Market and the river, was a smaller work called Fort Grierson, so

named in honor of the militia colonel who commanded its garrison.

About the first of September,^a Colonel Elijah Clark, a brave partisan of Wilkes county, Georgia, and Lieutenant-colonel M'Call, made efforts to raise a sufficient force ^{a 1780.} to capture the fort at Augusta, and drive the British from the interior of the state to the sea-coast. These were the brave partisans who fought at the Cowpens a few months later. Clark recruited in his own county, and M'Call went to the district of Ninety-Six and applied to Colonel Pickens for aid. He wanted five hundred men, but procured only eighty. With these he marched to Soap Creek, forty miles northwest of Augusta, where he was joined by Clark, with three hundred and fifty men. With this inadequate force they marched toward Augusta. So secret and rapid were their movements, that they reached the outposts before the garrison was apprised of their approach.^b The right was com- ^{b Sept. 14, 1780.} manded by M'Call, the left by Major Samuel Taylor, and the center by Clark. The divisions approached the town separately. Near Hawk's Creek, on the west, Taylor fell in with an Indian camp, and a skirmish ensued. The Indians retreated toward the town, and Taylor pressed forward to get possession of a strong trading station called the

¹ Brown's authority was a letter which Cornwallis had sent to the commanders of all the British outposts, ordering that all those who had "taken part in the revolt should be punished with the utmost rigor; and also that those who would not turn out should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." Every militia-man who had borne arms in the king's service, and afterward joined the Whigs, was to be "immediately hanged." This letter was a foul stain upon the character of Cornwallis. It was a "lash of scorpions" in the hands of cruel men like Brown. "Officers, soldiers, and citizens," says M'Call (ii., 319), were brought up to the place of execution, without being informed why they had been taken out of prison. The next morning after this sanguinary order reached Augusta, five victims were taken from the jail by order of Colonel Brown, who all expired on the gibbet.

² Fort Cornwallis occupied the ground in the rear of the Episcopal church, now a grave-yard. This view is from within the inclosure, looking northeast, and includes a portion of Schultz's bridge, the Savannah River, and Hamburg upon the opposite bank. In the foreground is seen portions of the church-yard wall, and upon the brink of the river below are negroes employed in placing bales of cotton upon the wharves for transportation to the sea-coast. The wharves are two stories in height, one to be used at low water, the other when the river is "up." There were remains of the ditch and embankments of the fort within the grave-yard when I was there; and the trench leading to the water-gate, where the "Pride-of-India" tree is seen, was very visible.

Skirmish at the White House.

Brown wounded.

Defeat of the Americans.

Fate of Prisoners.

White House, a mile and a half west of the town. The Indians reached it first, and were joined by a company of King's Rangers, under Captain Johnson. Ignorant of the approach of other parties, Brown and Grierson went to the aid of Johnson and the Indians. While absent, the few men left in garrison were surprised by Clark and M-Call, and Forts Cornwallis and Grierson fell into their hands. A guard was left to take charge of the prisoners and effects in the fort, and Clark, with the remainder, hastened to the assistance of Taylor. Brown and Grierson, perceiving their peril, took shelter in the *White House*. The Americans tried in vain to dislodge them. A desultory fire was kept up from eleven o'clock in the morning until dark, when hostilities ceased. During the night the besieged cast up a slight breast-work around the house, made loop-holes in the building for musketry, and thus materially strengthened their position. Early in the morning,^a Clark ordered two field-pieces to be brought from Grierson's redoubt, to be placed in a position to cannonade the *White House*. They were of little service, for Captain Martin, of South Carolina, the only artillerist among the besiegers, was killed soon after the pieces were brought to bear upon the building.

No impression was made upon the enemy during the fifteenth. On that morning, before daylight, the Americans drove a body of Indians from the river bank, and thus cut off the supply of water for those in the house. Colonel Brown and others had been severely wounded, and now suffered great agony from thirst. On the night of the fifteenth, fifty Cherokee Indians, well armed, crossed the river to re-enforce Brown, but were soon repulsed. Little was done on the sixteenth, and on the seventeenth Clark summoned Brown to surrender. He promptly refused; for, having sent a messenger to Colonel Cruger at Ninety-Six, on the morning when the Americans appeared before Augusta, Brown confidently expected relief from that quarter. Nor was he disappointed. On the night of the seventeenth, Clark's scouts informed him of the approach of Colonel Cruger with five hundred British regulars and Loyalists, and on the morning of the eighteenth this force appeared upon the opposite side of the river. Clark's little army was greatly diminished by the loss of men who had been killed and wounded, and the desertion of many with plunder found in the forts. At ten o'clock he raised the siege, and departed toward the mountains. The American loss on this occasion was about sixty killed and wounded; that of the British is not known. Twenty of the Indians were killed. Captain Ashby and twenty-eight others were made prisoners. Upon these Brown and his Indian allies glutted their thirst for revenge. Captain Ashby and twelve of the wounded were hanged upon the stair-way of the *White House*, so that the commandant might have the satisfaction of seeing their sufferings. Others were given up to the Indians to torture, scalp, and slay. Terrible were the demoniac acts at Augusta on that beautiful autumnal day, when the white and the red savage contended for the meed of cruelty!

The British remained in possession of Augusta until the spring and summer of 1781, when their repose was disturbed. After the battle at Guilford Court House, and when the determination of Greene to march into South Carolina was made known, Clark and M-Call proceeded to co-operate with him by annoying the British posts in Georgia. M-Call soon afterward died of the small-pox, and Clark suffered from the same disease. After his recovery, he, with several other partisans, were actively engaged at various points between Savannah and Augusta, and had frequent skirmishes with the British and Tory scouts. In an engagement near Coosawhatchie, in Beaufort District, South Carolina, where Colonel Brown then commanded, the Americans were defeated; and several who were taken prisoners were hanged, and their bodies given to the Indians to scalp and otherwise mutilate.¹

¹ Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was a young man named M'Koy, the son of a widow, who, with her family, had fled from Darien, in Georgia, into South Carolina. She went to Brown and implored the life of her son, who was only seventeen years of age. The miscreant's heart was unmoved, and the lad was not only hanged, but his body was delivered to the Indians to mutilate by scalping and otherwise. All this occurred in the presence of the mother. Afterward, when Brown, as a prisoner, passed where Mrs. M'Koy resided, she called to his remembrance his cruelty, and said, "As you are now a prisoner to the leaders of my country, for the present I lay aside all thoughts of revenge but if you resume your

Siege of Augusta.

Colonel Pickens.

This was Brown's common practice, and made his name as hateful at the South as that of "Bloody Bill Cunningham."

On the sixteenth of April,^a the Georgia militia, under Colonels Williams, Baker, and Hammond, Major James Jackson (afterward governor of the state), and other officers, assembled near Augusta, and placed the garrison in a state of siege. Williams, who had the general command during Clark's sickness, encamped within twelve hundred yards of Forts Cornwallis and Grierson, and fortified his camp. Colonel Brown, who was again in command at Augusta, deceived respecting the numbers of the Americans, dared not attack them; and in this position the respective forces remained until the middle of May, when Clark came with one hundred new recruits and resumed the command. About that time, Major Dill approached Augusta with a party of Loyalists to force the Americans to raise the siege. A detachment of Carolina mountaineers and Georgians, under Shelby and Carr, sent by Clark, met them at Walker's bridge, on Brier Creek, killed and wounded several, also a re-enforcement of men.



al, and dispersed the rest. Other little successes made the Americans at Augusta feel so strong that Clark determined to attempt an assault. An old iron five pounder, which he had picked up, was mounted within four hundred yards of Fort Grierson, and other dispositions for an attack were made. Powder was scarce, and he sent a message to Colonel Pickens,^b who was maneuvering between Augusta and Fort Ninety-Six, asking for a supply, and

Pickens could not immediately comply, for the Indians having recommenced hostilities on the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina, he had sent part of his force in that direction. Perceiving the importance of seizing Augusta, Pickens informed Greene of the situation of affairs there. That general, then advancing upon Ninety-Six, immediately ordered Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, to join Pickens and Clark in besieging Augusta. The rapid march of Lee, the capture of Fort Galphin and its stores, and his arrival at Augusta, have been noticed on page 691.

The capture of Fort Galphin^b was an important prelude to the siege of Au-

^b May 21, 1781.

sword, I will go five hundred miles to demand satisfaction at the point of it for the murder of my son.—See M'Call's *Georgia*, ii., 365; Garden's *Anecdotes*.

¹ Andrew Pickens was born in Paxton township, Pennsylvania, on the nineteenth of September, 1739. His parents were from Ireland. In 1752, he removed, with his father, to the Waxhaw settlement, in South Carolina. He served as a volunteer in Grant's expedition against the Cherokees, in which he took his first lessons in the art of war. He became a warm Republican when the Revolution broke out, and, as we have seen in preceding pages of this work, he was one of the most active of the military partisans of the South. From the close of the war until 1794, he was a member of the South Carolina Legislature, when he was elected to a seat in Congress. He was commissioned major general of the South Carolina militia in 1795, and was often a commissioner to treat with the Indians. President Washington offered him a brigade of light troops under General Wayne, to serve against the Indians in the northwest, but he declined the honor. He died at his seat in Pendleton District, South Carolina—the scene of his earliest battles—on the seventeenth of August, 1817, at the age of seventy-eight years. His remains lie by the side of his wife (who died two years before), in the grave-yard of the "Old Stone Meeting-house" in Pendleton. In 1765, he married Rebecca Calhoun, aunt of the late John C. Calhoun, one of the most beautiful young ladies of the South. Mrs. Ellet, in her *Women of the Revolution* (iii., 302), gives some interesting sketches of this lady and her life during the Revolution. Her relatives and friends were very numerous, and her marriage was attended by a great number. "Rebecca Calhoun's wedding" was an epoch in the social history of the district in which she resided, and old people used it as a point to reckon from.

Junction of American Troops before Augusta.

Plan of Attack.

Mayham Tower.

The Garrison subdued.

gusta, for it deprived Colonel Brown of a considerable body of reserved troops and of valuable stores. The latter were of great importance to Greene, then approaching Ninety-Six. After the capture of this redoubt, Lee allowed his troops to repose a few hours, and then ordered Major Eggleston, with Captains O'Neal and Armstrong, to cross the Savannah with the cavalry, a little below Augusta, and join Pickens and Clark. On the same evening, Lee, with the field-piece of Captain Finley, crossed the river, and on the morning of the twenty-third joined the besiegers.



Eggleston, on his arrival, summoned Brown to surrender, at the same time informing him of the approach of a strong force from General Greene's army. Brown did not credit the information, treated the flag with contempt, and declined giving a written answer. Lee had now arrived, and an immediate assault on Fort Grierson was determined upon. The first measure attempted was to cut off his retreat to Fort Cornwallis. Pickens and Clark were to attack Fort Grierson on the northwest, with the militia; Major Eaton's battalions and some Georgia militia, under Major Jackson, were to pass down the river and attack it on the northeast; while Lee, with his infantry, took a position south of the fort, so as to support Eaton, or check Brown if he should make a sortie in favor of Grierson. In the skirt of the woods south of Lee, Eggleston, with the cavalry, was stationed. When Brown discovered the peril of Grierson, he made a sortie with two field-pieces, but was soon checked by Lee. Grierson, at the same time, endeavored to evacuate his redoubt, and attempt to throw his command into Fort Cornwallis. Passing down the ravine on the margin of the lagoon, some of the garrison effected their purpose; but thirty of them were slain, and forty five were wounded and taken prisoners. Grierson was captured, but was instantly killed by a Georgia rifleman, who, on account of cruelties inflicted upon his family by his victim, could not be restrained from dealing a blow of vengeance.¹ In this assault Major Eaton was slain.

The Americans now turned their attention to Fort Cornwallis. They were without artillery, except the old iron piece in possession of Clark, and Finley's grasshopper; and their rifles had but little effect upon the fort. Lee suggested the erection of a Mayham tower, which was used so efficiently at Fort Watson and Ninety-Six. This was done, under cover of an old frame house which stood directly in front of the present Episcopal church. This procedure made Brown uneasy, and on the night of the twenty-eighth he sent out a detachment to drive the Americans from their labor. After a severe skirmish, the enemy were driven into the fort at the point of the bayonet. On the succeeding night, a similar attempt was made, with the same result. The tower was completed on the first of June, and for its destruction Brown used every effort in his power. Sallies were made under cover of night, and some severe conflicts ensued. He tried stratagem,² and failed in that.

On the thirty-first of May, Brown was summoned to surrender. He refused, and that night a six pounder, brought from Fort Grierson, was placed in battery on the tower. Toward noon, riflemen stationed upon it opened a galling fire upon the garrison, which was continued throughout the day. The guns were soon unmanned by the rifle balls, and the six pounder dismounted them. The garrison dug vaults within the fort to save themselves from the murderous fire of the assailants, and thus the siege went on until the morning of the fourth,³ when a general assault was agreed upon. While the Americans were forming for attack, Brown, perceiving the maintenance of his post to be im-

¹ This rifleman was Captain Samuel Alexander, whose aged father had been a prisoner in Fort Cornwallis for some time, and was cruelly treated by both Brown and Grierson. The son was the deliverer of his father soon after he dispatched Grierson.

² Brown opened a communication with a house in front of the tower, and placed a quantity of powder in it. He then sent a Scotchman, under the cloak of a deserter, who advised the Americans to burn that old house, as it stood in their way. Had they done so, the explosion of the powder might have destroyed the tower. Lee suspected the man, and had him confined. Brown finally applied a slow match and blew up the house, but the tower was unharmed.

Surrender of the Forts at Augusta.

Liberty Hill.

Departure for Savannah.

A Night Journey.

possible, sent out a flag and offered to make a conditional surrender to Pickens and Lee. The day was spent in negotiations, and early the next morning the fort was surrendered to Captain Rudolph, who was appointed to take possession. The garrison marched out and laid down their arms, and Brown and his fellow-prisoners were paroled to Savannah under a sufficient guard, who marched down the river on the Carolina side.¹ Pickens and Lee soon hastened to the aid of Greene, then investing Ninety-Six. In this siege of Augusta, the Americans had sixteen killed and thirty-five wounded; seven of them mortally. The loss of the British was fifty-two killed; and three hundred and thirty-four, including the wounded, were made prisoners of war.² The British never had possession of Augusta after this event.

Let us close the chronicle for a while.

It was toward noon when we descended Liberty Hill, looked in upon the slave-market at Hamburg (the first and last I ever saw), and crossed Shultz's bridge to Augusta. After dinner I visited the site of Fort Cornwallis, and made the sketch on page 715; also the site of Fort Grierson, of which no vestiges remain. The rivulet is still there, and the marshy lagoon on the brink of the river; but the "gully" mentioned in the local histories was filled, and houses and gardens covered the site of the redoubt and its ravelins. At the office of the mayor, I saw (and was permitted to copy) a sketch of the proposed monument to be erected in the middle of the broad and beautifully shaded Greene Street, directly in front of the City Hall, in honor of the Georgia Signers of the Declaration of Independence. It is to be a granite obelisk, forty-five feet in height, composed of square blocks of stone. The base of the obelisk will be six feet eight inches square at the bottom, and gradually tapered to the top. It will rest upon a base twelve feet eight inches square, elevated two feet above the ground. The corner-stone is already laid, and it is to be hoped that another will soon be added to the few monuments already erected to the memory of Revolutionary patriots.

I left Augusta on the evening of the twenty-fifth with real regret, for the beauty of the city, ornamented with water-oaks, wild olives, holly, palmettoes, magnolias, and other evergreens; the gardens blooming; the orange-trees budding in the bland air, and the courtesy of the citizens whom I met, wooed me to a longer tarry. But "home, sweet home," beckoned me away, and at eight o'clock I entered a mail-coach, with a single fellow-passenger, for a ride of fifty-two miles to the "Ninety-mile Station," on the Great Central Railway. I had a pleasant companion while he kept awake, and we whiled away the tedious night hours by agreeable conversation until we reached Waynesborough,³ where we exchanged horses and the mails. After leaving the village, I endeavored to sleep. My companion complained that he never could slumber in a coach; and I presume his loud snoring always keeps him awake, for in ten minutes after leaving the post-office his nasal pipes were chanting bass to the alto of the coach-wheels.

We breakfasted at sunrise at a log-house in the forest, and arrived at the rail-way, on the upper border of Severn county, near the banks of the Great Ogeechee, at eleven o'clock, where we dined, and at one departed for Savannah. Swamps, plantations, and forests, with scarcely a hill, or even an undulation, compose the monotonous scenery. While enjoying the pleasing anticipation of an early arrival in Savannah, our locomotive became disabled by the breaking of a piston-rod. We were yet forty miles from our goal, in the midst of a vast swamp, ten miles from any habitation, near the road. The sun went down; the twilight faded away, and yet we were immovable. At intervals the engineer managed to start his steed and travel a short distance, and then stop. Thus we crawled along, and at eleven

¹ The brother of young M'Koy, who was hanged and scalped by Brown's orders, and who, thirsting for revenge, had joined Clark before Augusta, endeavored to kill Brown, but was prevented by the guard. It was during this march to Savannah, when at Silver Bluff, that Brown encountered Mrs. M'Koy, as related on page 716.

² M'Call, ii., 370; Lee, 238; Ramsay, ii., 238.

³ Waynesborough is the capital of Burke county. It is upon a branch of Brier Creek, about thirty-five miles above the place of General Ashe's defeat.

Detention in a Swamp.

Picturesque Scenery.

Savannah.

Greene and Pulaski Monument

o'clock at night we reached the thirty mile station, where we supped at the expense of the rail way company. At our haltings we started light-wood fires, whose blaze amid the tall trees draped with moss, the green cane-brakes, and the dry oases, garnished with dwarf palmettoes, produced the most picturesque effects. A hand-car was sent down to Savannah for another engine, and at six o'clock in the morning we entered that city. I breakfasted at the *Pulaski House*, a large building fronting upon Johnson Square, amid whose noble trees stands a monument erected by the citizens of Savannah to the memory of General Greene and the Count Pulaski.¹

Savannah is pleasantly situated upon a sand-bluff, some forty feet above low-water-mark, sloping toward swamps and savannahs, at a lower altitude in the interior. It is upon the south side of the river, about eighteen miles from the ocean. The city is laid out in rectangles, and has ten public squares. The streets are generally broad and well shaded, some of them with four rows of *Pride-of-India* trees, which, in summer, add greatly to the beauty of the city and comfort of the inhabitants. Be-



GREENE AND PULASKI MONUMENT.

efforts at settlement, which some believe to be well authenticated, namely, that Sir Walter Raleigh, when on his way to the Orinoco, in South America, entered the Savannah River, and upon the bluff where the city now stands stood and talked with the Indian king.¹ There are reasonable doubts of the truth of this statement.

As late as 1730, the territory lying between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers was entirely uninhabited by white people. On the south the Spaniards held possession, and on the west the French had Louisiana, while the region under consideration, partially filled with powerful Indian tribes, was claimed by Great Britain. To prevent France and Spain from occupying it (for the latter already began to claim territory even north of the Savannah), and as a protection to the Carolina planters against the encroachments of their hostile neighbors, various schemes of emigration thither were proposed, but without being effected. Finally, in 1729, General James Oglethorpe, a valorous soldier and humane Christian, then a member of Parliament, made a proposition in that body for the founding of a colony to be composed of poor persons who were confined for debt and minor offenses in the prisons

fore noting the localities of interest in Savannah and suburbs, let us open the interesting pages of its history, and note their teachings respecting Georgia in general, and of the capital in particular, whose foundations were laid by General Oglethorpe.

We have already considered the events which led to the settlement of the Carolinas, within whose charter limits Georgia was originally included, and we will here refer only to the single circumstance connected with the earlier

¹ In March, 1825, at a meeting of the citizens of Savannah, it was determined to take the occasion of the expected visit of General La Fayette to that city to lay the corner-stones of two monuments, one to the memory of Greene, in Johnson Square; the other in memory of Pulaski, in Chippewa Square. These corner-stones were accordingly laid by La Fayette on the twenty-first of March, 1825. Some donations were made; and in November, 1826, the State Legislature authorized a lottery, for the purpose of raising \$35,000 to complete the monuments. The funds were accumulated very slowly, and it was finally resolved to erect one monument, to be called the "Greene and Pulaski Monument." The structure here delineated is of Georgia marble upon a granite base, and was completed in 1829. The lottery is still in operation, and since this monument was completed has realized a little more than \$12,000.—*Bancroft's Census and Statistics of Savannah*, 1848. The second monument, a beautiful work of art, will soon be erected in Chippewa Square. Launitz, the sculptor, of New York, is intrusted with its construction.

² See M'Call's *History of Georgia*, note, i., 34.

Oglethorpe's Colonial Plan.

Charter for Georgia.

First Emigrants.

Interview with the Indian King.

of England.¹ He instituted an inquiry into their condition, which resulted in the conviction that their situation would be more tolerable in the position of a military colony, acting as a barrier between the Carolinians and their troublesome neighbors, than in the moral contamination and physical miseries of prison life. The class of persons whom he designed to transplant to America were not wicked criminals, but chiefly insolvent debtors. Oglethorpe also proposed to make the new colony an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of Germany and other Continental states, and in this religious idea he included the pious thought of spiritual benefit to the Indian tribes. The Earl of Shaftesbury (the fourth bearing that title) and other influential men warmly espoused the scheme, and a general enthusiasm upon the subject soon pervaded the nation. A royal charter was obtained in 1732 for twenty-one years;² large sums were subscribed by individuals; and in the course of two years, Parliament voted one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in support of the scheme.⁴

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.³

Oglethorpe volunteered to act as governor of the new colony, and to accompany the settlers to their destination. Accordingly, in November, 1732, he embarked with one hundred and twenty emigrants, and in fifty-seven days arrived off the bar of Charleston. He was warmly welcomed by the Carolinians, and on the thirteenth of January he sailed for Port Royal. While the colonists were landing, Oglethorpe, with a few followers, proceeded southward, ascended the Savannah River to the high bluff, and there selected a spot for a city, the capital of the future state. With the Yamacraw Indians, half a mile from this bluff, dwelt *Tomo Chichi*, the grand sachem of the Indian confederacy of that region. Oglethorpe and the chief both desired friendly relations; and when the former invited the latter to his tent, *Tomo Chichi* came, bearing in his hand a small buffalo skin, appropriately ornamented, and addressed Oglethorpe in eloquent and conciliatory terms.⁵ Friendly rela-

¹ In 1728, Oglethorpe's attention was drawn to the condition of debtors in prison by visiting a gentleman confined in the Fleet Jail, who was heavily ironed and harshly treated. He obtained a parliamentary commission to inquire into the state of debtor-prisoners throughout England, of which he was made chairman. They reported in 1729, and efforts at reform were immediately made. The most popular proposition was that of Oglethorpe, to use the prison materials for founding a new state in America.

² This charter was unlike all that had preceded it. Instead of being given for purposes of private advantage, as a money speculation, it was so arranged that the administrators of the affairs of the new colony could derive no profit from it whatever; they acted solely "in trust for the poor." It was purely a benevolent scheme. They were to manage the affairs of the colony for twenty-one years, after which it was to revert to the crown. In honor of the king, who gave the scheme his hearty approval, the territory included within the charter was called Georgia. The seal of the new province bore a representation of a group of silk-worms at work, with the motto *Non sibi, sed aliis*—"Not for themselves, but for others."

³ James Edward Oglethorpe was born in Surrey, England, on the twenty-first of December, 1698. He entered the army at an early age, and served under Prince Eugene as his aid-de-camp. He was for many years a member of Parliament, and while in that position successfully advocated a scheme for colonizing Georgia. He founded Savannah in 1733. In prosecution of his benevolent enterprise, he crossed the ocean several times. He performed a good deal of military service in Georgia and Florida. He returned to England in 1743, and was married in 1744. In 1745, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier in the British army, and in 1747 to major general. He was employed, under the Duke of Cumberland, against the Pretender, during 1745. When General Gage went to England in 1775, the supreme command of the British army in North America was offered to Oglethorpe. His merciful conditions did not please ministers, and General Howe received the appointment. He died at Grantham Hall, on the thirtieth of June, 1785, at the age of eighty-seven years, and was buried in Grantham Church, Essex, where his tomb bears a poetic epitaph.

⁴ Graham, iii., 180-184.

⁵ "Here," said the chief, "is a little present; I give you a Buffalo's skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an Eagle, which I desire you to accept, because the Eagle is an emblem of speed, and the Buffalo of strength. The English are swift as the bird, and strong as the beast, since, like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth; and like the latter, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them. The feathers of an Eagle are soft, and signify love; the Buffalo's skin is warm, and signifies protection; therefore, I hope the English will love and protect our little families."

Founding of Savannah.

Progress of the Colony.

Methodists.

Defenses against the Spaniards.

tions were established, and on the twelfth of February^a the little band of settlers came from Port Royal and landed at the site of the future city of Savannah.

For almost a year the governor lived under a tent stretched upon pine boughs, while the streets of the town were laid out, and the people built their houses of timber, each twenty-four by sixteen feet in size. In May following, a treaty with the Indian chiefs of the country was held; and on the first of June, it was signed, by which the English obtained sovereignty over the lands of the Creek nation, as far south as the St. John's, in Florida. Such was the beginning of one of the original thirteen states of our confederacy.

Within eight years after the founding of Savannah, twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent out to Georgia, at an expense of four hundred thousand dollars.¹ Among these were one hundred and fifty Highlanders, well disciplined in military tactics, who were of essential service to Oglethorpe. Very strict moral regulations were adopted;² lots of land, twenty-five acres each, were granted to men for military services, and every care was exercised to make the settlers comfortable. Yet discontent soon prevailed, for they saw the Carolinians growing rich by traffic in negroes; they also saw them prosper commercially by trade with the West Indies. They complained of the Wesleyans as too rigid, and these pious Methodists left the colony and returned home. Still, prosperity did not smile upon the settlers, and a failure of the scheme was anticipated.

Oglethorpe, who went to England in 1734, returned in 1736, with three hundred emigrants. A storm was gathering upon the southern frontier of his domain. The Spaniards at St. Augustine regarded the rising state with jealousy, and as a war between England and Spain was anticipated, vigilance was necessary. Oglethorpe resolved to maintain the claim of Great Britain south to the banks of the St. John's, and the Highlanders, settled



RUINS OF OGLETHORPE'S BARRACKS AT FREDERICA.

at Darien, volunteered to aid him. With a few followers, he hastened in a scout-boat to St. Simon's Island, where he laid the foundations of Frederica, and upon the bluff near by he constructed a fort of *tabby*,³ the ruins of which may still be seen there. He also caused forts to be erected at Augusta, Darien, on Cumberland Island, and near the mouth of the St. Mary's and St. John's. Perceiving these hostile preparations, the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine sent commissioners to confer with Oglethorpe.

They demanded the evacuation of the whole of Georgia, and even of the region north of the Savannah to St. Helena Sound. This demand was accompanied by a menace of war in the event of non-compliance. Thus matters stood for several months.

In the winter of 1736-7, Oglethorpe again went to England, where he received the commission of brigadier general, with a command extending over South Carolina as well as

¹ Among those who went to Georgia during this period were John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the Methodist sect. Also in 1733, quite a large body of Moravians, on the invitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, left the Old Continent for the New, and pitched their tents near Savannah, after a long voyage. They soon made their way up the Savannah to a beautiful stream, where they settled down permanently, and called the creek and their settlement, Ebenezer, a name which they still bear.

Whitfield came in 1740, and established an orphan-house at Savannah. He sustained it for a while, by contributions drawn from the people of the several provinces by his eloquence; but when he was asleep in the soil of New England, it failed. All Christians were admitted to equal citizenship, except Roman Catholics; they were not allowed a residence there.

² The importation of rum was prohibited, and, to prevent a contraband trade in the article, commercial intercourse with the West Indies was forbidden. The importation of negroes was also forbidden.

³ Tabby is a mixture of lime with oyster-shells and gravel, which, when dry, form a hard rocky mass.

⁴ This is from a sketch made by W. W. Hazzard, Esq., in 1851. Mr. Hazzard writes: "These ruins stand on the left bank or bluff of the south branch of the Altamaha River, on the west side of St. Simon's Island, where the steamers pass from Savannah to Florida." This fort was a scene of hostilities during the war of the Revolution, and also that of 1812; and is one of the most interesting military relics of our country. Mr. Hazzard states that, in his field in the rear of it, his men always turn up "bomb-shells and hollow shot whenever they plow there." The whole remains are upon his plantation at West Point.

Expedition against St. Augustine.

Return of Oglethorpe to England.

Georgia a Royal province.

Georgia. There he remained a year and a half, when he returned to his colony with a regiment of six hundred men to act against the Spaniards. England declared war against Spain in the latter part of 1739, and Oglethorpe immediately planned an expedition against St. Augustine. The St. Mary's was then considered (as it remains) the boundary between Georgia and Florida. Over that line Oglethorpe marched in May, 1740, with four hundred of his regiment, some Carolinians, and a large body of friendly Indians. He captured a Spanish fort within twenty-five miles of St. Augustine. A small fortress, within two miles of that place, was surrendered on his approach, but a summons to give up the town was answered by defiant words. The invaders maintained a siege for some time, when the arrival of re-enforcements for the garrison, and the prevalence of sickness in the camp, obliged them to withdraw and return to Savannah.^a

In 1742, the Spaniards invaded Georgia. A fleet of thirty-six sail, with more than three thousand troops from Havana and St. Augustine, entered the harbor of St. Si-
 mons,^b and a little above the town of the same name, erected a battery of twenty
 guns. Oglethorpe, with eight hundred men, exclusive of Indians, was then on the island. He withdrew to his fort at Frederica, and anxiously awaited re-enforcements from Carolina. He skirmished successfully with attacking parties, and arranged for a night assault upon the enemy's battery. A deserter (a French soldier) defeated his plan; but the sagacity of Oglethorpe used the miscreant's agency to his subsequent advantage, by bribing a Spanish prisoner to carry a letter to the deserter, containing information that a British fleet was about to attack St. Augustine. Of course the letter was handed to the Spanish commander, who arrested the Frenchman as a spy. The intelligence contained in Oglethorpe's letter alarmed the garrison, and the Spaniards determined to assail the English immediately, and then return to St. Augustine as speedily as possible. On their march to the attack of Frederica, they fell into an ambuscade. Great slaughter ensued, and they retreated precipitately. The place of conflict is called Bloody Marsh to this day. On their retreat, by water, they attacked Fort William, at the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, but were repulsed with loss. The expedition was disastrous to the Spaniards in every particular, and the commander was tried by a court-martial at Havana, and dismissed from the service in disgrace.

After ten years of service in and for the colony of Georgia, Oglethorpe returned to England, and his feet never again pressed the soil of America. His rule had been chiefly military. A civil government was now established,^c under the control of a president
 and council, who were instructed to administer it as the trustees should dictate. Pros-
 perity did not yet gladden the settlers, and the colony had a sickly existence. At length the moral and commercial restrictions began to be evaded; slaves were brought from Carolina, and hired first for a few years, and then for a hundred years, or during life. This was equivalent to a purchase, and was so considered by the parties; for a sum, equal to the value of the slave, was paid in advance. Finally, slave ships came directly to Savannah from Africa; slave labor was generally introduced, and Georgia, like Carolina, became a planting state. In 1752, the trustees, wearied with the complaints of the colonists, resigned the charter into the hands of the king, and from that period until the war of the Revolution, Georgia was a royal province.¹ When the treaty of Paris in 1763 guaranteed, as far as possible, general peace in America, the province, for the first time, began to flourish and take an important place among the Anglo-American colonies; and in the hostilities against the Indians on the frontiers, its people performed their part well in furnishing provisions and men for the armies.

The inhabitants of Georgia first began to feel the hand of British taxation, when, in 1767, Governor Wright communicated his instructions from the king to require implicit obe-

¹ John Reynolds was the first royal governor. He was appointed in 1754, and was succeeded in 1757 by Henry Ellis. Sir James Wright, who was the last royal governor of Georgia, succeeded Ellis in 1760, and held the office until 1776.

dience to the Mutiny Act.¹ They were compelled to acquiesce, but it was with reluctance. They had not realized the practical iniquity of the Stamp Act; and when, in 1768, the Assembly at Savannah appointed Dr. Franklin an agent to attend to the interests of the colony in Great Britain, they had no formal special complaint to make, nor difficulties with government for him to adjust. They generally instructed him to use efforts to have the acts of Parliament repealed, which were offensive to all the colonies. To a circular letter

• 1768. from the speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly,^a proposing a union of the colonies, an answer of approval was returned. In 1770,^b the Legislature spoke out boldly

• Feb., 1770. against the oppressive acts of the mother country, by publishing a Declaration of Rights, similar in sentiment to that of the "Stamp Act Congress" at New York. Governor Wright was displeased, and viewing the progress of revolutionary principles within

• 1771. his province with concern, he went to England^c to confer with ministers. He remained there about a year and a half. During his absence, James Habersham, president of the council, exercised executive functions.

The Republicans of Georgia had become numerous in 1773, and committees of correspondence were early formed, and acted efficiently. A meeting of the friends of liberty was called in Savannah in the autumn of that year, but Sir James Wright, supported by a train of civil officers, prevented the proposed public expression of opinion. The wealthy feared loss of property by Revolutionary movements, while the timid trembled at the thought of resistance to royal government. Selfishness and fear kept the people comparatively quiet for a while. In the mean time, a powerful Tory party was organizing in South Carolina and in Georgia, and emissaries were sent by the governors of these provinces among the Indians on the frontiers, to prepare them to lift the hatchet and go out upon the war-path against the white people, if rebellion should ensue. Such was the condition of Georgia when called upon to appoint representatives in the Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia in 1774. Half encircled by fierce savages, and pressed down by the heel of strongly-supported royal power in their midst, the Republicans needed stout hearts and unbending resolution. These they possessed; and in the midst of difficulties they were bold, and adopted measures of co-operation with the other colonies in resistance to tyranny.

On the fourteenth of July,^d the Sons of Liberty were requested to assemble at the • 1774. "liberty pole at Tondee's tavern," in Savannah, on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh instant, in order that public matters may be taken under consideration, and such other *constitutional measures* pursued as may then appear most eligible."^e The call was signed by Noble W. Jones (who in 1780 was a prisoner in Charleston), Archibald Bullock, John Houstoun, and George Walton. A meeting was accordingly held at the watch-house in Sa-

• July 27, 1774. vannah,^e where letters from Northern committees were read, and a committee to draft resolutions was appointed.^f These proceedings were published, and the gov-

• August. ernor, alarmed at the progress of rebellion around him, issued a countervailing proclamation.^f He called upon the people to discountenance these seditious men and measures, and menaced the disobedient with the penalties of stern British law.

On the tenth of August another meeting was held, when it was resolved to concur with their sister colonies in acts of resistance to oppression. After strongly condemning the Boston Port Bill, they appointed a committee to receive subscriptions for the suffering peo-

¹ A proviso of this act, as we have elsewhere noticed, required the colonists to provide various necessities for soldiers that might be quartered among them.

² The first liberty-pole was erected in Savannah, on the fifth of June, 1775, in front of Peter Tondee's tavern. His house stood upon the spot now (1849) occupied by Smet's new stores. ³ M'Call, ii., 16.

⁴ John Glenn was chosen chairman of the meeting. The following-named gentlemen were appointed the committee to prepare the resolutions: John Glenn, John Smith, Joseph Clay, John Houstoun, Noble W. Jones, Lyman Hall, William Young, Edward Telfair, Samuel Farley, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Jonathan Bryan, Jonathan Cochran, George M'Intosh, Sutton Banks, William Gibbons, Benjamin Andrew, John Winn, John Sirk, Archibald Bullock, James Scriven, David Zubley, Henry Davis Bourguin, Elisha Butler, William Baker, Parminus Way, John Baker, John Mann, John Benefield, John Stacey, and John Morel. These were the leading Sons of Liberty at Savannah in 1774.

Contributions for Boston.	Tory Influence.	Whig Boldness.	Spiking of Cannon.	Tar and Feathers.
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ple of that city, and within a few hours after the adjournment of the meeting, five hundred and seventy-five barrels of rice were contributed and shipped for Massachusetts. The governor assembled his friends at the court-house a few days afterward, and their disapprobation of the conduct of the Republicans was expressed in strong terms. Agents were sent throughout the province to obtain the signatures of the people to a printed denunciation of the Whigs; and, by means of menaces and promises, an apparent majority of the inhabitants declared in favor of royal rule.¹ So powerfully did the tide of opposition against the Whigs flow for a while, that they did not appoint delegates to the Continental Congress, which convened in Philadelphia in September, and Georgia was not represented in that first Federal Republican council,² yet they heartily approved of the measure, and by words and actions nobly responded to that first great resolution, adopted by the Continental Congress on the eighth of October, 1774,³ which approved of the resistance of Massachusetts.

The Republicans continued to assemble during the winter of 1774-5, and in May following they determined to anticipate an act on the part of Governor Wright similar to that of Gage at Boston. Accordingly, on the night of the eleventh of May,⁴ six of the members of the Council of Safety,⁵ and others, broke open the magazine,⁶ took out the powder, sent a portion of it to Beaufort, South Carolina, and concealed the remainder in their garrets and cellars. The governor offered a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the apprehension of the offenders, but the secret was never revealed till the patriots used the powder in defense of their liberties.

On the first of June, Governor Wright and the Loyalists of Savannah prepared to celebrate the king's birth-day. On the night of the second, some of the leading Whigs spiked the cannon on the battery, and hurled them to the bottom of the bluff. Nineteen days afterward, a meeting was called for the purpose of choosing a committee to enforce the requirements of the *American Association*, put forth by the Congress of 1774.⁶ The first victim to his temerity in opposing the operations of the committee was a man named Hopkins. He ridiculed the Whigs, and they, in turn, gave him a coat of tar and feathers, and paraded him in a cart through the town for four or five hours. About this time, a letter from Governor Wright to General Gage was intercepted by the vigilant Whigs of Charles-

¹ The only newspaper in the province (the *Georgia Gazette*, established in 1762) was under the control of Governor Wright, and through it he disseminated much sophistry, and sometimes falsehoods among the people.

² The committees of St. John's parish convened on the ninth of February, 1775, and addressed a circular letter to the committees of other colonies, asking their consent to the reception of a representative in Congress from that particular parish. Encouraged by the answer they received, they met again on the twenty-first of March, and appointed Dr. Lyman Hall to represent them. When he went to Philadelphia, he took with him, from Sunbury, one hundred and sixty barrels of rice, and two hundred and fifty dollars, as a present to the people of Boston.

³ The whole record of the proceedings of Congress on that day is as follows:

"Saturday, October 8, 1774.—The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from Boston, and, upon motion,

Resolved, That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition."

The proceedings of that one day should be written in brass and marble; for the resolution then adopted was the first Federal gauntlet of defiance cast at the feet of the British monarch. The eighth of October, 1774, should be placed by the side of the fourth of July, 1776, as one of the most sacred days in the calendar of Freedom.

⁴ These were Noble Wimberly Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, William Gibbons, Joseph Clay, and John Milledge.

⁵ The magazine was at the eastern extremity of the town. It was sunk about twelve feet under the ground, inclosed with brick, and secured by a door in such a way that the governor did not consider a guard necessary.

⁶ This committee consisted of sixteen leading men of Savannah, among whom was Samuel (afterward General) Elbert, and George Walton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

McCall (ii., 45) says that, after the meeting adjourned, "a number of gentlemen dined at Tondee's tavern, where the *Union flag* was hoisted upon the liberty-pole, and two pieces of artillery were placed under it." The *Union flag*, of thirteen red and white stripes, was not adopted until the first of January, 1776, when it was first unfurled in the American camp, near Boston.

Intercepted Letter.

Seizure of Powder.

Imprisonment of the Governor.

His Escape.

A Traitor.

ton. It contained a request for Gage to send some British troops to suppress the rebellious spirit of the Georgians.¹ The Republicans were exceedingly indignant; and when, a day or two afterward, it was known that Captain Maitland had arrived at Tybee Island, at the



SAVANNAH AND VICINITY.

mouth of the Savannah, with thirteen thousand pounds of powder and other articles for the British and Indians, it was determined to seize the vessel. The Georgia Assembly was then in session.² The leading Whigs approved of the enterprise, and on the night of the tenth of July, thirty volunteers, under Commodore Bowen and Colonel Joseph Habersham, embarked in two boats, took possession of the ship, discharged the crew, and placed the powder in the magazine in Savannah, except five thousand pounds, which they sent to the army then investing Boston, under General Washington.³ The Indian hostilities, which occurred at this time on the western

frontiers, we have considered in preceding chapters.

The spirit of resistance waxed stronger and stronger during the autumn of 1775. In January, 1776, it assumed a form of strength and determination hitherto unknown in Georgia. On the eighteenth of that month, Colonel Joseph Habersham,⁴ who was a member of the Assembly, raised a party of volunteers, took Governor Wright a prisoner, and paroled him to his own house,⁵ before which a sentinel was placed, and forbid all intercourse between him



Joseph Habersham

and persons inimical to the Republican cause. On the night of the eleventh of February,⁶ during a storm, the governor escaped from a back window of his house, with John Muloyne, and went down the river five miles, to Bonaventure, the residence of that gentleman. There a boat and crew were waiting for him, and he was conveyed to Tybee Sound, and took shelter on board the armed ship Scarborough.

Royal rule had now actually ceased

¹ The Secret Committee at Charleston, who intercepted this letter, placed another in the cover, with Governor Wright's name counterfeited, and sent it on to Gage. In that letter they said (as if Governor Wright was penning it), "I have wrote for troops to awe the people, but now there is no occasion for sending them, for the people are again come to some order." Gage was thus misled.

² They met on the fourth of July. On the fifteenth, they elected Archibald Bullock, John Houstoun, John Joachim Zubley, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, to represent that province in the Continental Congress. These were the first delegates elected by the representatives of the whole people, for Hall represented only the parish of St. John's. Fifty-three members signed their credentials. Zubley afterward became a traitor. While the subject of independence was being debated in 1776, Samuel Chase, of Maryland, accused Zubley of communicating with Governor Wright. Zubley denied the charge, but while Chase was collecting proof, the recusant fled.

³ One of the men engaged in this adventure was Ebenezer Smith Platt. He was afterward made a prisoner, and being recognized as one of this daring party, was sent to England, where he lay in jail many months, under a charge of high treason. He was eventually considered a prisoner of war, and was exchanged.

⁴ Joseph Habersham was the son of a merchant of Savannah, who died at New Brunswick, in New Jersey, in August, 1775. Joseph Habersham held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Continental army. In 1785, he was a member of Congress from Savannah; and in 1795, Washington appointed him postmaster general of the United States. He held that office until 1800, when he resigned. He was made president of the Branch Bank of the United States, at Savannah, in 1802, which position he held until his death, in November, 1815, at the age of sixty-five years. The name of his brother James, late President of the Council, appears upon the first bill of credit issued by the Provincial Congress of Georgia in 1776.

⁵ Governor Wright's house was on the lot in Heathcote Ward, where the *Telfair House* now stands. The Council House was on the lot where George Schlev. Esq., resided in 1849.

Congressional Delegates.	Savannah Menaced.	British Repulsed.	Party Lines.	Lee's Expedition.
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in Georgia, and the Assembly assumed governmental powers. They elected new delegates to the Continental Congress;^a passed a resolution to raise a battalion of Continental troops;^b and issued bills of credit in the form of certificates, and ordered them to be received at par in payment of debts and for merchandise. Feb. 4.

Governor Wright wrote a letter to the Assembly^c very conciliatory in its tone, but receiving no answer, he resolved to allow the armed vessels at the mouth of the river to force their way to the town, and procure such supplies as they needed. Eleven merchant vessels, laden with rice, were then at Savannah ready to sail. These were seized by the war ships, and Majors Maitland and Grant landed, with a considerable force, upon Hutchinson's Island, opposite Savannah, preparatory to an attack upon the town.^d The patriots were on the alert, and sent a flag to Maitland, warning him to desist. This flag was detained, and another was fired upon. Further parley was deemed unnecessary, and the next day two merchant vessels, lying in the stream, were set on fire by the patriots. Floating down to the one containing Maitland and Grant, with their men, great consternation was produced. Some of the soldiers jumped overboard and swam ashore; some stuck in the mud, and many lost their fire-arms; while the officers escaped in boats to Hutchinson's Island. At this critical moment, four hundred Carolinians, under Colonel Bull, arrived, and aided the Georgians in repulsing the assailants. Three of the merchant vessels were burned, six were dismantled, and two escaped to sea. Feb. 13.
March 6,
1776.

The breach between the Whigs and Tories was now too wide to be closed, and the line was very distinctly drawn by stringent measures on the part of the former.^e These tended to winnow the chaff from the wheat, and many Tories, possessed of no property, left Georgia and took refuge in East Florida, where Governor Tonyn was actively engaged in fitting out privateers to prey upon the infant commerce of the Southern colonists, and to ravage their coasts. The Tories there organized under the title of the *Florida Rangers*, and were led by Thomas Brown, the Augusta Loyalist, who afterward commanded the garrison at that place. A fort built by Governor Wright's brother, on the St. Mary's, was their place of rendezvous, whence they went out and levied terrible contributions, in the way of plunder, upon the people of Southern Georgia, who were thinly scattered over the country.

The war had now fairly commenced, and the flame of patriotism which burned so brightly at the North was not less intense in Georgia. The Declaration of Independence was received in Savannah^f with great joy.^g Pursuant to the recommendation of the Continental Congress, the people turned their attention to the organization of civil government, upon the basis of independence, and in strengthening their military power. To weaken the British and Tories in the South, an expedition against St. Augustine (then in possession of the English) was planned, and General Charles Lee, then at Charleston, was invited to take the command of troops that might be sent. Lee perceived the advantages to be derived from such a measure, and acquiescing, he immediately ordered Brigadier Robert Howe to proceed to Savannah with troops. Howe had marched as far as Sunbury, at the mouth of the Midway River,^h when sickness, want of artillery and August 10,
1776.

^a Archibald Bullock, John Houstoun, Lyman Hall, Button Gwinnett, and George Walton.

^b Lachlin M'Intosh was appointed colonel; Samuel Elbert, lieutenant colonel; and Joseph Habersham, major.

^c When the British first appeared in the attitude of assailants, the Committee of Safety appraised such houses in Savannah as were owned by Republicans, with the determination of applying the torch if they could not repulse the enemy. The houses of the Tories were not noticed; and therefore, in the event of a general conflagration, *their* property would not be accounted for.

^d Archibald Bullock, president of the council, convened that body, on the receipt of the Declaration (which came by express in thirty-five days from Philadelphia), when they ordered it to be publicly read in front of the council-chamber. There, under a military escort, the council proceeded to the liberty-pole, where they were saluted by thirteen cannon-peals and small arms from the first Continental battalion, under Colonel M'Intosh. Proceeding to the battery, another salute of thirteen guns was fired. The people then partook of a dinner in a grove, where thirteen toasts were given. In the afternoon, there was a funeral procession, and the royal government was *buried*, with the customary ceremonies. In the evening, the town was brilliantly illuminated.—M'Call, ii., 90.

Boldness of the Tories.

Organization of Civil Government.

M'Intosh and Gwinnett.

A Duel.

other necessities for the campaign, caused Lee to abandon the enterprise. The effect of this movement was disastrous to the Whigs. The Tories gained confidence; and on the seventh day of February, 1777, they attacked Fort M'Intosh.¹ The garrison was commanded by Captain Richard Winn, of South Carolina. After holding out for two days, he was obliged to surrender. The officers and privates of the garrison were all paroled except two young officers, who were taken to St. Augustine and kept as hostages.

During the autumn of 1776, a convention was held in Savannah to form a state Constitution.

with a bullet in the thigh. M'Intosh recovered; Gwinnett died. M'Intosh was tried for murder, at the instance of Gwinnett's friends, and was acquitted. This quarrel produced a serious local agitation, which at one time menaced the Republican stability of Georgia, and the true friends of the cause were alarmed. To allay party feeling, General M'Intosh consented to accept of a station at the North; and Washington appointed him commander-in-chief of the Western Department, with his head-quarters at Pittsburg, where we have already met him. (See page 500.)

During the summer and autumn of 1777, Colonels Elbert, Scriven, Baker, and others, attempted to dislodge the Tories from East Florida, and several skirmishes occurred. These expeditions were fruitless of advantage to the patriots, and much suffering ensued. Frederica was attacked by the enemy; some Americans and negroes were captured, and considerable property was carried off. Often, during the autumn, predatory excursions were made



Lachlan M'Intosh

It was adopted on the 5th of February following, and Button Gwinnett, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was chosen president of the council, an office equivalent in its functions to that of governor. In consequence of military rivalry, a serious difficulty arose between Gwinnett and Colonel M'Intosh,² who had just been elected brigadier general of the Georgia Continental troops. A duel ensued, when both were wounded, each

¹ This was a small stockade, one hundred feet square, with a block-house in the center, and a bastion at each corner. It was situated upon the northeast side of Saltilla River, in the present Camden county.

² Lachlan M'Intosh was born near Inverness, in Scotland, in 1727. He was the son of John M., who was at the head of the Borlam branch of the clan M'Intosh. He came to Georgia with General Oglethorpe in 1736, when Lachlan was nine years of age. His father being made a prisoner and sent to St. Augustine, Lachlan was left to the care of his mother at the age of thirteen years. His opportunities for education were small, yet his strong mind overcame many difficulties. Arrived at maturity, he went to Charleston, where, on account of his fine personal appearance and the services of his father, he commanded attention. He and Henry Laurens became friends, and he entered that gentleman's counting-room as clerk. He left commercial pursuits, returned to his friends on the Altamaha, married, and engaged in the profession of a land surveyor. He made himself acquainted with military tactics, and when the War for Independence broke out, he was found, when needed, on the side of the Republicans. He was first appointed colonel, and in 1776 was commissioned a brigadier. He was persecuted by his rival, Button Gwinnett, until he could no longer forbear; and finally, pronouncing that gentleman a scoundrel, a duel ensued, and Gwinnett was killed. M'Intosh afterward commanded in the Western Department, and led an expedition against the Indians. (See page 500). He returned to Georgia in 1779, and was at the siege and fall of Savannah. He was with Lincoln at Charleston, where he was made prisoner. After his release, he went with his family to Virginia, where he remained until the close of the war. When he returned to Georgia, he found his property nearly all wasted; and in retirement and comparative poverty, he lived in Savannah until his death, which occurred in 1806, at the age of seventy-nine. General M'Intosh, when young, was considered the handsomest man in Georgia.

Expedition to Florida.

Troops under General Howe.

His public Life.

Duel with Gadsden.

upon the southern frontiers of Georgia, the marauders frequently penetrating as far as the Alatomaha and even beyond, and the settlements suffered terribly.

During the winter and spring of 1778, the opponents of the new government became formidable, and indications of an invasion of Georgia, from Florida and from the Indian territory in the West, was perceived. Tories gathered at Ninety-Six, and crossed the Savannah, while those of Florida, joined by the Indians, continued to scatter desolation along the southern frontier. Robert Howe,¹ of North Carolina, now promoted to the rank of major general, was in the chief command of the Southern army, and favored the yet cherished design to march into Florida and disperse the Loyalists. In fact, this measure had become a chief desideratum, for the gathering storm on the frontier of that state was pregnant with evil omens for the whole South. The Loyalists were gaining strength on the St. Mary's, St. John's, and at Pensacola, and re-enforcements of British troops were expected at St. Augustine.^a Howe moved his

^a April, 1778.

head-quarters from Charleston to Savannah.

His regulars, who were in a condition to take the field, did not exceed five hundred and fifty men. These were joined by the commands of Colonels C. C. Pinckney, Bull, and

Williamson. Governor Houstoun, of Georgia, who was requested to furnish three hundred and fifty militia, cheerfully complied.

Thus prepared, Howe marched toward the

Alatomaha, when he was informed that a body of British regulars, under General Augustine Prevost, a large force of Loyalists, under Colonel Brown, and numerous Indians, were moving toward the St. Mary's for the purpose of invading Georgia. Already Colonel Elbert had been victorious at Frederica,² and Howe felt certain of success, when, on the twentieth of May,^b he reached the Alatomaha, and learned how rumors of his expe-

^b 1778.

¹ Robert Howe was a native of Brunswick, North Carolina. History bears no record of his private life, and his biography has never been written. He appears to have been one of the earliest and most uncompromising of the patriots of the Cape Fear region, for we find him honored with an exception, together with Cornelius Harnett, when royal clemency was offered to the rebels by Sir Henry Clinton, in 1776. He was appointed colonel of the first North Carolina regiment, and with his command went early into the field of Revolutionary strife. In December, 1775, he joined Woodford at Norfolk (see page 536), in opposition to Lord Dunmore and his motley army. For his gallantry during this campaign, Congress, on the twenty-ninth of February, 1776, appointed him, with five others, brigadier general in the Continental army, and ordered him to Virginia. In the spring of 1776, British spite toward General Howe was exhibited by Sir Henry Clinton, who sent Cornwallis, with nine hundred men, to ravage his plantation near old Brunswick village. He was placed in chief command of the Southern troops in 1778, and was unsuccessful in an expedition against Florida, and in the defense of Savannah. His conduct was censured, but without just cause. Among others whose voice was raised against him, was Christopher Gadsden, of Charleston. Howe required him to deny or retract. Gadsden would do neither, and a duel ensued. They met at Cannonsburg, and all the damage either sustained was a scratch upon the ear of Gadsden by Howe's ball.*

² Colonel Elbert, who was stationed at Fort Howe, on the Alatomaha, early in the spring of 1778, went with three hundred men to Darien, where he embarked on board three galleys, accompanied by a detachment of artillery on a flat-boat, and proceeded to attack a hostile party at Oglethorpe's Fort. He was successful. A brigantine was captured, and the garrison, alarmed, fled from the fort to their boats, and escaped, leaving Elbert complete victor. On board of the brigantine were three hundred uniform suits, belonging to Colonel Pinckney's regiment, which had been captured while on their way, in the sloop Hatter, from Charleston to Savannah.

* Major André wrote a humorous account, in rhyme, of this affair, in eighteen stanzas. Bernard Elliott was the second of Gadsden, and General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of Howe. The duel occurred on the thirteenth of August, 1778. After this affair, Howe and Gadsden were warm friends.

II.

A A A



March toward Florida.

Divided Commands.

Failure of the Expedition.

Minor Expeditions.

dition had alarmed the Tories of East Florida. His enterprise was exceedingly popular, and the sympathy of the whole Southern people, who were favorable to Republicanism, was with him. With scanty supplies, he pushed forward in the midst of many difficulties, to

June, 1778. Fort Tonyn, on the St. Mary's,^a which the enemy abandoned and partly demolished on his approach. Here he ordered a general rendezvous of all the troops, and of the galleys, under Commodore Bowen, preparatory to making an assault upon St. Augustine.

On the day of his arrival at Fort Tonyn, Howe was informed that twelve hundred men had marched from St. Augustine for the St. John's, and that two galleys, laden with twenty-four pounders, had been sent to the mouth of that river, to co-operate with the land force in opposing the Americans. He was also informed by a deserter that the whole force of the enemy was about fifteen hundred men fit for duty. Sudden, united, and energetic action was now necessary, but Howe experienced the contrary on the part of his compatriots. The governor of Georgia was at the head of his own militia, and refused to be commanded by Howe; Colonel Williamson (the imputed traitor) took the same course with his volunteers; and Commodore Bowen would not be governed by any land officer. The necessary consequence was tardy, divided, and inefficient operations.

Sickness soon prostrated almost one half of the troops, for, unprovided with sufficient tents, they slept exposed to the deadly malaria of the night air among the swamps; and Howe clearly perceived that failure must result in future movements unless the forces could be united under one commander. He called a council of war, and ascertained that Houstoun would not be governed by another, and that the army was rapidly melting away. A retreat was unanimously agreed upon. Pinckney and the remains of his command returned by water to Charleston, while Howe, with the remnants of his force, reduced by sickness and death from eleven hundred to three hundred and fifty, returned to Savannah by land. Thus ended an expedition upon which the South had placed great reliance. Howe was much censured, but the blame should properly rest upon those who, by proud assumption of separate commands, retarded his movements and weakened his power. No expedition was ever successful with several commanders.

The British, emboldened by this second failure of the Americans to invade Florida, and counting largely upon the depressing influence it would have upon the patriots, hastened to invade Georgia in turn. Savannah was the chief point of attack. It was arranged that a naval force, with land troops from the North, should enter the river and invest the city; while General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, should march toward the same point from St. Augustine, with his whole motley band of regulars, Tories, and Indians, to awe the people in that direction, and by preliminary expeditions weaken the Americans.¹ Hitherto the British arms had been chiefly directed against the Northern and Middle States, but with little effect. The patriots had steadily maintained their ground, and the area actually out of possession of the Americans was very small. Sir Henry Clinton was master of New York city, but almost every where else the Americans held possession. To the South he looked for easier and more extensive conquests; and against Savannah, the apparently weakest point, he directed his first operations. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell,

¹ Soon after the return of Howe, some regulars and Loyalists had made a rapid incursion into Georgia, and menaced the fort at Sunbury, at the mouth of the Midway River. The little garrison was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel John M'Intosh (a brother of General M'Intosh). The enemy approached in two divisions, one with artillery, in boats, under Lieutenant-colonel Fuser; the other by land, under Lieutenant-colonel Mark Prevost, consisting of six hundred regulars. Fuser approached the fort and demanded its surrender. M'Intosh replied, "*Come and take it!*" The promptness and brevity of the reply indicated security, and Fuser withdrew, although he could easily have captured the fort. In the mean while, General Scriven, with others, were skirmishing with Colonel Prevost, who had been joined by a band of Tories, under M'Girth, in one of which the latter was mortally wounded. The invaders pressed forward until within three miles of Ogeechee Ferry, where they were confronted by Colonel Elbert and two hundred Continentals, at a breast-work thrown up by a planter named Savage. Unable to proceed further, they retraced their steps toward the Alatamaha, plundering and burning houses, and laying the whole country waste. Midway church was destroyed, rice barns were burned, and the people were made houseless.

British Expedition against Savannah.

Preparations to receive them.

Landing of the British.

an efficient and reliable officer, sailed from Sandy Hook on the twenty-seventh of November,^a with more than two thousand land troops,¹ covered by a small squadron, under Commodore Parker. The fleet arrived at Tybee Island (see map, page 726), near the mouth of the Savannah, on the twenty-third of December. Six days afterward, the vessels and transports had crossed the bar, and the troops were landed at daybreak^b, without much opposition, three miles below the town, above Five-fathom Hole, opposite Brewton's Hill.^c 1778.
Dec. 29.

General Howe, whose army was now augmented to a little less than seven hundred men, was at Sunbury when intelligence was received at Savannah of the approach of the British fleet. Governor Houstoun immediately sent an express to Howe with the information. At the same time, another messenger arrived at Sunbury from the South, informing Howe that General Prevost, with all his force, was on his way from St. Augustine to invade Georgia. All was alarm and confusion when the latter intelligence reached Savannah. The governor sent the public records to Purysburg for safety, from whence they were afterward carried to Charleston. The small battery on the eastern extremity of the city was strengthened, and the people aided the soldiers in casting up intrenchments.²

Howe hastened to his camp at Savannah to prepare for the invasion. His little army was encamped southeast of the town, near the eastern extremity of the present remains of the French works. There he anxiously awaited promised re-enforcements from South Carolina, under General Lincoln. The militia from the surrounding country came in very slowly, day after day; and on the morning of the battle which ensued, his whole force was about nine hundred men. Believing the British army to be really weaker than it appeared, he resolved to defend the town; and when, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, the fleet appeared at Five-fathom Hole, where Fort Jackson now is, he prepared for battle. On that morning, Colonel Elbert, perceiving the necessity of keeping the enemy from the advantageous position of Brewton's Hill, offered to defend it with his regiment; but Howe, believing they would march immediately toward the town, rejected the proposition. He placed his center at the head of the causeway; his left, under Colonel Elbert, fronted the rice-fields, and was flanked by the river; and his right, commanded by Colonel Isaac Huger, covered the morass in front, and was flanked by the wooded swamp and one hundred Georgia militia, under Colonel George Walton. Having made this disposition, he detached Captain J. C. Smith, of South Carolina, to occupy and defend Brewton's Hill. His little force proved inadequate; and soon after landing, the British took possession of that eminence. Howe now perceived the superiority of the British force, and at ten o'clock in the morning called a council of war to consider the expediency of abandoning the town. It was then too late to deliberate, for the enemy were forming for attack. It was resolved first to fight, and then to retreat, if necessary.

After Campbell had formed his army on Brewton's Hill, he moved forward, and took a position within eight hundred yards of the American front, where he maneuvered in a man-

¹ These troops consisted of the 71st regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery.

² From the landing-place (which was the nearest the ships could approach) a narrow causeway, with a ditch on each side, led through a rice swamp six hundred yards, to firm ground. The 71st regiment of royal Scots led the van across the causeway, and was attacked by some Americans. Captain Cameron and two of his company were killed, and five were wounded. The Highlanders were made furious, and, rushing forward, drove the Americans into the woods.

³ More clearly to understand the nature of the attack, defense, and result, it is necessary to know the position of the town at that time. It is situated upon a high bluff of forty feet altitude, and then, as now, was approachable by land on three sides. From the high ground of Brewton's Hill and Thunderbolt on the east, a road crossed a morass upon a causeway, having rice-fields on the north side to the river, and a wooded swamp, several miles in extent, on the south of it. It was approached from the south by the roads from White Bluff, on Vernon River, and from the Ogeechee Ferry, which unite near the town; and from the westward by a road and causeway over the deep swamps of Musgrove's Creek, where, also, rice-fields extend from the causeway to the river on the north. From the western direction, the Central Railway enters Savannah. From the eastern to the western causeway was about three fourths of a mile.

Battle.

Defeat of the Americans.

Disastrous Retreat.

The Loss.

ner to excite the belief that he intended to attack the center and left. This was at three o'clock in the afternoon. This movement was only a diversion in favor of a body of infantry and New York volunteers, commanded by Sir James Baird, who, under the guidance of an old negro named Quamino Dolly, withdrew unperceived, and by a by-path through the swamp at the South, were gaining the American rear. To this by-path Walton had called Howe's attention in the morning, but knowing its obscurity, the general did not think it worthy of regard. Sir James and his party reached the White Bluff road unperceived, and pressing forward, attacked Walton's Georgia brigade on flank and rear. Walton was wounded and taken prisoner, and such was the fate of a large portion of his command. At the same moment Campbell moved forward and attacked the Americans in front. The patriot line was soon broken, and, perceiving the growing panic and confusion, Howe ordered a retreat over the causeway across Musgrove's Swamp, west of the town. To that point Colonel Roberts, in obedience to early orders, if the contingency should occur, hastened with the artillery, to cover the retreat. Already the enemy was there in force to dispute the passage. By great exertions, the American center gained the causeway and escaped without loss. The right flank also retreated across, but suffered from an oblique enfilading fire; while to Colonel Elbert, with the left, the passage was closed after a severe conflict. He and his troops attempted to escape by the rice-fields, but it being high water in the creek, none but those who could swim succeeded, and these lost their guns and accoutrements. Many were drowned, and the remainder were taken prisoners. While the British were pursuing the Americans through the town toward Musgrove's Creek, many citizens, some of whom had not been in the battle, were bayoneted in the streets; but when the action was over, life and property were spared. Campbell's humanity and generosity as a man were equal to his skill and bravery as a soldier, and the active terrors of war in the city ceased with the battle.¹ Yet deep sadness brooded over Savannah that night, for many bereaved ones wept in bitter anguish over relatives slain or mortally wounded.² Those few who escaped across Musgrove's Swamp, retreated up the Savannah and joined Howe, who, with the center, fled as far as Cherokee Hill, eight miles distant, and halted. The whole fugitive force then pushed up the Savannah to Zubley's Ferry, where they crossed into South Carolina. Howe saved three field-pieces in his flight.³

When Lieutenant-colonel Campbell had secured his prize by garrisoning the fort at Savannah, and by other measures for defense, he prepared to march against Sunbury, the only post of any consequence now left to the Americans, near the Georgia sea-board. He issued orders to the commanders of detachments in the lower part of the state to treat the people leniently, and by proclamation he invited them to join the British standard. These measures had their desired effect, and timid hundreds, seeing the state under the heel of British power, proclaimed their loyalty, and rallied beneath the banner of St. George.

While arranging for his departure southward, Campbell received intelligence that the garrison at Sunbury had surrendered to General Prevost. That officer had left St. Augus-

¹ Like credit can not be given to Commodore Parker. For want of other quarters the prisoners were placed on board of ships, where disease made dreadful havoc daily during the succeeding summer. Parker not only neglected the comforts of the prisoners, but was brutal in his manner. Among those confined in these horrid prison ships, was the venerable Jonathan Bryan, aged and infirm. When his daughter pleaded with Hyde Parker for an alleviation of the sufferings of her parent, he treated her with vulgar rudeness and contempt. The bodies of those who died were deposited in the marsh mud, where they were sometimes exposed and eaten by buzzards and crows.—See M'Call's *History of Georgia*, ii., 176.

² About one hundred Americans were either killed in the action or drowned in the swamp, and thirty-eight officers and four hundred and fifteen privates were taken prisoners. The fort, which only commanded the water, and was of no service on this occasion, with forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars and howitzers, eight hundred and seventeen small arms, ninety-four barrels of gunpowder, fifteen hundred and forty-five cannon shot, one hundred and four case ditto, two hundred shells, nine tons of lead, military stores, shipping in the river, and a large quantity of provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. The British lost only seven killed and nineteen wounded. The private soldiers who refused to enlist in the British army were confined in prison ships; the Continental officers were paroled to Sunbury.

³ Ramsay, ii., 4; Gordon, ii., 403; Marshall, i., 293; M'Call, ii., 168; Stedman, ii., 66.

Sunbury taken by the British.

Sketch of the Public Life of General Lincoln.

tine with about two thousand men (including Indians) and several pieces of artillery, on the day when Campbell reached Tybee Island. One division took a land route, the other proceeded in armed boats. They reached the vicinity of Sunbury on the sixth of January, and proceeded to attack the fort. The garrison consisted of about two hundred Continental troops and militia, under Major Lane, who, when Prevost demanded an unconditional surrender on the morning of the ninth, promptly refused compliance. Prevost then placed his cannon in battery and opened upon the fort. Lane soon perceived the folly of resistance, and after considerable parleying he surrendered. The spoils of victory were twenty-four

pieces of artillery, with ammunition and provisions; and the men of the garrison were made prisoners of war. The Americans lost one captain and three privates killed, and seven wounded. The British loss was one private killed and three wounded. Two American galleys in the river were taken by their crews to Assabaw Island, stranded, and burned. The crews escaped in a sloop, but, while on their way to Charleston, were captured and carried prisoners to Savannah.

The fall of Sunbury was the death-blow to Republican power in East Georgia, and the conquest of the whole state now appeared an easy thing. The march of Campbell to Augusta, under the direction of Prevost, who proceeded from Sunbury to Savannah; the establishment of military posts in the interior; Campbell's sudden retreat from Augusta, and the subsequent battle at Brier Creek, we have already considered. Previous to these events, and soon after the failure of Howe's summer campaign against East Florida, General Lincoln¹ had been appointed

to the command in the Southern department,^a and Howe was ordered to the North, ^a Sept. 26, 1778, where we find him in the summer of 1779, at Verplanck's Point.²

¹ Benjamin Lincoln was born on the third of February, 1733. He was trained to the business of a farmer, and had few educational advantages. He continued in his vocation in his native town (Hingham, Massachusetts) until past forty years of age, when he engaged in civil and military duties. He was a local magistrate, representative in the Colonial Legislature, and held the appointment of colonel of militia, when, in 1774, he was appointed a major general of militia. He was very active until the close of 1776, in training the militia for the Continental service, and in February, 1777, he joined Washington, at Morristown, with a re-enforcement. On the nineteenth of that month, Congress appointed Lincoln, with Lord Stirling, St. Clair, Mifflin, and Stephen, major general in the Continental army. He was active during the summer and autumn of that year in opposition to Burgoyne, while on his march toward Saratoga. He was severely wounded on the seventh of October, at Saratoga, which kept him from active service until August, 1778, when he joined Washington. He was appointed to the chief command in the Southern department, in September, and arrived at Charleston in December. By judicious management he kept Prevost and his troops below the Savannah River most of the time, until October, when, in concert with D'Estaing, he laid siege to Savannah. The effort was unsuccessful. In May following, he, with the largest portion of the Southern army, were made prisoners at Charleston by the British, under Sir Henry Clinton. He was permitted to return to Hingham on parole. In November he was exchanged, and the following spring he joined Washington on the Hudson. He was at the surrender of Cornwallis, and was deputed to receive that commander's sword. He was elected Secretary of War a few days after this event, which office he held for three years, and then retired to his farm. In 1786-7 he commanded the militia in the suppression of Shays's insurrection. He was elected lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1787. He was appointed collector of the port of Boston in 1789, which office he held for twenty years, when he was succeeded by General Dearborn. He died in Hingham, on the ninth of May, 1810, at the age of seventy-seven years. He lived with his wife fifty-five years. General Lincoln was temperate and religious. No profane word was ever heard uttered by his lips. A great part of his life he was a deacon in the Church.

² The signature of Howe on page 729 is from a letter written by him under date of "Verplanck's Point, July, 1779."



Royal Government re-established.

Appearance of the French Fleet.

Alarm of the British.

Savannah strengthened.

Several minor expeditions were planned and executed both by Prevost and Lincoln, but they had little effect. The latter arrived at Puryburg, upon the Savannah, on the third of January, 1779, and established his head-quarters there. His force consisted of about twenty-five hundred effective men, and it continually augmented by recruits from the militia. The marches and counter marches of these generals in attempts to foil each other will be noticed while considering the attack upon Charleston in May following, and its immediate antecedent events.¹

On the twentieth of July,^a Sir James Wright returned from England and resumed the government of Georgia. It had been under military rule since the fall of Savannah. Governor Wright did not long remain in quiet, for the strong arm of our French ally held the falchion over the head of British power in the South. Early in September, the Count D'Estaing, with twenty ships of the line and eleven frigates, having on board six thousand soldiers, suddenly appeared off the Southern coasts. He had battled successfully with Admiral Byron in the West Indies, and now he came to assist in driving the British out of the Southern States. So sudden was his appearance off Tybee Island^b that ^{Sept. 3, 1779.} four British vessels fell into his hands without a contest. A plan was soon arranged between Lincoln and D'Estaing to besiege Savannah. The latter urged the necessity of early departure from our coast as a reason for prompt action, and he entreated Lincoln to press forward with his army as rapidly as possible.

From the moment when the French fleet appeared off Tybee, Prevost felt uneasy. He recalled his detachments from the advanced posts, and directed Colonel Maitland, who, with eight hundred men, was stationed at Beaufort, to be in readiness to leave that post. He began in earnest to strengthen the fortifications of the city; and Colonel Moncrief, the talented chief of the engineers, pressed into his service every hand not otherwise employed, including three hundred negroes collected from the neighboring plantations. Thirteen redoubts and fifteen batteries, with lines of communication, were speedily completed, with strong *abaties* in front. Upon these batteries seventy-six pieces of cannon were placed, of six, nine, and eighteen pounds caliber. These were manned by seamen from the vessels of war in the harbor. Several field-pieces were placed in reserve, to be used at any required point at a moment's warning, and intrenchments were opened to cover the reserved troops and artillery.

On the evening of the fourth of September the French fleet disappeared, and Prevost rejoiced in the belief that Savannah was not its destination. Still, he continued his preparations for attack. The works on Tybee Island were strengthened, and the garrison there was increased by one hundred infantry under Captain Moncrief. On the sixth the fleet reappeared with increased force; and on the ninth it anchored off Tybee Island, and landed some troops on the south side of it. Moncrief, perceiving resistance to be useless, spiked the guns, embarked the troops, and fled to Savannah. The English shipping near Tybee sailed up to Five Fathom Hole, and the whole British land force in Georgia was now concentrated at Savannah. The next day all the cannons of the armed vessels, except a few which were left to defend the channel, were brought on shore and placed in battery. Every thing was now ready for an attack.

Lincoln marched from Charleston to Zubley's Ferry, where he concentrated his troops on the twelfth of September. Count Pulaski, with his legion, and General M'Intosh, with his

¹ On one occasion two American galleys went down the Savannah and captured and destroyed two vessels belonging to the English. Prevost on another occasion, sent a party to surprise Beaufort, and capture stores there; and on the fourth of June, Colonel Cruger (who afterward commanded at Ninety-Six), with a party of Loyalists, while celebrating the king's birth-day at a plantation at Belfast, on the Midway, was captured by Captain Spencer. Cruger was afterward exchanged for Colonel John M'Intosh. On the south side of the Ogeechee, at a place called Hickory Hill, a party, under Colonel Twiggs, had a skirmish with some British soldiers, who attacked them. The enemy lost seven killed, ten wounded, and the remainder were taken prisoners. The Americans had two wounded. Major Baker, with thirty men, attacked and defeated a party of British soldiers near Sunbury, on the twenty-eighth of June, the same day when Twiggs had his engagement near the Ogeechee. These were Georgia Loyalists.

American Army at Savannah.

Pulaski.

D'Estaing's summons to Surrender refused.

His Error.

command, were dispatched toward Savannah, a little in advance of the main army, to attack the British outposts. Both parties had several skirmishes with the enemy before they reached the French army, already landed at Beaulieu, or Beuley. This junction effected, M'Intosh returned to Miller's plantation, three miles from Savannah, where Lincoln, with the main army, arrived on the sixteenth, and made his headquarters.

While Lincoln and his force were approaching, the French effected a landing at Beuley and Thunderbolt, without opposition. M'Intosh urged D'Estaing to make an



Pulaski

immediate attack upon the British works. D'Estaing would not listen, but advanced within three miles of Savannah,^a and de-^{a Sept. 16, 1779.} manded an unconditional surrender to the King of France. Prevost refused to listen to any summons which did not contain definite provisions, and asked for a truce until the next day to consider the subject. This was granted by D'Es-

taing, and, in the mean while, twelve hundred white men and negroes were employed in strengthening the fortifications, and mounting additional ordnance. This truce Lincoln at once perceived was fatal to the success of the besiegers, for he had ascertained that Maitland, with eight hundred men, was on his way

¹ Count Casimir Pulaski was a native of Lithuania, in Poland. He was educated for the law, but stirring military events had their influence upon his mind, and he entered the army. With his father, the old Count Pulaski, he was engaged in the rebellion against Stanislaus, king of Poland, in 1769. The old count was taken prisoner, and put to death. In 1770, the young Count Casimir was elected commander-in-chief of the insurgents, but was not able to collect a competent force to act efficiently, for a pestilence had swept off 250,000 Poles the previous year. In 1771, himself and thirty-nine others entered Warsaw, disguised as peasants, for the purpose of seizing the king. The object was to place him at the head of the army, force him to act in that position, and call around him the Poles to beat back the Russian forces which Catharine had sent against them. They succeeded in taking him from his carriage in the streets, and carrying him out of the city; but were obliged to leave him, not far from the walls, and escape. Pulaski's little army was soon afterward defeated, and he entered the service of the Turks, who were fighting Russia. His estates were confiscated, himself outlawed. He went to Paris, had an interview there with Dr. Franklin, and came to America in 1777. He joined the army under Washington, and, as we have seen, was placed in command of cavalry. His legion did good service at the North. Early in the spring of 1778 he was ordered to Little Egg Harbor, on the New Jersey coast. His force consisted of cavalry and infantry, with a single field-piece from Proctor's artillery. While on his way from Trenton to Little Egg Harbor, and when within eight miles of the coast, he was surprised by a party of British, and a large portion of his infantry was bayoneted. Julien, a deserter from his corps, had given information of his position; the surprise was complete. His loss was forty men, among them Lieutenant-colonel Baron De Botzen. Pulaski was ordered to the South in February, 1779, and was in active service under Lincoln until the siege of Savannah, in October of that year, where he was mortally wounded. His banner, as we have noticed on page 392, was preserved, and carried to Baltimore. He was taken to the United States brig Wasp, where he died, and was buried under a large tree on St. Helen's Island, about fifty miles from Savannah, by his first lieutenant and personal friend, Charles Litomiski. Funeral honors were paid to his memory at Charleston, and, on the 29th of November, Congress voted the erection of a monument to his memory. Like other monuments ordered by the Continental Congress, the stone for Pulaski's is yet in the quarry. The



PULASKI'S SEAL.

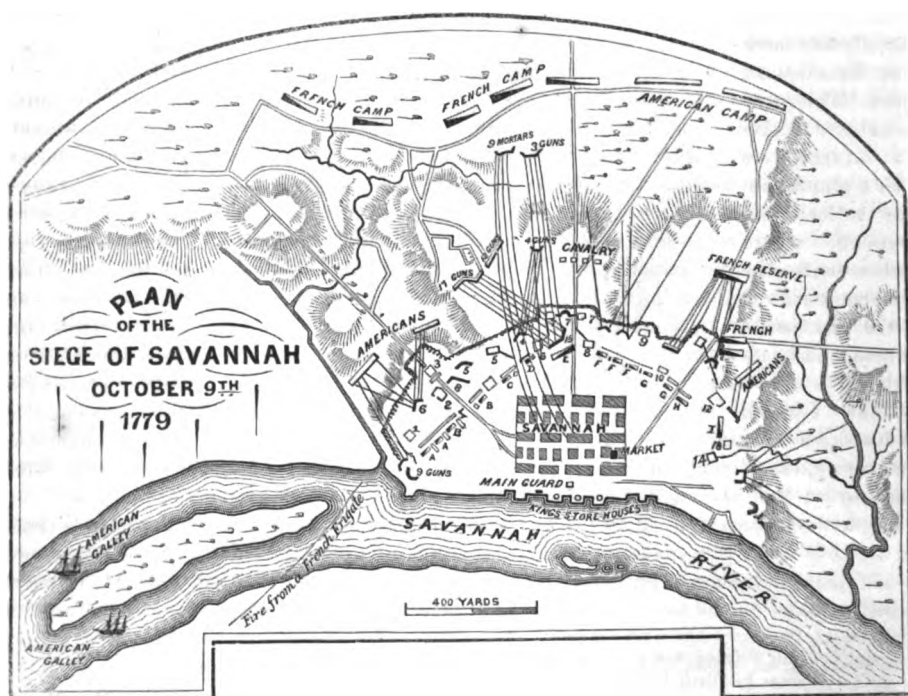
citizens of Savannah reared the one delineated on page 720, in commemoration of the services of Greene and Pulaski.

Arrival of Maitland.

Victory lost by Delay.

Plan of the Siege of Savannah.

from Beaufort, to re-enforce Prevost, and that his arrival within twenty-four hours was the object hoped to be gained by a truce for that length of time. Such proved to be the fact; Maitland, under cover of a fog, eluded the vigilance of the French cruisers, and entered the town on the afternoon of the seventeenth.¹ His arrival gave Prevost courage, and toward evening he sent a note to D'Estaing bearing a positive refusal to capitulate. The golden opportunity was now lost to the combined armies.²



¹ Finding the French in possession of the only channel at the mouth of the Savannah which was navigable, when he arrived at Dawfuskie, Maitland, conducted by a negro fisherman, passed through a creek with his boats, at high water, and, concealed by a fog, eluded the French. D'Estaing, ignorant of the geography of the country about Savannah, had no idea that there was any other way than by the regular channel for boats to reach the town.

² Lee, in his *Memoirs*, says, "Any four hours before the junction of Lieutenant-colonel Maitland was sufficient to have taken Savannah."

Explanation of the Plan.—1, Georgia volunteers, under Major Wright. 2, Picket of the 71st. 3, First battalion of Delancey's corps, under Lieutenant-colonel Cruger. 4, Georgia militia. 5, Third battalion Jersey volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel Allen. 6, Georgia militia. 7, Picket of the line and armed negroes. 8, General's quarters; convalescents of the line. 9, South Carolina Royalists. 10, Georgia militia and detachment of the fourth battalion of the 60th, Lieutenant-governor Graham. 11, Fourth battalion 60th dismounted dragoons and South Carolina Royalists, Captain Taws. 12, North Carolina Loyalists, Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, Governor Sir James Wright. 13, 14, King's rangers, Lieutenant-colonel Brown. A, First battalion of the 71st, Major M'Arthur. B, Regiment of Trombach. C, Second battalion Delancey's corps, Lieutenant-colonel Delancey. D, New York volunteers, Major Sheridan. E, Light infantry, Major Graham. F, Weisenbach's regiment. G, Second battalion 71st, Major M'Donald. H, 60th Grenadiers, three companies and one of marines, Lieutenant-colonel Glazier. I, North Carolina Loyalists, under Colonel Maitland. The working of the artillery during the siege was under the direction of Captain Charlton.

This map is copied from one in Stedman's History, drawn under the direction of Colonel Moncrief. Neither the French nor Americans made any drawings, and hence we are unable to give the positions of the various parts of the combined armies, in detail.

The city extended, at the time of the siege, on the west to the present Jefferson Street, on the east to Lincoln Street, on the South to South Broad Street, and contained six squares and twelve streets. There were about four hundred and thirty houses in the city.

It was now perceived that the town must be taken by regular approaches, and not by assault. To that end all energy was directed. The heavy ordnance and stores were

brought up from the landing-place of the French, and on the morning of the twenty-third,^a the combined armies broke ground. The French frigates, at the

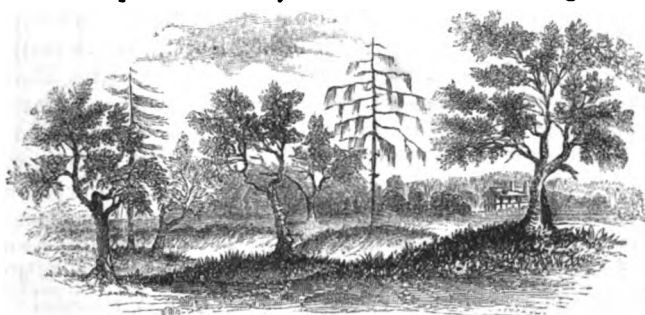
same time, moved up to the sunken vessels within gunshot of the town, and compelled the British ships to take shelter under the guns of the battery. Night and day the besiegers applied the spade, and so vigorously was the work prosecuted, that in the course of twelve days fifty-three pieces of battery cannon and fourteen mortars were mounted. Prevost, cautious and skillful, did not waste his strength in opposing the progress of the besiegers by sorties, but reserved all for the decisive moment. During the twelve days, only two sorties

were made; one under Major Graham,^b and the other under Major M'Arthur.^c

^a Sept. 24. ^b Sept. 27. Several were killed on each occasion, but the general operations were not affected.

On the morning of the fourth of October, the batteries being all completed and manned, a terrible cannonade and bombardment was opened upon the British works and the town. The French frigate *Truite* also opened a cannonade from the water. Houses were shattered, some women and children were killed or maimed, and terror reigned supreme. Families took refuge in the cellars, and in many a frame the seeds of mortal disease were planted while in those damp abodes during the siege. There was no safety in the streets, for a moment. Day and night an incessant cannonade was kept up from the fourth until the ninth; but, while many houses were injured, not much impression was made upon the British works. Slowly but surely the sappers and miners approached the batteries and redoubts. The beleaguered began to be alarmed, for their guns made very little impression upon the works or camp of the combined armies, and the hope that Admiral Byrön would follow and attack D'Estaing's vessels, lying off Tybee, faded away.

Another promised victory was now before the besiegers, and almost within their grasp,



VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF THE FRENCH WORKS.¹

when D'Estaing became impatient. He feared the autumn storms, and the British fleet which rumor said was approaching. A council was held, and when his engineers informed him that it would require ten days more to reach the British lines by trenches, he informed Lincoln that the siege must be raised forthwith, or an attempt

be made to carry the place by storm. The latter alternative was chosen, and the work began on the morning of the following day.^e To facilitate it, the *abatiss* were set

on fire that afternoon by the brave Major L'Enfant and five men, while exposed to heavy volleys of musketry from the garrison, but the dampness of the air checked the flames, and prevented the green wood from burning.

Just before dawn on the morning of the ninth, about four thousand five hundred men of the combined armies moved to the assault in the midst of a dense fog, and under cover of a heavy fire from all the batteries.² They advanced in three columns, the principal one

¹ These remains are in the southeastern suburbs of the city, about half way between the Negro Cemetery and the residence of Major William Bowen, seen toward the right of the picture. The banks have an average height, from the bottom of the ditch, of about five feet, and are dotted with pines and chinapines or dwarf chestnuts, the former draped with moss. The ground is an open common, and although it was mid-winter when I was there, it was covered with green grass, bespangled with myriads of little flowers of stellar form. This view is from the direction of the town looking southeast.

² Three thousand five hundred were French, a little more than six hundred were American regulars (chiefly North Carolinians), and about three hundred were militia from Charleston.

Storming of the Spring Hill Redoubt.

D'Estaing Wounded.

Death of Pulaski and Jasper.

commanded by D'Estaing in person, assisted by General Lincoln; another main column by Count Dillon. The first was directed against the Spring Hill redoubt¹ (between 11 and 12 on the right side of the map); the second was to move silently along the edge of a swamp, pass the redoubts and batteries, and assail the rear and weakest point of the British lines, toward the river on the east; the third column, under General Isaac Huger, was to make a feigned attack in front, to attract attention from the other two. Fog and darkness allowed D'Estaing and Lincoln to approach very near the Spring Hill redoubt before they were discovered. Terrible was the conflict at this point just as the day dawned. The French column led to the assault, and were confronted by a blaze of musketry from the redoubt and by a cross-fire from the adjoining batteries. Whole ranks were mowed down like grass before the scythe. D'Estaing was wounded in the arm and thigh early in the action, and was carried to his camp. The Americans pressed forward: Lieutenant-colonel Laurens led the light troops on the left of the French, while General M'Intosh, with another column, passed the *abatis*, and entered the ditch north of the Spring Hill redoubt. Regardless of the destructive storm, the gallant troops leaped the ditch, and planted the crescent² and the *lily* upon the parapet. The gallant and accomplished Maitland commanded this right wing of the besieged, and was prepared for a vigorous assault.³ His practiced eye at once perceived the peril of the garrison, if this lodgment should be sustained. He united the grenadiers and marines nearest the point of attack, and ordered Lieutenant-colonel Glazier to lead them to a recovery of the lost ground. Within five minutes after receiving this order, Glazier, at the head of his men, rushed to the parapet, and made a furious charge with the bayonet upon the worried ranks of the assailants. This blow by fresh and vigorous men, could not be withstood. The standards of France and of our Carolina were torn down, and the gallant men who had assisted in planting them there were pressed from the parapet into the ditch, and driven through the *abatis*.

While the carnage was occurring at the Spring Hill redoubt, Huger and Pulaski were endeavoring to force the enemy's works on different sides of the town; Huger, with his party, waded almost half a mile through rice-fields, and assailed the works on the east. They were received with a sharp fire of cannon and musketry, and, after losing twenty-eight men, retreated. Pulaski, at the same time, with about two hundred horsemen, endeavored to force his way into the town a little eastward of the Spring Hill redoubt. At the head of his troops he had passed the *abatis*, banner in hand, and was pressing forward, when a small cannon shot struck him in the groin, and he fell to the ground. His first lieutenant seized the banner, and for a few minutes kept the troops in action; but the iron hail from the seamen's batteries and the field artillery, traversing the columns of the assailants in all directions, compelled the whole force of the combined armies to yield, and they retreated to the camp. Back through the smoke, and over the bodies of the dead and dying, some of Pulaski's soldiers returned, found the expiring hero, and bore him from the field. Already the French had withdrawn, and the Continentals, under Lincoln, were retreating. At ten o'clock, after about five hours' hard fighting, the combined armies displayed a white flag, and asked a truce in order to bury the dead. Prevost granted four hours, and during that

¹ The Spring Hill redoubt was at the entrance of the Augusta road into the town, on the western side. The buildings of the rail-way station now cover its site.

² The American standards were those of the second South Carolina regiment, embroidered and presented to them by Mrs. Susanna Elliott, three days after the battle at Fort Moultrie, in 1776, and were planted by Lieutenants Hume and Bush. The French standard was raised by one of D'Estaing's aids, who, with Hume and Bush, soon fell, mortally wounded, leaving their colors fluttering in the breeze. Lieutenant Gray, of the South Carolina regiment, seeing his associates fall, seized the standards and kept them erect, when he, too, was prostrated by a bullet. Sergeant Jasper, whom we shall meet hereafter, sprang forward, secured the colors, and had just fastened them upon the parapet, when a rifle ball pierced him, and he fell into the ditch. He was carried to the camp, and soon afterward expired. Just before he died, he said to Major Horry, "Tell Mrs. Elliott I lost my life supporting the colors she presented to our regiment."

³ A sergeant of the Charleston grenadiers deserted during the night of the eighth, and communicated the general plan of attack, to Prevost. This gave the garrison a great advantage, for they strengthened the points to be attacked.

The Siege raised.	Withdrawal of the combined Armies.	Effect of the Movement.	Colonel Jackson.
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interval D'Estaing and Lincoln consulted in relation to further operations. The latter, although his force was greatly diminished by the action just closed, wished to continue the siege; but D'Estaing, whose loss had been heavy, resolved on immediate departure.¹ The siege was raised, and on the evening of the eighteenth^a the combined armies withdrew; the Americans to Zubley's Ferry, and the French to Caustin's Bluff,^{a Oct. 1779} whence they repaired to their ships at Tybee.^b Lincoln and his little army hastened to Charleston, where we shall meet them again, besieged and made prisoners of war.^{b Oct. 20.} These events closed the campaigns in the South for that year.³

The result of the siege was a death-blow to the hopes of the South, and never since the beginning of hostilities had such gloom gathered over the prospects of the future, or so much real distress prevailed in Georgia.³ Toward the sea-board every semblance of opposition to royal power was crushed, and only in the interior did the spirit of armed resistance appear. This increased during the following winter and spring, and at last disturbed the quiet of the royal forces in Savannah. These events, sometimes trivial in themselves, but important in the great chain of circumstances, are related in detail by M'Call, Stevens, White, and other chroniclers of the state. The most important we have already considered; let us now glance at the closing events of the war in Georgia.

When General Greene raised the siege of Ninety-Six, Major James Jackson⁴ was appointed to the command of the garrison at Augusta. Greene also ordered a legionary corps (composed of part cavalry and part infantry) to be raised in Georgia, and appointed Major Jackson its colonel. As soon as it was organized, Jackson went out with it upon active service.

¹ The whole force of the combined armies was four thousand nine hundred and fifty, of which two thousand eight hundred and twenty-three were French. The whole British force in Savannah, including a few militia, some Indians, and three hundred negroes, was two thousand eight hundred and fifty. The French lost, in killed and wounded, six hundred and thirty-seven men, and the Americans four hundred and fifty-seven. The whole loss of the British did not exceed one hundred and twenty. Lieutenant-colonel Maitland was attacked with a bilious disease during the siege, and died a few days afterward.

² Ramsay, Gordon, Marshall, Moultrie, Stedman, M'Call, Lee.

³ Indescribable were the sufferings of the people of Savannah, particularly the families of the Whigs. The females were exposed to daily insults from the brutal soldiery, and many, reduced from affluence to poverty, unable to bear the indignities heaped upon them, traveled away on foot, some of them even without shoes upon their feet, and took refuge in the Carolinas.

⁴ James Jackson was born in the county of Devon, England, on the twenty-first of September, 1757. In 1772, he came to America, and began the study of the law in Savannah. At the age of eighteen, he shouldered a musket and prepared to resist British power. He was active in repulsing the British at Savannah in 1776. In 1778, he was appointed brigade major of the Georgia militia, and was wounded in the skirmish when General Scriven was killed. He participated in the defense of Savannah at the close of the year, and when it fell into the hands of Campbell, he was among those who fled into South Carolina, where he joined General Moultrie's command. While on his way, so wretched was his appearance, that some Whigs arrested, tried, and condemned him as a spy. He was about to be executed, when he was recognized by a gentleman of reputation from Georgia. Major Jackson was in the siege of Savannah in October, 1779. In August, 1780, he joined Colonel Elijah Clark's command, and was at the battle at Blackstocks. In 1781, General Pickens made Jackson his brigade major, and his fluent speech often infused new ardor into the corps of that partisan. He was at the siege of Augusta, and was left in command of the garrison after the expulsion of the British. He subsequently commanded a legionary corps, with which he did good service. He joined Wayne at Ebenezer, and was active with that officer until the evacuation of Savannah by the British. The Georgia Legislature gave him a house and lot in Savannah at the close of the war. He married in 1785; was made brigadier in 1786; and in 1788 was elected governor of Georgia, but modestly declined the honor on account of his youth and inexperience, being only about thirty years of age. He was one of the first representatives in Congress under the Federal Constitution. He was elected a major general in 1792, and during the three succeeding years was a member of the United States Senate. He was chiefly instrumental in framing the Georgia Constitution in 1798. From that year till 1801, he was governor of the state, when he again took a seat in the Senate of the United States. He held that office until his death, which occurred on the nineteenth of March, 1806. He was buried about four miles from Washington City. Subsequently, his remains were deposited in the Congressional burial-ground. The inscription upon the stone which covers them was written by John Randolph, his personal friend and admirer. There never lived a truer patriot or more honest man than General James Jackson.

Operations of Captain Howell.

Chastisement of the Indians.

Arrival of Wayne.

Skirmish near Savannah.

During the spring of 1781, Captain Howell, the Hyler of the Georgia Inlets, captured several British vessels lying in the bays and the mouths of the rivers on the coast, and finally compelled all that escaped to take refuge in the Savannah. Military matters in Georgia were very quiet during that summer; but in the autumn, the volunteers collected by Colonel Twiggs and his associates became so numerous, that he determined to attempt the capture of British outposts, and confine them within their lines at Savannah, until the arrival of General Wayne, then marching from the North.



Andrew Jackson

severely. Every village and settlement eastward of the mountains was laid in ashes, and nothing but a heavy fall of snow prevented his crossing the great hills and spreading desolation over a wide extent of country.

^b 1782. General Wayne arrived early in February,^b and established his head-quarters at Ebenezer. His force was inferior to that of the British in Savannah, then com-

Alured Clarke

manded by Brigadier-general Alured Clarke,¹ and he was obliged to content himself with petty warfare upon outposts and foraging parties, while watching an opportunity to attack Savannah at night. Fearing this, Clarke summoned his detachments to the city, to man the extensive fortifications. They came with provisions plundered from the inhabitants, and applying the torch on the way, left a broad track of desolation behind them.

General Clarke, perceiving the gathering strength of the Republicans, and that he was likely to be shut up within the narrow limits of his lines, sent for the Creeks and Cherokees to come in a body to his relief. They were yet smarting under the chastisement of Pickens, and hesitated. A party sent out to keep a way open to the city were attacked by Major Jackson. Colonel Brown was sent to their aid. He was attacked and defeated by Wayne, after a severe skirmish, but he retreated by by-paths in safety to Savannah.

^c 1782. On the night of the twenty-second of June,^c three hundred Creek Indians, led by Guristorsigo, a powerful warrior, approached Wayne's encampment. He intended to fall upon the American pickets, but ignorantly attacked the main body at three o'clock in the morning.^d The infantry seized their arms; the artillery hastened to their

^d Jan. 23. guns. Wayne was at a house a short distance from camp, when intelligence came that the whole British force from Savannah was upon him. He leaped into his saddle, rode to the aroused camp, and shouting, "Death or Victory!" ordered a bayonet charge. At that moment his horse was shot dead under him, and he saw his cannons seized by the savages. With sword in hand, at the head of Parker's infantry, he led to the recapture of his field-pieces. A terrible struggle ensued. Tomahawk and rifle were powerless against bayonets, and Guristorsigo and seventeen of his chief warriors and white guides were slain. The Indians fled when they saw their leader fall, leaving behind them one hundred and seven-

¹ General Clarke was governor of Canada in 1807.

Treaty with the Indians.

Cessation of Hostilities.

Evacuation of Savannah.

Peace.

teen pack-horses loaded with peltry. Wayne pursued the fugitives far into the forest, captured twelve of them, and at sunrise they were shot. The Americans lost only four killed and eight wounded.

In September,^a Pickens and Clarke again chastised the Indians, and completely subdued them. Tired of the conflict, and fearful of the scourge which Pickens still held in his hand, they gladly made a treaty by which all the lands claimed by the Indians south of the Savannah River and east of the Chattahoochie were surrendered to the State of Georgia, as the price of peace. This established the boundary line between the State of Georgia and the Indian domain. ^a 1782.

Early in 1782, the British Parliament, perceiving the futility of attempts hitherto to subdue the Americans, now began to listen to the voice of reason and of humanity, and steps were taken toward the establishment of peace, between the United States and Great Britain, upon the basis of the independence of the former. On the fourth of March,^b the House of Commons passed a resolution in favor of peace, and active hostilities ceased. ^b 1782. Preparations were now made for the evacuation of Savannah, and on the eleventh of July the British army evacuated it, after an occupation of three years and a half. Wayne, in consideration of the services of Colonel James Jackson, appointed him to "receive the keys of Savannah from a committee of British officers." He performed the service with dignity, and on the same day the American army entered Savannah, when royal power ceased in Georgia forever.¹ A few days afterward, Colonel Posey, with the main body of the Americans, marched to join Greene in South Carolina. Wayne soon followed with the remainder; hostilities ceased,² and the beams of peace shed their mild radiance over the desolated state, and gave promise of that glorious day of prosperity and repose which speedily followed.

DWELLING OF GENERAL M'INTOSH.³

Governor Martin called a special meeting of the Legislature in Savannah,^c about three weeks after the evacuation. They assembled in the house of General M'Intosh, which is yet (1852) standing on South Broad Street, between Drayton and Abercorn Streets. The session was short, but marked by decision and energy. On the first Monday in January following, the constitutional session commenced at the same place. Every branch of the new government was speedily organized, and the free and independent State of Georgia began its career.⁴ ^c Aug., 1782.

¹ Between the twelfth and the twenty-fifth of July, seven thousand persons, according to British accounts, left Savannah, consisting of twelve hundred British regulars and Loyalists, five hundred women and children, three hundred Indians, and five thousand negroes. Governor Wright, and some of the civil and military officers, went to Charleston; General Clarke and part of the British regulars to New York; Colonel Brown's rangers and the Indians to St. Augustine; and the remainder, under convoy of the *Zebra* frigate, the *Vulture* sloop of war, and other armed vessels, to the West Indies. It is estimated that nearly seven eighths of the slaves in Georgia were carried off now, and on previous occasions, by the British.

² Colonel Jackson had a skirmish with some forces on Skidaway Island, below Savannah, on the twenty-fifth of July, and this was the last fought battle for independence, in Georgia.

³ This house is the third eastward from Drayton Street, and is said to be the oldest brick house in Savannah. Broad Street, upon which it stands, is a noble avenue, shaded by four rows of Pride-of-India-Trees.

⁴ Lyman Hall, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was chosen governor in January, 1784; George Walton, chief justice; Samuel Stirk, attorney general; John Milton, secretary of state; John Martin, treasurer; and Richard Call, surveyor general.

CHAPTER XXVIII.



HERE are but few remains of Revolutionary localities about Savannah. The city has spread out over all the British works; and where their batteries, redoubts, ramparts, and ditches were constructed, public squares are laid out and adorned with trees, or houses and stores cover the earth. Not so with the works constructed by the French engineers during the siege in the autumn of 1779. Although the regular forms are effaced, yet the mounds and ditches may be traced many rods near the margin of the swamp southeast of the city. These I visited early on the morning of my arrival

in Savannah, after an instructive interview with the Honorable J. C. Nicoll, to whom I am indebted for a knowledge of the several historical localities in and near the city. Their present appearance and description are delineated on page 737. After sketching General M'Intosh's house, printed on the preceding page, I procured a saddle-horse and rode out to "Jasper's Spring," a place famous as the scene of a bold exploit, which has been the theme

of history and song.¹ It is near the Augusta road, two and a half miles westward of the city. The day was very warm. The gardens were garnished with flowers; the orange-trees were blooming; blossoms covered the peach-trees, and insects were sporting in the sunbeams.



VIEW AT JASPER'S SPRING.

Jasper's Spring is just within the edge of a forest of oaks and gums, and is remarkable only on account of its historical associations. It is in the midst of a marshy spot partially covered with underwood, on the northern side of the road, and its area is marked by the circumference of a sunken barrel. Being the only fountain of pure water in the vicinity, it is resorted to daily by travelers upon the road. One

¹ We have already met Sergeant William Jasper while securing the Carolina flags upon the parapet of the Spring Hill redoubt at Savannah (see page 738), and there sealing his patriotism with his life's blood. Jasper was one of the bravest of the brave. After his exploits at Fort Moultrie, which we shall consider hereafter, his commander, General Moultrie, gave him a sort of roving commission, certain that he would always be usefully employed. Jasper belonged to the second South Carolina regiment, and was privileged to select from his corps such men as he pleased to accompany him in his enterprises. Bravery and humanity were his chief characteristics, and while he was active in the cause of his country, he never injured an enemy unnecessarily. While out upon one of his excursions, when the British had a camp at Ebenezer, all the sympathies of his heart were aroused by the distress of a Mrs. Jones, whose husband, an American by birth, was confined in irons for deserting the royal cause after taking a protection. She felt certain that he would be hanged, for, with others, he was to be taken to Savannah for that purpose the next morning. Jasper and his only companion (Sergeant Newton) resolved to rescue Jones and his fellow-prisoners. Concealing themselves in the thick bushes near the spring (at which they doubted not the guard of eight men would halt), they awaited their approach. As expected, the guard halted to drink. Only two of them remained with the prisoners, while the others, leaning their muskets against a tree, went to the spring. Jasper and his companion then leaped from their concealment, seized two of the guns, shot the two sentinels, and took possession of the remainder of the muskets. The guards, unarmed, were powerless, and surrendered. The irons were knocked off the wrists of the prisoners, muskets were placed in their hands, and the custodians of Jones and his fellow-patriots were taken to the American camp at Purysburg the next morning, themselves prisoners of war. Jones was restored to his wife, child, and country, and for that noble deed posterity blesses the name of Sergeant Jasper. That name is indelibly written on the page of history, and the people of Savannah have perpetuated it by bestowing it upon one of the beautiful squares of their city.

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of them, a waggoner, came, knelt, and quaffed when I opened my port-folio, and, as he arose from the spring I sketched him, as seen in the preceding picture. He knew nothing of the event which makes it famous.

After lingering for half an hour in the cool shade at the spring, I returned to Savannah. A slight haziness began to overspread the sky, which deepened toward evening, and descended in gentle rain when I left the city at eight o'clock in a steam-packet for Charleston. We passed the lights at Fort Pulaski at half past eight, and an hour later glided by the beacons of Tybee and breasted the rising waves of the Atlantic. Like Yellow Plush, I soon discovered the "use of basins," and at an early hour turned into my berth to prevent a turning out of my supper. During the night we passed through Port Royal entrance, touched at Beaufort, stuck in the mud in the channel between Ladies' and St. Helena Islands, and at daylight emerged again into the Atlantic through St. Helena's Sound. The breeze was hourly stiffening, and every "landlubber" on board preferred the berth to breakfast, until we approached Charleston bar, when the wind died away, the sun gleamed through the breaking clouds, and upon the bosom of long, heaving swells, we were wafted into Charleston harbor. We landed at one o'clock, dined at two, and at three I called upon the Reverend Samuel Smythe, D.D., with a letter of introduction, with whom I passed the remainder of the afternoon in visiting places of interest upon the banks of the Cooper River, above the city. To the kind courtesy of Dr. Smythe I am indebted for much of the interest, pleasure, and profit of my visit at Charleston and vicinity.

Here, upon the spot where the first permanent English settlement in South Carolina was accomplished, let us glance at the record of history.

In the Introduction to this work (page xxxii.), I have referred to the first attempt at permanent settlement on South Carolina soil, and the result. As it was only an *attempt*, proved unsuccessful, and does not illustrate the growth of popular liberty, except so far as the *principles* of the Huguenots (those first emigrants) had influence in the political opinions of the people in after years, we will not stop to consider the details, but pass on to the period of permanent settlements.

For a hundred years after the first attempt at colonization in South Carolina was made, no settlements were undertaken, and no white man walked in her forests, except a few Spaniards, who penetrated the wilderness from St. Augustine in search of a fancied region of gold. At length the English, who had formed settlements on the Cape Fear and vicinity, turned their attention to more southerly regions.

In January, 1670, two ships, with materials for a permanent settlement, sailed from England, under the command of Sir William Sayle, who had previously visited and explored the South Carolina coast. He entered Port Royal, planted his colony upon Beaufort, and soon afterward died there. The jurisdiction of Sir John Yeamans, of the Northern colony, was then extended over this settlement, and in 1671 he was chosen their governor. The people were easily induced, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," to remove to the south bank of the Ashley River, further north, and there they laid the foundation of old Charlestown' (at present called Old Town, or the Landing); and there was planted the first fruitful seed

of the commonwealth of South Carolina.^a The colony, in honor of Sir George Carteret, one of the proprietors, was called the *Carteret County Colony*.¹ Nine years afterward, the settlers abandoned this spot, and upon Oyster Point, nearer the sea, at the confluence of the



¹ There were about fifty families who went from the Port Royal settlement to the Ashley River, and about the same number from the Northern colony accompanied Governor Yeamans thither.

¹ Governor Yeaman caused a number of African slaves to be brought from Barbadoes, and in the year 1672 the slave system in South Carolina was commenced

Founding of Charleston.

Increase of Settlers.

Their Character.

Difficulties with the Indians.

Ashley and Cooper Rivers' (so called in compliment to Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury), a place more eligible for commercial pursuits, they founded the present city of Charleston,^a and in the course of the year built thirty houses.^a The city retained its original name of *Charles Town* until after the Revolution, when it was called Charleston.

The general early history of South Carolina we have already considered in its connection with the North State; we have, therefore, only a few particular points to notice in its progress prior to the separation in 1729.

The beauty of the climate and the freedom which then prevailed made South Carolina a chosen refuge for the oppressed and the discontented of all lands. Several Dutch families of New York went to South Carolina when that city passed into the hands of the English, and settled on the southwest side of the Ashley, near the English colony, from whence they spread over the state, and were joined by many from "fader-land." In 1679, Charles the Second sent quite a number of French Protestant refugees (Huguenots) thither; and when, in 1685, the Edict of Nantes (see page 386, volume i.) was revoked, large numbers of the Huguenots crossed the Atlantic, and sought refuge in South Carolina from the fires of persecution about to be relighted in France. Ten years later,^b a colony of Congregationalists, from Dorchester, in Massachusetts, ascended the Ashley almost to its head, and founded the town of Dorchester, in the present parish of St. George, Dorchester.

This was a village of considerable note during the Revolution, but it is now deserted, and little remains of the past but the primitive church and the graves around it.

Under various leaders, men of every creed and of various countries went to South Carolina; "and the Santee, the Congaree, the Wateree, and the Edisto now listened to the strange voices of several nations, who in the Old World had scarcely known each other, except as foes. There, for a while, they mingled harmoniously with the natives. The French Huguenot and the German Palatine smoked their pipes in amity with the Westo and the Serattee; and the tastes and habits of the Seine and the Rhine became familiar to the wandering eyes of the fearless warriors along the Congaree. It was not long before a French violinist had opened a school for dancing among the Indians on the Santee River."^c

For some time the colonists were obliged to depend, in part, upon the bounty of the proprietors for subsistence, and the calls of this dependence being generally answered, idle and improvident habits were begotten, highly inimical to the prosperity of a new state. The proprietors perceived the bad tendency of such indulgence, and in a letter to the colonists declared that they would "no longer continue to feed and clothe them, without expectation or demand of any return." This resolve, so unkind to the apprehension of the Carolinians, was of great benefit to the colonists. Ultimately the people, compelled to work or starve—to be provident or to be beggars—turned to their own resources, and their development began. Independence of action begat independence of thought and feeling, and in this first broken fallow, turned up to the vivifying influence of the sun and shower of free civil, political and religious life, the seed of Republican liberty, which subsequently bore such generous fruit in the Carolinas, was planted and took firm root.

In addition to the diseases incident to the climate, and the privations always attendant upon first settlement, the Carolinians were soon called upon to resist powerful foes—the Indian tribes upon whose hunting-grounds they were settling. These difficulties have been noticed in a preceding chapter. The red men were hardly quieted before internal troubles menaced the colony with a more terrible blow. Food had become scarce, discontents were

¹ The Indian name for the Ashley was *Ke-a-wah*; for the Cooper, *E-ti-wan*. The city has a fine sheltered harbor, with the sea six miles distant.

² The city of Charleston was laid out in 1680 by John Culpepper, who had been surveyor general of the Northern colony of the Carolinas, but was then a fugitive, on account of his participation in an insurrectionary movement there. The streets were laid out nearly at right angles, and the town site was completely inclosed with a line of fortifications. A plan of these fortifications, and of the city at that time, is published in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution*, page 3.

³ Simm's *History of South Carolina*, page 64.

An Insurrection.

Legislative Assembly.

French and English.

Church Liturgy adopted.

heard on every side, and an insurrectionary movement occurred. The rebellion was promptly suppressed, and some supplies just then arriving from England with some new settlers, the people were quieted and became loyal. This difficulty had just passed by, when the Spaniards menaced the English, and ships of war with land troops appeared. Before their arrival, vessels which had been sent to Virginia and Barbadoes for provisions and munitions of war reached the harbor of Charleston. Governor Yeamans at once acted on the offensive, and drove the Spaniards back to St. Augustine.

Yeamans left the colony in 1674, and was succeeded by Joseph West, a man of republican tendencies. He called the freemen of the colony together in convention at Charleston to make laws for their government. This was the first legislative assembly convened in South Carolina. It might have been an auspicious event, had not the jarring interests of classes and creeds, there represented, produced discord and confusion. Cavaliers and Puritans, Churchmen and Dissenters, each strenuous for the prevalence of their respective opinions, presented, in this first attempt at representative legislation, powerful arguments in favor of absolutism. Anarchy prevailed, and in the midst of the dissensions in Charleston, the Stono Indians swept along the frontiers of the settlements, and plundered a great quantity of grain and numerous cattle. The inhabitants armed themselves, defeated the Stonos in several skirmishes, took many of them prisoners, and sent them to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. After other obstinate conflicts, the Stonos were subdued and almost exterminated. They have never had a tribal existence since, and it is believed that they have no living representative upon the earth.

A Legislative Assembly met in Charleston in 1682, and enacted laws for the civil and military operations of the colony. The spirit of freedom had begun to work in the hearts of the people, and when the collection of rents, the great cause of discontent in the Northern colony, was pressed, they rebelled. The public records were seized, and the Assembly, assuming the functions of government, imprisoned the secretary of the province. The governor (Colleton) declared martial law. The exasperated people clamored for his impeachment. The Assembly complied, and he was banished from the province. Turbulence and misrule continued until the scheme of government of Locke and Shaftesbury was abandoned; a better day then dawned. John Archdale, the good Quaker, came, and his policy was like oil poured upon troubled waters. Only one great difficulty remained—the troubles arising from the antipathy of the English to the French. The general excellence of character possessed by the latter soon disarmed prejudices; their political disabilities were removed; they were no longer excluded from participation in governmental affairs, and the last fountain of disquietude was dried up. During the whole of Archdale's administration, and that of Blake, his successor, peace and prosperity prevailed.

James Moore succeeded Blake in 1700. He sent an expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, in 1702, which proved unsuccessful. A subsequent expedition against the Apalachian Indians, undertaken by Moore, has been considered in a previous chapter.

Nathaniel Johnson, a pliant servant of Lord Granville, one of the proprietors, succeeded Moore in 1703, and, pursuant to a plan long cherished by that nobleman and his friends, he proceeded to the establishment of the Church of England in Carolina. This was the first budding of religious intolerance there. The Dissenters were excluded from the Colonial Legislature, and suffered other disabilities. They laid their grievances before the English Parliament. There they received encouragement, and the law of disfranchisement was soon repealed by the Colonial Assembly, but the Liturgy of the Church of England remained the established form of religion in the province until the Revolution.

England was now at war with France and Spain. Her enemies coalesced, and joined in an expedition against South Carolina in 1706. A squadron of five ships came from Havana and appeared before Charleston. The governor called upon the people to repel the invaders, and they cheerfully responded. The invading troops were compelled to fly to their ships, and these, in turn, being attacked by some vessels which had been speedily armed in the harbor, retreated in haste across the bar, and departed. This was the first

A Revolution.

Royal Government established.

Separation of the Colonies.

Extension of Settlements.

naval victory of the South Carolinians. Of eight hundred of the enemy, almost three hundred were killed or taken prisoners.

In 1710 a speck of civil war appeared in Charleston, when two claimants to the office of acting governor, on the death of Tynte, the successor of Johnson, disputed for the honor. A compromise was effected, by referring the case to the proprietors for a decision. They wisely discarded both candidates, and appointed Charles Craven, brother of one of the proprietors, governor of the province. Under his administration the colony prospered, settlements extended, and the power of a dangerous Indian confederacy against the Carolinas was effectually broken.¹

¹ 1717. Craven was succeeded by Robert Johnson, a son of the former governor,^a and during his administration a revolution occurred in South Carolina which changed the government from a proprietary to a royal one. The remote causes of this change may be found in the desire of the people for a simple and inexpensive government responsible only to the crown, and not to be subjected to the caprices, avarice, and inefficiency of a Board of Control composed of private individuals, intent only upon personal gain. The immediate and ostensible cause was the refusal of the proprietors to pay any portion of the debt incurred by the Indian war so promptly suppressed by Governor Craven; and the severity with which they enforced the collection of rents. The people looked to the crown for relief, aid, and protection. A scheme for a revolution was secretly planned, and on the twenty-eighth of November, 1719, Governor Johnson was deposed. The people proceeded to elect James Moore governor. The militia, on whom Johnson looked for aid, were against him, and finding himself entirely unsupported, he withdrew to his plantation. Moore was proclaimed governor of the province in the king's name, and royal authority was established. During the administration of Francis Nicholson, the successor of Moore, and that of Arthur Middleton, acting governor, little of political importance occurred in relation to the colony, except the legal disputes in England concerning the rights of the proprietors. These were finally settled in 1729, by a royal purchase of both colonies (see page 562) from the proprietors, and during that year North and South Carolina became separate royal provinces.

The colony was now very prosperous, and from the period of the separation until the Revolution, nothing occurred to impede its general progress but the troubles with the Indians, detailed in preceding chapters, and difficulties with the Spaniards. Soon all alarm on account of the latter subsided, for Oglethorpe had established a barrier on the Southern border, by laying the foundation of the commonwealth of Georgia, and preparing means for keeping the Spaniards south of the St. John's. When this barrier was made secure, the treaties with the Indians were accomplished, the war with France ended, and universal peace reigned in the Carolinas. Emigration flowed thither in a broad and rapid stream. Immigrants came from all parts of Europe. Up the Pedee, Santee, Edisto, and Savannah Rivers, settlements spread rapidly, and soon the ax and the plow were plying with mighty energy upon the banks of the Wateree, the Broad, and the Saluda Rivers, and their tributaries.² At one time six hundred German settlers came in a body; and from the North of Ireland such numbers of the Protestant inhabitants (Scotch-Irish chiefly) departed for Carolina that the depopulation of whole districts was menaced. Immigrants came, too,

² 1764. from the other colonies. Within a single year,^b more than a thousand families with their effects—their cattle, hogs, and horses—crossed the Alleghanies from the Eastern settlements, and pitched their tents in the bosom of Carolina. Far removed from the po-

¹ See page 562.

² Previous to this period, some important settlements were made. Between the years 1730 and 1740, an Irish settlement was planted near the Santee, to which was given the name of Williamsburg township. At the same time, some Swiss emigrants, under John Pury, settled upon the northeast side of the Savannah, and founded the village of Puryzburg. From 1748 to 1755, great numbers of Palatines (Germans) were introduced, and settled Orangeburgh and other places upon the Congaree and Wateree. After the battle of Culloden in 1745, many Scotch Highlanders came over. Some of them settled in South Carolina, but a larger portion located at Cross Creek (Fayetteville), in North Carolina. The greatest influx of settlement was after the treaty of Paris, in 1763.

Discontents.	Disputes with the Governor.	Effects of the Stamp Act.	Boldness of the People.
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litical power they had been taught to reverence, they soon became alienated. They felt neither the favors nor the oppressions of government, and in the free wilderness their minds and hearts became schooled in that sturdy independence which developed bold and energetic action when the Revolution broke out.

While the people of New England were murmuring because of Writs of Assistance and other grievances, the Carolinians were not indifferent listeners, especially those upon the sea-board; and before the Stamp Act lighted the flame of general indignation in America, leading men in South Carolina were freely discussing the rights and privileges of each colony, and saw in day-dreams a mighty empire stretching along the Atlantic coast from the Penobscot to the St. John's. Already their representatives had quarreled with the governor (William Boone), because he had presumed to touch, with official hands, one of their dearest privileges (the elective franchise), and refused to hold intercourse with him. In these disputes, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, Henry Laurens, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the Rutledges, and other stanch patriots in the stormy strife ten years later, were engaged. A spirit of resistance was then aroused, which brought South Carolina early into the arena of conflict when the war began.

When intelligence of the Stamp Act came over the sea, the Assembly of South Carolina did not wait to consult the opinions of those of other colonies, but immediately passed a series of condemnatory resolves. When, soon afterward, the proposition for a Colonial Congress came from Massachusetts, a member of the Assembly ridiculed it,^a others thought the scheme chimerical, yet a majority of them were in favor of it, and delegates were appointed to represent South Carolina in the Congress which was held at New York.^a The iniquitous character of the Stamp Act was freely discussed by the Carolinians, and as the day approached^b when it was to go into operation, the people became more and more determined to resist it. When the stamps arrived in Charleston, no man was found willing to act as distributor, and Governor William Bull (who had succeeded Boone) ordered them to be placed in Fort Johnson, a strong fortress on James's Island, then garrisoned by a very small force. When the place of deposit became known, one hundred and fifty armed men, who had secretly organized, went down to the fort at midnight, in open boats, to destroy the stamps. They surprised and captured the garrison, loaded the cannons, hoisted a flag, and at sunrise proclaimed open defiance of the power of the governor. The captain of the armed ship which brought the stamps opened a parley with the insurgents, and agreed to take away the obnoxious articles, and "not land them elsewhere in America."^c This was agreed to, and the men returned to the city. So universal was the opposition to the Act, that no attempt was made to arrest the men concerned in this overt act of treason.

^a October 7, 1765.

^b November 1.

¹ "If you agree to the proposition of composing a Congress from the different British colonies," said the member, "what sort of a dish will you make. New England will throw in fish and onions; the Middle States flax-seed and flour; Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco; North Carolina pitch, tar, and turpentine; South Carolina rice and indigo; and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with saw-dust. Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form a union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces." A shrewd country member replied, "I would not choose the gentleman who made the objection for my cook, but, nevertheless, I would venture to assert that if the colonies proceed judiciously in the appointment of deputies to a Continental Congress, they would prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe."—*Ramsay*.

² In a letter from Charleston, published in Weyman's *New York Gazette*, it is stated that on the morning of the nineteenth of October a gallows was discovered in the middle of Broad Street, where Church Street intersects (then the central part of the town), on which were suspended an effigy representing a stamp distributor, and another to impersonate the devil. Near by was suspended a *boot* (Lord Bute), with a head upon it, covered by a blue Scotch bonnet. To these effigies labels were affixed. Upon one was the warning, "Whoever shall dare to pull down these effigies had better been born with a mill-stone about his neck, and cast into the sea." At evening they were taken down, and paraded through the street by about two thousand persons, until they came to the house of George Saxby, in Tradd Street, an appointed stamp distributor, where they made a great noise, and injured his windows and other portions of his house, to "the value of five pounds sterling." No other riotous feelings were manifested. Nine days afterward, Saxby and Caleb Lloyd made oath at Fort Johnson that they would have nothing more to do with the stamps.

Liberty Tree.

Charleston Sons of Liberty.

Pitt's Statue.

Christopher Gadsden.

Under a wide-spreading live oak, a little north of the residence of Christopher Gadsden—the Samuel Adams of South Carolina—the patriots used to assemble during the summer and autumn of 1765, and also the following summer, when the Stamp Act was repealed. There they discussed the political questions of the day. From this circumstance the green oak was called, like the great elm in Boston, *Liberty Tree*.¹ There Gadsden assembled some of his political friends after the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, and, while bon-fires were blazing, cannons were pealing for joy, and the Legislature of South Carolina was voting a statue in honor of Pitt,² he warned them not to be deceived by this mere show of justice.³ His keen perception comprehended the Declaratory Act in all its deformity, and while others were loud in their praises of the king and Parliament, he ceased not to proclaim the whole proceeding a deceptive and wicked scheme to lull the Americans into a dangerous inactivity. And more; it is claimed, and generally believed in South Carolina, that under Liberty Tree Christopher Gadsden first spoke of American Independence. How early is not known, but supposed to be as early as 1764.⁴

The people of Charleston cheerfully signed non-importation agreements in 1769 and

¹ This tree stood within the square now bounded by Charlotte, Washington, Boundary, and Alexander Streets. This continued to be the favorite meeting-place until the Revolution was in full progress. Beneath that tree the Declaration of Independence was first read to the assembled people of Charleston. Its history and associations were hateful to the officers of the crown, and when Sir Henry Clinton took possession of the city in 1780, he ordered it to be cut down, and a fire lighted over the stump by piling its branches around it. Many cane heads were made from the remains of the stump in after years. A part of it was sawed into thin boards and made into a neat ballot-box, and presented to the "'76 Association." This box was destroyed by fire, at the rooms of the association, during the great conflagration in 1838.

² This statue was of marble, and stood at the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets. During the siege of Charleston, in April, 1780, a British cannon-ball from James's Island passed up Meeting Street, struck this statue, and broke off its left arm. Several years after the war, the statue, being considered an obstruction, was rudely pulled down by some workmen employed for the purpose, when the head was broken off, and it was otherwise mutilated. Good taste would have restored the arm, and kept the statue in its place until this day.

³ The following are the names of the Sons of Liberty of Charleston, who met with Gadsden, under Liberty Tree, in 1766, and with linked hands pledged themselves to resist when the hour for resistance should arrive. They are published by Johnson from the original record of George Flagg, one of the party: General Christopher Gadsden, William Johnson, Joseph Verree, John Fullerton, James Brown, Nathaniel Libby, George Flagg, Thomas Coleman, John Hall, William Field, Robert Jones, John Lawton, Uziah Rogers, John Calvert, Henry Bookless, J. Barlow, Tunis Tebout, Peter Munclear, William Trusler, Robert Howard, Alexander Alexander, Edward Weyman, Thomas Searl, William Laughton, Daniel Cannon, and Benjamin Hawes. The last survivor, George Flagg, died in 1824.

⁴ Christopher Gadsden was born in Charleston in 1724. He was educated in England, where he be-

came accomplished in the learned languages. He

returned to America at the age of sixteen, and en-

tered the counting-house of a merchant in Phil-

adelphia, where he remained until he was twenty-

one years of age. He then went to England, and on his return engaged in mercantile pursuits in Charleston. He was successful, and was soon able to purchase all of the property known as Ansonborough, which his father lost in play with Lord Anson. His house was upon the lot now (1848) owned by Mrs. Isaac Ball, and the kitchen is yet standing on the lot at the northeast corner of East Bay and Vernon Streets. Mr. Gadsden was one of the earliest opponents of Great Britain in South Carolina, and, as the Revolution advanced, was one of its firmest supporters. He was a delegate in the first Continental Congress in 1774, and his name is attached to the *American Association* agreed to by that body. In 1775, he was elected senior colonel and commandant of three South Carolina regiments, and was subsequently made a brigadier. He was in the engagement at the siege of Charleston in 1776. He was one of the framers of the Constitution of South Carolina, adopted in 1778. He resigned his commission in 1779, and when Charleston was taken by Clinton, in 1780, he was lieutenant governor; as such, he signed the capitulation. Three months afterward, he was taken, with others, and cast into the loathsome prison at St. Augustine (an act in open violation of the terms of capitulation), because he would not submit to indignity at the hands of Governor Tonyn. There he suffered for eleven months, until exchanged in June, 1781, when he sailed to Philadelphia with other prisoners. He returned to Charleston, and was a member of the Assembly convened at Jacksonburg in the winter of 1782. He opposed the confiscation of the property of the Loyalists, and thereby won their esteem. He was elected governor of the state in 1782, but declined the honor, and went into the retirement of private life. He died on the twenty-eighth of August, 1805, at the age of eighty-one years.

Chris Gadsden

Tea repudiated.	Sympathy for Bostonians.	Provincial Convention and Congress.	Seizure of Dispatches.
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1770, and faithfully adhered thereto; and when the Continental Congress of 1774 adopted the *American Association*, its recommendations were very generally complied with in South Carolina. When tea was sent to America, under the provisions of a new act of 1773 (see page 495, volume i.), the South Carolinians were as firm in their opposition to the landing of the cargoes *for sale*, as were the people of Boston. It was stored in the warehouses, and there rotted, for not a pound was allowed to be sold.

The closing of the port of Boston, by act of Parliament, on the first of January, 1774, aroused the indignation and sympathy of the South Carolinians, and substantial aid was freely sent to the suffering inhabitants of that city. When the proposition for a General Congress went forth, the affirmative voice of South Carolina was among the first heard in response. In an assembly of the people, held in Charleston, on the sixth, seventh, and eighth of July, 1774, it was declared that the Boston Port Bill was "most cruel and oppressive," and plainly showed that "if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into a mean submission of said acts, that the like are designed for all the colonies; when not even the shadow of liberty to his person, or of security to his property, will be left to any of his majesty's subjects residing on the American continent." The same convention approved of the proposition for a General Congress, chose delegates to represent them in Federal Council,¹ and closed their proceedings by the appointment of a committee of ninety-nine, "to act as a general committee, to correspond with the committees of other colonies, and to do all matters and things necessary to carry the resolutions of the convention into execution." Henry Laurens was appointed chairman of this large committee, and it was agreed that twenty-one should constitute a business quorum.²

In defiance of the remonstrances and menaces of Lieutenant-governor Bull, a Provincial Congress of delegates, chosen by the people, met at Charleston on the eleventh of January, 1775. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was chosen president. That Assembly approved of the proceedings of the General Congress, and appointed a committee of inspection and observation to see that its recommendations were complied with.³ Now began those coercive measures of the Whigs which were often wrong and oppressive, but frequently necessary and salutary. The non-importation measures were rigorously enforced, and royal power was boldly defied. The people of Charleston formed themselves into volunteer companies to practice the use of fire-arms, and the boys, catching the spirit of the hour, banded together, and with mimic weapons imitated the discipline of their seniors.

On the nineteenth of April, 1775, the day when the first blow was struck for liberty at Lexington, the packet ship *Swallow* arrived at Charleston, bringing dispatches for the governors of the Southern colonies. Among others was a dispatch for the acting governor of South Carolina, William Bull. His disputes with the Committee of Safety and the Provincial Congress had risen to a high pitch of acrimony, and the public mind was greatly excited. Yet all hoped for reconciliation, and few could believe that civil war would actually ensue. The arrival of the *Swallow* extinguished these hopes, for a secret committee who had been appointed to seize the next mail that should arrive from England, performed their duty well.⁴ On opening the dispatches to the governor, it was found that the British

¹ Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge, were appointed delegates.

² Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, i., 18; Moultrie's *Memoirs*, i., 10. The place of meeting was at a large tavern on the northeast corner of Broad and Church Streets, commonly called, at that day, "The Corner."

³ The following gentlemen composed the Charleston committee: Christopher Gadsden, Isaac Huger, William Gibbes, William Parker, Aaron Locock, Roger Smith, Maurice Simons, John Poang, Thomas Legaré, Sen., Edward Simons, Edward Blake, Samuel Prioleau, Jr., Hugh Swinton, John Champneys, William Host, John Brewton, Alexander Chisholme, Alexander Chovin, William Livingston, and John Baddeley.

⁴ This committee consisted of William Henry Drayton, John Neufville, and Thomas Corbett. After the mail was carried to the post-office, and before it could be opened, this committee went thither, and demanded it from Stevens, the postmaster, in the name of the Provincial Congress. Stevens allowed them to take it, under protest. It was then carried to the State House and opened. The packages for the governors were retained and opened; the private letters, with seals unbroken, were returned to the post-office.

Intentions of the Ministry.	Condition of the People.	Seizure of Arms and Powder.	Civil Government organized.
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ministry had resolved to coerce the colonies into submission. The royal governors were ordered to seize the arms and ammunition belonging to the several provinces, raise provincial troops, if possible, and prepare to receive an army of British regulars to aid them. Gage and Dunmore, we have seen, acted upon these instructions, but the patriots of Lexington, Concord, and Williamsburg thwarted them; and the Charleston Committee of Correspondence, giving those of North Carolina and Georgia timely warning, enabled them to assume an attitude of defense before it was too late. A messenger, with these dispatches, was sent to the Continental Congress, and this was the first intelligence which that body had of the real intentions of the British ministry.

A few days after the discovery of this scheme, intelligence of the battle at Lexington arrived. Suspicion now yielded to demonstration; there was no longer any uncertainty; the mother was arming against her children; war was inevitable. While patriotism, gushing in full fountain from the hearts of the people, made them proclaim boldly, *We are ready!* sober reason saw the disparity in the strength of the oppressor and the oppressed. England was then among the first powers of the earth; the colonies were weak in material defenses. The savage tribes on their whole western frontier might be brought, like thirsty blood-hounds, upon them; they possessed not a single ship of war; they had very little money; at the South, the slaves, by offers of freedom, might become enemies in their midst; a large number of wealthy, influential, and conscientious men were loyal to the king; the governors, being commanders-in-chief, had control of the provincial military forces, and, if their thoughts had for a moment turned to the Continental powers of Europe for aid, they were pressed back by the reflection that republican principles were at variance with the dominant sentiments of the Old World. And yet they did not hesitate. Pleading the justice of their cause, they leaned for support upon the strong arm of the God of Battles.

Having resolved on rebellion, the people of Charleston were not afraid to commit acts of legal treason. They justly considered that "all statutes of allegiance were repealed on the plains of Lexington, and the laws of self-preservation left to operate in full force."¹ They accordingly concerted a plan, like their brethren in Savannah (see page 726), to secure the arms and ammunition in the city, and on the night of the twentieth of April they seized upon all the munitions of war they could find. This was the first overt act of resistance, and at that hour began the Revolution, in earnest, in South Carolina.

A second session of the Provincial Congress commenced on the first of June. An association, drawn up by Henry Laurens, was adopted;² a permanent Committee of Safety was appointed; an issue of six hundred thousand dollars in paper money was ordered, and two regiments of infantry, of five hundred men each, and a battalion of cavalry or rangers, was directed to be raised. Some gentlemen were sent to the West Indies in a fast-sailing vessel to procure powder, and were fortunate enough to return with about ten thousand pounds.

After arranging military affairs, the attention of the Assembly was next turned to the organization of civil government. A Council of Safety was appointed to act during the recess of the Provincial Congress, to whom all the powers of that body were delegated.³ They had the entire control of the army; were clothed with power to contract debts for the public service, and to issue coin and bills of credit. With this organization, civil government, upon a republican basis, was begun.

During the session of the Congress, Lord William Campbell,⁴ who had been appointed

¹ Ramsay, i., 30.

² The core of this document consisted in the declaration of those who signed it, that they were "ready to sacrifice life and fortune to secure the freedom and safety of South Carolina; holding all persons inimical to the liberties of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe to the association."

³ This council consisted of Henry Laurens, Charles Pinckney, Rawlins Lowndes, Thomas Ferguson, Miles Brewton, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Bee, John Huger, James Parsons, William Henry Drayton, Benjamin Elliott, and William Williams.

⁴ Lord Campbell was the third brother of the Duke of Argyll. He had married Sarah Izard, the sister of Ralph Izard, who belonged to the richest family in the province. The residence of Lord Campbell was on Meeting Street, now (1851) owned and occupied by Judge D. E. Huger. Soon finding his residence

Seizure of Powder at St. Augustine.

Expulsion of Lord Campbell and the Garrison.

City Defenses.

governor, arrived at Charleston,^a and was very courteously received. He professed great love for the people of the province, and assured them that he would use his best endeavors to promote the welfare of the inhabitants. Taught by experience to suspect the promises of royalty or its representatives, the people took measures to test his sincerity. The hollowness of his professions was proven, and turning their backs upon him,

^a July, 1775.

Will^m Moultrie

the patriots proceeded in their preparations for armed resistance. A vessel was fitted out by the Committee of Safety to attempt the capture of an English sloop laden with powder, then lying at St. Augustine. The expedition was successful, and fifteen thousand pounds of powder were brought safely into Charleston, though chased by cruisers sent out by Campbell. Part of this powder, which was sent to the Continental Congress for the use of the grand army, was used by Arnold and his men in the siege of Quebec at the close of 1775.

Early in September,^b Colonel Moultrie^c proceeded to take possession of the fort on Sullivan's Island, in Charleston harbor. The small garrison made no resistance, but fled to the British sloops of war *Tamar* and *Cherokee*, then lying in Rebellion Roads, in front of Fort Sullivan. Lord Campbell, perceiving the storm of popular indignation against him daily increasing, particularly when it became known that he was endeavoring to incite the Indians on the frontier to lift the hatchet for the king, and was tampering with the Tories in the inte-

^b 1775.^c Sept. 14.

rior, also fled to these vessels for shelter, and thus "abdicated" royal power.^c

The Provincial Council now increased the defenses of the city, and organized a company of artillery. They also took measures for fortifying the harbor. Lieutenant-colonel Motte, accompanied by Captains Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Bernard Elliot, and Francis Marion, took possession of Fort Johnson, on James Island, and on the same evening, Captain Heyward, with thirty-five of the Charleston artillery, went down and mounted three guns in the place of those spiked by the garrison when they fled. Three days afterward, the first Republican flag displayed at the South was floating over the main bastion of the fortress.^d



SOUTH CAROLINA FLAG.

in Charleston unsafe, he escaped to a British vessel in the harbor, leaving his family behind. Lady Campbell was treated with great respect, but finally she too went on board the vessel, and was landed at Jamaica. The next year (1776), Campbell was on board the *Bristol* in the attack upon Charleston, and, while fighting on the quarter-deck, he was wounded. He died from the effects of his wounds, two years afterward.

¹ William Moultrie was a native of South Carolina. He was born in 1730. We find him first in public service as an officer, in the expedition against the Cherokees in 1760. He was also in subsequent expeditions against that unhappy people. When the Revolution broke out, he was among the earliest in South Carolina to take the field on the Republican side. His defense of the fort on Sullivan's Island in 1776, gave him great eclat, and he was promoted to brigadier. He gained a battle over the British near Beaufort in 1779, and in May, 1780, was second in command when Charleston was besieged. He went to Philadelphia while a prisoner of war, and did not return to South Carolina until 1782. He was several times chosen governor of the state, and retired from public life only when the infirmities of age demanded repose. He published his *Memoirs of the Revolution*, relating to the war in the South, in two volumes, in 1802, printed by David Longworth, of New York. Governor Moultrie died at Charleston on the twenty-seventh of September, 1805, at the age of seventy-five years.

² Moultrie, in his *Memoirs*, says, "As there was no national flag at the time, I was desired by the Council of Safety to have one made, upon which, as the state troops were clothed in blue, and the fort was garrisoned by the first and second regiments, who wore a silver crescent on the front of their caps, I had a

Fortifications around Charleston.

Fort Moultrie.

Organization of Civil Government.

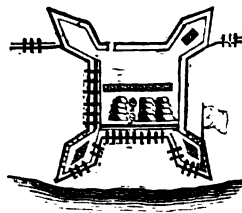
John Rutledge.

Colonel Moultrie soon afterward mounted some heavy cannons upon Haddrell's Point, and ^{Sept. 16, 1775.} all of the troops in and around Charleston were ordered^a to hold themselves in readiness, for it was expected that the *Tamar* and *Cherokee* would, pursuant to Lord Campbell's menaces, open a fire upon the town or the forts. A magazine was built at Dorchester, and ten thousand pounds of powder were sent thither. A small fort was also erected upon the Cheraw Hills, on the Great Pedee, to give confidence to the Whigs in that region where Campbell's emissaries had been. In December, Moultrie, with a considerable force, took possession of Sullivan's Island and commenced the erection of a fascine battery. This advantage, and a few long shots from Haddrell's Point (where a battery had been erected), caused the *Tamar* and *Cherokee* to leave the harbor. Lord Campbell, despairing of maintaining his power, sailed to Jamaica. It was during these events upon the sea-board in the course of the autumn of 1775 that the organization of the Tories in Ninety-Six and other portions of the upper country, already noticed, occurred.

Colonel Gadsden assumed command of all the troops in Charleston early in 1776, and the Council of Safety commissioned him a brigadier. Colonel Moultrie was ordered^b to build a strong fort upon Sullivan's Island, large enough to accommodate one thousand men, and to take the command there.¹ This measure was considered necessary, for certain intelligence had arrived that a fleet and army were preparing to assail Charleston, and a fort at the point designated would be a key to the harbor, with the aid of Fort Johnson. The civil government was revised; a temporary Constitution was formed² (the first in the colonies); and the Legislature was called the *General Assembly of South Carolina*. It possessed all powers of supreme local government. John Rutledge³ was chosen president, with the actual powers of governor; and other executive officers, with a privy and a legislative council, were elected by the new Assembly.⁴

large blue flag made, with a crescent in the dexter corner, to be in uniform with the troops. This was the first American flag displayed in the South."—Vol. i., p. 90.

¹ This fort was constructed of palmetto logs, in sections, and filled in with sand. The merlons were sixteen feet thick, and sufficiently high to cover the men from the fire that might be directed upon them from the tops of the British vessels. It was first called Fort Sullivan, being upon the island of that name, but was named Fort Moultrie, after its gallant defense by its commander, in June, 1776. When I visited its site (a portion of which is covered by the modern strong works of Fort Moultrie) in 1849, some of the palmetto logs were visible, imbedded in the sand. The annexed engraving shows the plan of the fort when attacked in June, 1776, before it was completed. The drawing of the fort in the text is from a large plan by an English engineer, who was attached to the British fleet.



² This Constitution was to remain in force until October of the same year.

³ John Rutledge was the son of Doctor John Rutledge, who came to America, from Ireland, in 1735. He studied law at the Temple in London, and returned to Charleston in 1761. He espoused the republican cause at an early period of the dispute, and was a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774. When the temporary Constitution of South Carolina was adopted in the spring of 1776, he was appointed president and commander-in-chief of the colony. When the new and permanent Constitution was established two years later, he refused his assent, because he thought it too democratic. His prejudices yielded, however, and in 1779 he was chosen governor under it, with the temporary power of a dictator. He took the field at the head of the militia, and with great skill and energy managed the affairs of the state until the fall of Charleston in May, 1780. After the war, he was made judge of the Court of Chancery, and in 1789 a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was appointed chief justice of South Carolina in 1791, and in 1796 was elevated to the seat of chief justice of the United States. He died in July, 1800.

⁴ Henry Laurens was elected vice-president; William Henry Drayton, chief justice; * Alexander Moul-

* In April, about a month after his appointment, Chief-justice Drayton delivered an able charge to the Grand Jury on the subject of independence. Its effects were powerful, salutary, and extensive. In South Carolina its arguments convinced the dubious, and its boldness, both of reason and expression, strengthened the feeble and upheld the wavering. It was published in all of the Whig papers of the Northern colonies; was commented upon by the London press, and received the warmest expressions of approbation from the friends of the colonists every where.

Defenses of Charleston Harbor.

Arrival of Generals Armstrong and Lee.

Arrival of the British.

After passing a few necessary laws, the Assembly adjourned,^a the Council of Safety and General Committee were dissolved, and a constitutional government began. April 11, 1776.

The president and privy council were vested with executive power to administer the government during the recess of the Legislature.

Under the efficient direction of President Rutledge, Charleston and vicinity were well prepared for defense in the spring of 1776. About one hundred pieces of cannon were mounted at various points around the harbor, and a strong battery was erected at Georgetown. Brigadier-general John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, arrived in April, and took the general command; and early in June,^b Major-general

^b June 4. Charles Lee reached Charleston. He

had been sent by General Washington, after the expulsion of the British from Boston, to watch the movements of General Sir Henry Clinton, and to command the troops for the defense of the Southern sea-board. Lee's known experience, skill, and bravery gave the people great confidence, and the alarm which had prevailed since the appearance of a British squadron off Dewees Island, five days before, soon subsided. Lee was indefatigable in his preparations for the defense of Charleston, and was generally satisfied with all the arrangements of the local authorities. The garrison at Fort Sullivan worked day and night to complete it, and when the British fleet appeared, about thirty heavy pieces of cannon were mounted upon it.'

The British fleet bearing a land force, and both designed to act against the Southern colonies in the campaign of 1776, was commanded by Admiral Sir Peter Parker (portrayed on the next page). Its approach was providentially discovered in time³ to allow the Carolinians to prepare for defense, and for Washington to dispatch Lee and Armstrong, officers of experience, to aid them. Parker reached the Cape Fear early in May, where he was joined by Sir Henry Clinton, from New York, who assumed the chief command of all the land troops. On the fourth of June, the day when General Lee arrived, the fleet appeared off Charleston bar, and several hundred land troops took possession of Long Island, which lies eastward of Sullivan's Island, and is separated from it only by a narrow creek.

All was now activity among the patriots. The militia of the surrounding country obeyed the summons of Governor Rutledge with great alacrity, and flocked to the town. These, with the regular troops of South Carolina, and those of the Northern colonies who had come with Armstrong and Lee, made an available force of between five and six thousand men. Gadsden commanded the first regiment of South Carolina regulars at Fort Johnson, on James's Island, three miles from Charleston; Colonel Moultrie those at Fort

trie, attorney general; John Huger, secretary; Hugh Rutledge, judge of the admiralty; and James Parsons, William H. Drayton, John Edwards, Charles Pinckney, Thomas Ferguson, and Rawlins Lowndes, members of the Privy Council.

¹ General Moultrie says that Lee ordered a bridge of boats to be constructed for a retreat. There were not boats enough, and empty hogsheads, with planks across, were tried, but without success. Lee was very anxious on this point, and felt that in case of attack, the garrison must be sacrificed. "For my part," says Moultrie, "I never was uneasy on not having a retreat, because I never imagined that the enemy could force me to that necessity."

² Early in April, Lord Dunmore sent a boat to Annapolis, with dispatches for Governor Eden, from Lord Dartmouth. James Barron, then cruising in the Chesapeake, captured this boat and conveyed the papers to Williamsburg. Dartmouth's communication revealed the whole plan of operations. It was dated December 23, 1775.



J. Rutledge

Rutledge's rigorous Measures.

Clinton's Preparations for Attack.

Commencement of the Action.

Sullivan; and Colonel Thomson, the advanced post on the east end of Sullivan's Island. Thomson's troops were chiefly riflemen. There was also a strong force at Haddrell's Point, under the immediate command of General Lee. In the city, governor Rutledge, impelled



SIR PETER PARKER.
From an English Print.

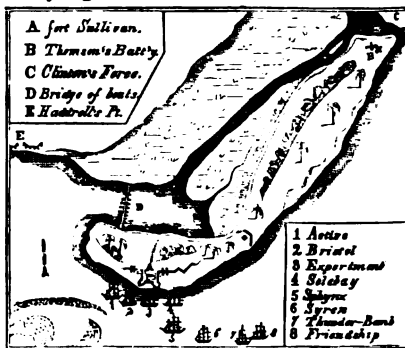
by the necessities of the hour, and under the belief that an attempt would be made to pass the forts and land the troops in the city, pursued the rigorous course of martial law. Valuable stores on the wharves were torn down, and a line of defenses was made in their places. The streets near the water were barricaded, and, on account of the scarceness of lead, many window-sashes of that material were melted into bullets. He pressed into service seven hundred negroes with tools, who belonged to Loyalists; and seized, for the moment, the money and papers of the lukewarm. By these energetic measures the city was made strong in moral and physical material, and when the British fleet crossed the bar, all were ready to receive them.

While these preparations were in progress by the Republicans, Sir Henry Clinton was busy in arranging for a combined attack with the land and naval forces. He constructed two batteries upon Long Island, to confront those of Thomson upon Sullivan's Island, and to cover

the passage of his troops in boats and in fording from the former to the latter, for Fort Sullivan, the main work in the harbor, was the devoted mark for the first blow. Its garrison consisted of only three hundred and forty-four regulars and a few volunteer militia, and its only aid was an armed sloop, with powder, which was anchored off Haddrell's Point, now Point Pleasant.

At half past ten o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, Sir Peter Parker, on board his flag-ship, the *Bristol*, made the signal for attack. His fleet immediately advanced, and, with springs on their cables, anchored in front of Fort Sullivan.¹ The *Active*, *Bristol*, *Experiment*, and *Solebay* led to the attack, and anchored nearest the fort. At the moment of anchoring, the fort poured a heavy fire upon them, and each vessel returned the compliment by delivering a broadside upon the little fortress, but with almost harmless effect upon the spongy palmetto logs.² It was a little before eleven o'clock when the action began, and terrible to the people of Charleston, who looked upon the contest from balconies, roofs, and steeples, was the roar of three hundred cannons.

To the little garrison the peril seemed great, yet they maintained their fire with precision and coolness. Perceiving the unfinished state of the fort on the western side, toward



SULLIVAN'S ISLAND AND THE BRITISH FLEET AT THE TIME OF THE ATTACK.

¹ The British vessels brought into action were the *Bristol* and *Experiment*, of fifty guns each; the frigates *Active*, *Solebay*, *Actæon*, *Syren*, and *Sphynx*, of twenty-eight guns each; the *Thunder-bomb*, and *Ranger*, sloop, each of twenty-eight guns; and the *Friendship*, an armed vessel of twenty-two guns.

² The palmetto is peculiar to the low sandy shores of the Southern States. It grows from twenty to forty feet in height, without branches, terminating in a large tuft of very long leaves. The wood is very porous, and a bullet or cannon-ball, on entering it, makes no extended fracture. It becomes buried, without injuring adjacent parts.

Clinton Repulsed.

Cannonade of Fort Sullivan.

Fate of the British Fleet.

Charleston, Parker ordered the *Sphinx*, *Actæon*, and *Syren* to take a position in the channel on that side, so as to enfilade the garrison. Had they succeeded, surrender or certain destruction must have been the alternative for the Americans. The three vessels advanced to execute the orders, when they all struck upon a shoal called the Middle Ground, and while thus entangled a very destructive fire was poured upon them from the fort. The *Sphinx* got off with the loss of her bowsprit, and the *Syren* without much injury, and withdrew to another part of the harbor; but the *Actæon* was too thoroughly grounded to be moved. Simultaneously with the advance of the ships to the attack of Fort Sullivan, Clinton's batteries upon Long Island, and some floating batteries in the creek, opened upon those of Thomson; and a portion of the British land forces embarked in boats under cover of their artillery, to force their way to assail the fort on the west, where it was unfinished, or at least to prevent Lee from sending re-enforcements or ammunition from Haddrell's Point, across the bridge of boats which had now been constructed. Clinton's whole regular force on Long Island was about two thousand troops, and between five and six hundred seamen. Colonel Thomson had only two cannons, but his riflemen were among the best marksmen in the state. He allowed Clinton's flotilla to approach within musket shot, when he opened a destructive fire upon them from his battery and small arms. Several attempts to advance were made, and every time the sure marksmen of Carolina swept many from the boats, and Clinton was obliged to abandon his design. Lee, who had perceived the weakness of the fort on its western side, and penetrated the design of Clinton, observed this retrograde movement with joy; and when at about two o'clock, the garrison ceased firing, on account of the exhaustion of ammunition, he sent a sufficient supply from Haddrell's Point and a schooner, and the defensive cannonade was resumed.

The fire from the ships was almost incessant, and yet the patriots in the fort were firm.¹ Their shots were dreadfully effective, and the ships were severely battered and maimed. Anxiously the seamen and marines turned their eyes toward the East, expecting aid from Clinton, but it did not appear. For ten long hours, while the iron storm from the fort was beating their ships in pieces, and sweeping whole ranks from the decks, scarcely a ray of hope appeared for the seamen; and when the sun went down, its last gleams were upon the scarlet coats and burnished arms of the British, yet upon Long Island, and kept at bay by Thomson's batteries and sure-aimed riflemen. The contest continued without intermission until sunset, when it slackened, and at half past nine in the evening it entirely ceased. At eleven o'clock the shattered vessels slipped their cables and withdrew to Five Fathom Hole, about two miles northeastward of Fort Johnson, except the *Actæon*, which remained aground. Early the next morning the garrison fired a few shots at her, which were returned. At the same time, Clinton made another effort to cross from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, but Thomson confronted him with such hot volleys, that he was obliged to retreat behind his batteries. Perceiving further efforts to reduce the fort, especially in his

¹ Burke, in his *Annual Register*, gave the following graphic account of the naval engagement and the fort: "While the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the firmness of the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort could not fail of calling for the respect, as well as of highly incommending the brave seamen of Britain. In the midst of that dreadful war of artillery, they stuck with the greatest firmness and constancy to their guns, fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valor shine more conspicuous, and never did our marines, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience as rude an encounter. The springs of the *Bristol's* cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire as to be most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still with a noble obstinacy disdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the *Bristol* was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness which have seldom been equaled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dressed. Nor did Captain Scott, of the *Experiment*, miss his share of the danger or glory, who, besides the loss of an arm, received so many other wounds, that his life was at first despaired of."

Burning of the *Actæon*.

Effect of the Battle.

The Loss.

Bravery of Sergeant Jasper.

crippled condition, to be futile, Parker ordered the crew of the *Actæon* to set fire to and abandon her. They did so, leaving the colors flying and guns loaded. When they had left, the Americans boarded her, secured her colors as a trophy, carried off the ship's bell, fired her guns at the *Bristol*, loaded three boats with stores, and set her on fire. Within half an hour after they left her, she blew up.

This battle was one of the severest during the whole war, and while it redounded to the military glory of the Americans, and greatly increased the patriot strength at the South, it was regarded by the British as peculiarly disastrous, aside from the actual loss of life and property in the action.¹ This discomfiture occurred at a time when the British were desirous of making the most favorable impression here and in Europe, for Lord Howe was then on his way as a *commissioner* to settle all disputes, or as a *commander* to prosecute the war. His course was to be determined by circumstances. This was the first time that the Americans had encountered a regular British fleet. The fact that it had been terribly shattered and driven to sea was very humiliating to the vanquished, and, at the same time, encouraging to the victors, at a moment when a brilliant act like this was of immense moment to the Republican cause.

On the morning after the battle, the British fleet left Charleston harbor, and proceeded to Long Island to recruit. Almost every vessel was obliged to remain for that purpose. On the thirty-first, General Clinton, with Cornwallis and the troops, escorted by the *Solebay* frigate, with Sir Peter Parker on board, sailed for New York with a heavy heart.

The joy of the Americans on account of this victory was unbounded, and the praises of the actors were upon all lips. On the day when Clinton sailed,^a the lady of Bernard Elliot² presented Colonel Moultrie's regiment with a pair of elegant colors.

^a June 31.

¹ The loss on board of the ships was frightful. Every man stationed on the quarter-decks of the vessels, at the beginning of the action, was either killed or wounded. The commodore suffered a slight contusion. Captain Morris soon afterward died of his wounds. Forty men were killed and seventy-one wounded, on board the *Bristol*. The *Experiment* had twenty-three killed and seventy-six wounded. Her commander, Captain Scott, lost an arm. Lord William Campbell, the last royal governor of the province, who served as a volunteer, was badly wounded at the beginning of the action. The whole loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was two hundred and twenty-five. The *Bristol* had not less than seventy balls put through her. When the spring of her cable was cut, she swung round with her stern toward the fort, and instantly every gun that could be brought to bear upon her hurled its iron balls upon her. At the beginning of the action, Moultrie gave the word, "Mind the commodore and the fifty gun ships!" These were the principal sufferers. Although the Thunder-bomb cast more than fifty shells into the fort, not one of them did serious damage. There was a large moat, filled with water, in the center of the fort, which received nearly all of the shells, and extinguished the fuses before the fire reached the powder. Others were buried in the sand, and did no harm. Only ten of the garrison were killed and twenty-two wounded. Most of these were injured by shots which passed through the embrasures. Moultrie says that, after the battle, they picked up, in and around the fort, twelve hundred shot of different calibre that were fired at them, and a great number of thirteen inch shells.

During the action, Sergeant William Jasper, whom we have already met at the Spring, near Savannah, and witnessed his death while planting the Carolina flag upon the parapet of the British works, at the siege of that town, performed a daring feat. At the commencement of the action, the flag-staff was cut away by a ball from a British ship, and the Crescent flag of South Carolina, that waved opposite the Union flag upon the western bastion, fell outside, upon the beach. Jasper leaped the parapet, walked the length of the fort, picked up the flag, fastened it upon a sponge staff, and in the midst of the iron hail pouring upon the fortress, and in sight of the whole fleet, he fixed the flag firmly upon the bastion. Three cheers greeted him as he ascended to the parapet and leaped, unhurt, within the fort. On the day after the battle, Governor Rutledge visited the fort, and rewarded Jasper for his valor by presenting him with his own handsome small sword which hung at his side, and thanked him in the name of his country. He offered him a lieutenant's commission, but the young hero, who could neither read nor write, modestly refused it, saying, "I am not fit to keep officer's company; I am but a sergeant."

² Mrs. Elliot is represented as one of "the most busy among the Revolutionary women, and always active among soldiers." She was a niece of Mrs. Rebecca Motte, the patriot widow of Orangeburg, mentioned on page 683, and during the whole war was a useful co-worker with her republican husband.

The wife of Charles Elliot, brother of Bernard Elliot, was also a glorious Whig. Her wit and repartee often scathed the proud feelings of the British officers, when the royal army occupied Charleston. On one occasion, Colonel Balfour was walking with her in her garden, when, pointing to a chamomile flower, he asked its name. "The rebel flower," she replied. "And why is it called the rebel flower?" asked the officer. "Because," replied Mrs. Elliot, "it always flourishes most when trampled upon."

Presentation of Standards.

Patriotism not sectional.

Declaration of Independence.

Fort Sullivan.

These were the standards which were afterward planted on the walls of Savannah by Bush, Hume, and Jasper.¹ They were afterward captured when Charleston fell, and were seen years after the war, among other British trophies, in the Tower of London.² The Legislature of South Carolina changed the name of the fort from Sullivan to Moultrie, in honor of its brave defender; and on the twentieth of July,^a the Continental Congress passed a resolution of thanks to General Lee, Colonels Moultrie and Thomson, and the officers and men under their command.³

For three years after the repulse of the British from Charleston, South Carolina enjoyed comparative quiet while the war was raging at the North. Yet her sons were not idle listeners to the roar of cannons in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, but flocked thither in hundreds, under brave leaders, to do battle for their common country. The patriots of that war were not divided by sectional interests. There was no line of demarkation over which men hesitated to pass. A desire for the happiness of the New England people was a twin sentiment with love for his own fireside, in the heart of the Carolinian and Georgian; and the bosom of the "Green Mountain Boy" heaved as strongly with emotions of joy when a blow for freedom was successfully dealt among the rice lands of the South, as when the shout of victory went up from the heights of Saratoga.

Upon the western frontiers of the South, the Indians, stirred up by Tory emissaries, gave the people some trouble; but from the day when the Declaration of Independence was read at Liberty Tree,⁴ until the opening of the campaign of 1779, the people of Charleston continued in quiet pursuit of lucrative commerce. Yet prosperity did not stifle aspirations for freedom, nor the accumulation of riches cause hesitation when danger drew nigh and demanded sacrifices. The spirit of liberty burned with a light as steady and eternal as the polar star, even amid the clouds and darkness of intensest sufferings which ensued.

I visited Sullivan's Island on the day of my departure from Charleston,^b and sauntered for an hour upon the beach where the old Palmetto Fort once stood.

^b January 29,
1849.

VIEW AT FORT MOULTRIE.^a

Nothing of it now remains but a few of the logs imbedded in the drifting sand. The modern Fort Moultrie is not a large, but a well-constructed fortification. The island is sandy, and bears no shrub or tree sponta-

neously except the Palmetto, and these are not seen in profusion. On the northwestern

¹ See page 738.

² Moultrie, i., 182. One of them was of fine blue silk, and the other of fine red silk, richly embroidered.

³ Journals, ii., 260.

⁴ Johnson (page 189) relates that on that occasion (fifth of August, 1776) the people of Charleston, young and old, of both sexes, assembled around Liberty Tree (see page 748) with all the military of the city and vicinity, drums beating and flags flying. The ceremonies were opened with prayer. The Declaration was then read by Major Bernard Elliot (whose lady presented the flags, mentioned on page 756), and were closed by an eloquent address by the Reverend William Percy, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was a hot day, and Mr. Percy's black servant held an umbrella over his head and fanned him during the delivering of his address. Alluding to this, a British wag wrote:

"Good Mr. Parson, it is not quite civil
To be preaching rebellion, thus fanned by the devil."

^a This view is from the southwestern angle of Fort Sullivan, looking toward James's Island. That angle, with cannons, a portion of the barracks, and the flag-staff, are seen on the right. The small building toward the left marks the center of the old Palmetto Fort. In the distance is seen Fort Sumter, and in the extreme distance, close by the angle of the fort, is seen the village upon the site of old Fort Johnson. Charleston bar, at the entrance of the harbor, is about six miles from the city. The width of the inner harbor, at its mouth, is about a mile wide. This is guarded by Forts Moultrie, Sumter, and Johnson, and by Castle Pinckney, a handsome work in front of the city, within the inner harbor.

The British Lazaretto

Formation of an Army under Lincoln.

Major Thomas Pinckney.

side of the island are the remains of an old causeway or bridge, extending to the main, nearly upon the site of a bridge of boats, which was used during the battle in 1776. It was constructed after that conflict, at the cost of Christopher Gadsden, and was called Gadsden's Bridge. The British, when they afterward possessed Charleston, used it to pass over to their lazaretto, which they erected on Sullivan's Island. This lazaretto was upon the site of the present Episcopal church in Moultrieville. A part of the old brick wall was yet standing when I visited the spot in 1849.

We have already considered the demonstration made by the British at the South, in the capture of Savannah at the close of 1778, and also the events in Georgia after the arrival of General Lincoln as commander-in-chief of the Southern army. Lincoln reached Charleston on the fourth of December,^a and proceeded immediately to re-enforce the scattered army of Howe, after the fall of Savannah.^b On the first intimation of the

^a 1778. Dec. 29, 1778. designs of the British upon the South, North Carolina raised about two thousand men, and placed them under Generals Ashe and Rutherford. They did not arrive in time to aid Howe at Savannah, but helped to augment the small force of Lincoln. These had entered the state; and to the concentration of these troops, and the raising of South Carolina militia, Lincoln bent all his energies. He chose Major Thomas Pinckney^c as his chief aid, and on the twenty-sixth of December, he marched from Charleston with about three hundred levies of that vicinity, and about nine



Thomas Pinckney

hundred and fifty levies and militia of North Carolina, for the Georgia frontier. On the way, they met the flying Americans from the disastrous battle at the capital of Georgia, and on the third of January Lincoln established his head-quarters at Purysburg, on the north side of the Savannah River. He had been promised seven thousand men; he had only about fourteen hundred. He had been promised supplies, instead of which the new levies, and the militia conscripts who were brought to

head-quarters, were destitute of tents, camp utensils, or lead, and had very little powder, and no field-pieces. The South Carolina militia, under Richardson, were insubordinate, and rapidly melted away by desertion, or became useless by actual refusal to be controlled by any but their immediate commanders. Happily, their places were supplied by the arrival of General Ashe with eleven hundred North Carolinians at the close of January.^c

^a Thomas Pinckney was born at Charleston on the twenty-third of October, 1750. His early years were passed in England. At the close of his studies there, he returned to Charleston, and, with his brother, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, was among the earliest and most efficient military patriots in the provincial regiment raised there. Assured of his talents and worth, Lincoln appointed him his aid, and in that capacity he served at the siege of Savannah by the Americans and French in October, 1779. He distinguished himself in the battle at Stono Ferry. He was aid-de-camp to General Gates in the battle near Camden, where he was wounded and made a prisoner. When sufficiently recovered, he was sent to Philadelphia. In 1787, Major Pinckney succeeded General Moultrie as governor of South Carolina; and in 1792, was appointed by Washington, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. In November, 1794, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Spanish court, and repaired to Madrid the following summer. He effected a treaty by which the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured to the United States. He returned to Charleston in 1796. At the beginning of the war of 1812, President Madison appointed him to the command of the Southern division of the army, and it was under General Pinckney that General Andrew Jackson distinguished himself. After the war, General Pinckney retired into private life. He died on the 2d of November, 1828, aged seventy-eight years. He married the daughter of Rebecca Motte.

Battle on Port Royal Island.

Prevost's March toward Charleston.

Preparations to receive him.

While Lincoln was recruiting and organizing an army near Purysburg, General Prevost joined Campbell at Savannah, with seven hundred regular troops from St. Augustine. Hoping to follow up Campbell's success by striking Charleston, he sent forward Major Gardiner with two hundred men, to take post on Port Royal Island, within about sixty miles of the capital of South Carolina. General Moultrie, with about an equal number of Charleston militia, and two field-pieces, attacked and defeated Gardiner on the morning of the third of February.^a The British lost almost all of their officers, and several privates were made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was trifling. Gardiner, with the remnant of his force, escaped in boats and fled to Savannah, while Moultrie, crossing to the main, pressed forward and joined Lincoln at Purysburg. a 1779.

Strengthened by a party of Creeks and Cherokees, for whom a communication with Savannah was opened by the defeat of General Ashe on Brier Creek (see page 713), and informed that Lincoln, with his main army, was far up the river, near Augusta, Prevost determined to attempt the capture of Charleston. With about two thousand chosen troops, and a considerable body of Loyalists and Indians, he crossed the Savannah at Purysburg,^b and pushed forward by the road nearest the coast, toward Charleston. b April 25.

When Lincoln was informed of this movement of Prevost, he considered it a feint to draw him from Georgia. With that view he crossed the Savannah, and for three days marched down its southern side, directly toward the capital of that state, hoping either to bring Prevost back or to capture Savannah. In the mean while, he detached Colonel Harris, with three hundred of his best light troops, to re-enforce Moultrie, who was retreating before Prevost, toward Charleston. Governor Rutledge, who had gone up to Orangeburg to embody the militia, advanced at the same time with six hundred men of that district, and when Lincoln recrossed the Savannah in pursuit of Prevost, the interesting spectacle was presented of four armies pressing toward Charleston.¹

When Prevost commenced his invading march, Charleston was quite unprepared for an attack by land. The ferries of the Ashley were not fortified, and only some weak defenses guarded the Neck. Intelligence of the invasion aroused all the energies of the civil and military authorities in the city, and night and day the people labored in casting up intrenchments across the Neck from the Ashley to the Cooper, under the general direction of the Chevalier De Cambray, an accomplished French engineer. The Assembly, then in session, gave Rutledge power only a little less than was conferred upon him a few months afterward, when he was made dictator for the time, and the utmost energy was every where displayed. Lieutenant-governor Bee, with the council, aided the efforts to fortify the town by necessary legal orders. All the houses in the suburbs were burned, and within a few days a complete line of fortifications with *abatis* was raised across the Neck, on which several cannons were mounted. Colonel Marion, who commanded the garrison at Fort Moultrie, was re-enforced, and the battery on Haddrell's Point was well manned. These arrangements were effected before the arrival of Prevost, who halted, in hesitation, for three days at Pocotaligo, on account of conflicting intelligence. This delay was fatal to his success, for it allowed the people of Charleston time to prepare for an attack.

Lincoln's distance from Charleston with the main army, the retreat of Moultrie, and the terror inspired by the torch of the invader, who went on plundering and burning, caused great numbers to remain on their plantations, and to take protection from Prevost. On the evening of the ninth of May,^c he encamped on the south side of the Ashley River. On that and the following day, Moultrie, Rutledge, and Harris arrived with their respective forces. That of Moultrie had dwindled from one thousand men to about six hundred. He immediately took command of all the Continental troops, while Rutledge claimed the control of the militia. This produced some confusion, but no serious misunderstanding. c 1779.

On the morning of the eleventh of May, Prevost, with nine hundred regulars, crossed the

¹ Rutledge, with the men of Orangeburg; Moultrie pursued by Prevost; Prevost pursued by Lincoln; and Colonel Harris with his corps of light troops.

Prevost before Charleston.

Pulaski's Attack and Defeat.

Proposition for Surrender refused.

Expected Attack.

Ashley and appeared before the works on Charleston Neck. He left his main army and heavy baggage on the south side of the river, and approaching within cannon shot of the lines, summoned the garrison to surrender. During the forenoon, Count Pulaski, who was stationed at Haddrell's Point with his legion, crossed the Cooper River and entered the town, and at noon he led his infantry to attack the British advanced guard. He was repulsed with great loss. A large portion of his infantry were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The commander himself escaped with difficulty to the American lines, under cover of some discharges of cannon.



CHARLESTON IN 1780.
From a drawing by Leitch.

Prevost now advanced to within a mile of the American works, when his progress was checked by a sharp cannonade. He renewed his demand for a surrender, and the remainder of the day was spent in the passage of flags. Aware of the approach of Lincoln, the Americans desired procrastination, and asked time to deliberate. Prevost refused it, and the city was filled with consternation in expectation of an assault. The civil authorities, trembling in view of the horrors of a cannonade, sent a proposition to Prevost to guarantee the neutrality of South Carolina until the close of the war, and then allow it to follow the fate of its neighbors, on condition that the royal army should withdraw. Prevost rejected the proposition, and insisted that, as the garrison were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. To this Moultrie and the military objected, and every moment until past midnight a cannonade was expected.¹ Not an eye closed in slumber, and at three o'clock

¹ During the evening, an unfortunate accident deprived the state of the life and services of a brave officer. Having discovered a breach in the *abatis*, Governor Rutledge, without the knowledge of the garrison, sent out Major Benjamin Huger* and a small party to repair it. The garrison had lighted tar barrels in front of their lines to prevent a surprise, and by their light Huger and his men were discovered, and believed to be

* Benjamin was one of the five patriot brothers, who were active in revolutionary scenes. He was the gentleman who first received La Fayette on his arrival at Georgetown in 1777. His brother Isaac was a brigadier in the army under Greene; John was Secretary of the State of South Carolina; Daniel was a member of the Continental Congress; and Francis K. was quartermaster general of the Southern Department. Major Huger's son, Francis K., married a daughter of General Thomas Pinckney, and was that officer's adjutant general during the war of 1812.

Death of Huger.	Withdrawal of the British Army.	Battle at Stono Ferry.	Retreat of the British.
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in the morning, at the solicitation of the civil authorities, Moultrie sent a message to Prevost, renewing the proposition of the previous day. It was rejected, and all anxiously awaited the dawn, expecting a terrible assault. The morning broke clear and serene, but the eyes of the sentinels upon the batteries, and of anxious watchers upon the house tops, could perceive no traces of a beleaguering army. For a moment it appeared as if all had been disturbed by a terrible dream, but as the sun arose, the scarlet uniforms and burnished arms of the invaders were seen south of the Ashley. The British host was crossing to James's Island. The mystery was soon solved. During the night, Prevost was informed that Lincoln, with four thousand men, was pressing on toward Charleston, and he feared that his force, hardly sufficient to attack the town with hopes of success, would be annihilated if placed between two fires.¹ He prudently withdrew, and, perceiving his pathway of approach intercepted by Lincoln, he essayed to escape back to Savannah, by way of the islands along the coast.

Lincoln soon approached, and both armies encamped within thirty miles of Charleston, the Americans upon the main, and the British upon John's Island.² There they continued for a month, Prevost fearing to move forward, and Lincoln not feeling quite strong enough to pass over and attack him. Finally, an attempt to dislodge the British was made. They had cast up works at Stono Ferry, and garrisoned them with eight hundred men, under Colonel Maitland, the brave officer who died at Savannah a few months later. These were attacked on the morning of the twentieth of June by about twelve hundred of Lincoln's troops. The contest was severe, and for an hour and twenty minutes the battle was waged with skill and valor. A re-enforcement for Maitland appeared, and the Americans perceived it to be necessary to retreat. When they fell back, the whole garrison sallied out, but the American light troops covered the retreat so successfully, that all of the wounded patriots were brought off. The Americans lost in killed and wounded, one hundred and forty-six, besides one hundred and fifty-five missing. Of the killed and wounded twenty-four were officers. The British loss was somewhat less. Three days afterward, the British evacuated the post at Stono Ferry, and retreated from island to island, until they reached Beaufort, on Port Royal. After establishing a post on Ladies' Island, between Port Royal and St. Helena, they returned in boats to Savannah and St. Augustine.³ The heat was now becoming intense, and Lincoln's army dispersed, with the exception of about eight hundred men, with whom he retired to Sheldon to prepare for the opening of another campaign in October. Thus closed, ingloriously to the invaders, the second attempt of the British to possess themselves of the capital of South Carolina.

a party of the enemy. Immediately a fire of cannons, muskets, and rifles ran along almost the whole line, and poor Huger and twelve of his men were slain. The folly of having two commanders was perceived, and all military authority was immediately given to Moultrie. The cannonade alarmed the town, it being regarded as a prelude to something more dreadful.

¹ According to an imperfect estimate, the number of American troops in the city was three thousand one hundred and eighty; the British force numbered about three thousand three hundred and sixty.

² This island is separated from the main land by a narrow inlet, which is called Stono River. Over this, at a narrow place, there was then (and is still) a ferry, where the British cast up defensive works.

³ On their retreat across the fertile islands, on the Carolina coast, the British committed the most cruel depredations. The people hid their treasures, but the negroes, who had been promised freedom, repaired in great numbers to the British camp, and informed the soldiers where their master's property was concealed. It is believed that in this incursion three thousand negroes were carried out of the state, many of whom were shipped to the West Indies and sold. Hundreds died of camp fever upon Otter Island, and for years afterward their bleaching bones strewed the ground thereon. The whole loss was more than four thousand, valued at two hundred and eighty thousand dollars. Houses were stripped of plate, jewelry, clothing, money, and every thing of value that could be carried away. Live-stock was wantonly slaughtered, and in a few cases females were violated by the brutal soldiery.

II.

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CHAPTER XXIX.



THE season of repose enjoyed by Charleston after the invasion of Prevost was brief. When the hot summer months had passed away, both parties commenced preparations for a vigorous autumn campaign—the British to maintain their position and extend their conquests, if possible; the Americans to drive the invaders from the Southern States, or, at least, to confine them to the sea-ports of Savannah and St. Augustine. The fall of Savannah was a disastrous event. It was the initial step in those strides of power which the royal army made a few months later, when Charleston fell, when the patriot army of the South was crushed, and when the civil institutions of South Carolina and Georgia, established by the Republicans, were prostrated at the feet of the conquerors.

During the winter preceding the siege of Charleston, Lincoln's army had dwindled to a handful, chiefly on account of the termination of the enlistments, and the hesitation of the militia when called to service, because of the defeat at Savannah and the apparent hopelessness of further resistance. The prison-ships at Savannah were crowded with the captives of the Georgia regiments, and the heel of British power, planted firmly upon the patriots of that state, made the Loyalists bold and active. All along the Southern frontier of South Carolina the voice of rebellion was subdued to a whisper, and a fearful cloud of hostile savages, gathered by the emissaries of the crown, frowned sullenly and threatening upon her western borders; while within her bosom, bands of unprincipled Tories, encouraged by others more respectable but passive, were endeavoring, by menaces and promises, to sap the foundation of Republican strength. Such was the condition of South Carolina when a British fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, bearing five thousand land troops, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton,¹ appeared off Edisto Inlet, within thirty miles of Charleston, toward the close of the winter of 1780.^a

^a Feb. 10, 1780. They came to subjugate the whole South, the chief feature in the programme of operations for that year.

The Assembly of South Carolina was in session when the enemy appeared. Governor Rutledge was immediately clothed with the powers of supreme dictator, and with judgment



SIR HENRY CLINTON.
From an English Print.

¹ Henry Clinton, K. B., was a son of George Clinton, governor of New York in 1743, and grandson of the Earl of Lincoln. He served in the British army on the Continent, during the Seven Years' War, and came to America with General Howe in the spring of 1775, bearing the commission of a major general. He was distinguished at the battle of Bunker Hill; commanded in New York, and operated against the forts among the Hudson Highlands in 1777; and in 1778, succeeded Sir William Howe in the supreme command. After he evacuated Philadelphia, he went to New York, where he continued his head-quarters until he left the country, in 1782. He was appointed governor of Gibraltar in 1795, and died there on the twenty-second of December, the same year. His signature is printed on page 350.

Tardiness of the Militia.

Clinton's Mistake.

Charleston Strengthened.

Spaniards in Florida.

and vigor he exercised them for the defense of the capital. Yet he did not accomplish much, for the militia were tardy in obeying his call to hasten to the city. If Clinton had marched directly upon Charleston when he landed his troops upon John's Island, he might have conquered it within a week after his debarkation.¹ More cautious than wise, he formed a depôt at Wappoo, on James's Island, and tarried more than a month in preparations for a siege.

General Lincoln was in Charleston with about fourteen hundred troops, a large portion of them North Carolina levies, whose term of service was almost expired. The finances of the state were in a wretched condition. The paper money was so rapidly diminishing, that it required seven hundred dollars to purchase a pair of shoes; and in every department, civil and military, the patriots were exceedingly weak. Lincoln's first impulse was to evacuate the city, retire to the upper country, collect a sufficient army, and then return and drive the invaders from it. The tardy plans of Clinton changed Lincoln's views. Hoping



C. C. Pinckney

for re-enforcements, then daily expected, and also aid from the Spanish West Indies,² he resolved to maintain a siege. His first care was to strengthen the works upon Charleston Neck, cast up the previous year when Prevost menaced the town. Rutledge ordered three hundred negroes to be brought from the neighboring plantations to work upon the fortifications, and within a few days cannons and mortars were mounted; a trench, filled with water, stretched across the Neck from the Ashley to the Cooper, and two rows of *abatis* protected the whole. Fort Moultrie, the redoubts at Haddrell's Point and Hobcaw, the works at South Bay, Hospital Point, and all along the city front, were strengthened and manned.³ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney⁴ was placed in command of the garrison at Fort Moultrie. Captain Daniel Horry was sent to Ashley Ferry to watch the approach of the enemy, and General Moultrie went southward to gather the militia, direct the

movements of the cavalry, and annoy the enemy on his approach.

¹ On the voyage from New York, one vessel, carrying heavy ordnance for the siege, foundered and was lost, and nearly all the horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry perished at sea. Immediately after landing, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ordered to obtain a fresh supply of horses. This service he soon performed, by seizing all that fell in his way on the plantations upon the islands and the main, some of which were paid for, and some were not. The Whigs were not considered entitled to any pay. Having mounted his cavalry, Tarleton joined a body of one thousand men, under General Patterson, whom Clinton had ordered from Savannah to re-enforce him.

² Spain was now at war with Great Britain, and willingly became a party in our quarrel, with the hope, like France, of crippling English power. When the approach of the British fleet was made known, Lincoln dispatched a messenger to Havana to solicit material aid from the Spanish governor. Direct assistance was refused, but the Spaniards indirectly aided the Americans. When Clinton was preparing to march upon Charleston, Don Bernardo de Galvez sailed from New Orleans to reduce Fort Charlotte, an English post at Mobile. It surrendered to the Spaniards on the fourteenth of March, 1781, and on the ninth of May, Pensacola also bowed to Spanish domination. These successes placed the two Floridas in possession of the Spaniards, except the strong fortress of St. Augustine.

³ The lines of intrenchments were on the ridge of land whereon St. Paul's Church, the Orphan House, the "Citadel" (a part of the old works), and the Presbyterian church now stand.

⁴ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was born in Charleston on the twenty-fifth of February, 1746. At the age of seven years, he was taken to England with his brother, Thomas, by their father (Chief-justice Pinckney), where he was educated, and also studied law. In 1769 he returned to Charleston, after visiting the Continent. In England he took part against the Stamp Act with its opposers there, and, on reaching his

Whipple's Flotilla.

Passage of the Ashley by the British.

British Fleet in the Harbor.

Advance of Clinton

The little flotilla of Commodore Whipple, then in the harbor, was ordered to oppose the passage of the British fleet over the bar, but his vessels were small and thinly manned, and little reliance was placed upon them. The inhabitants viewed the gathering dangers with increasing alarm. Knowing the weakness of Lincoln's army, and desirous of saving it, as their only hope for the future, the citizens advised an evacuation before it should be too late. Lincoln, hourly expecting re-enforcements, was hopeful, and expressing a belief that he might maintain a siege, or leave at a future time, if necessary, he resolved to remain, at the same time taking measures for keeping open a communication with the country toward the Santee.

On the twenty-eighth of March the royal army crossed the Stono, marched to the Ashley, at Old Town (the site of ancient Charleston), and there crossed that stream toward evening. They had strengthened Fort Johnson, cast up intrenchments along the Ashley to confront those of the Americans upon the opposite shore, and galleys were in motion to enter the harbor and anchor in the Ashley. The army moved slowly down the Neck, and on Sunday morning, the first of April, broke ground within eleven hundred yards of the American works, then defended by about eighty cannons and mortars. They were annoyed all the way by a party of light horsemen under Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, and lost between twenty and thirty men in the skirmishes.

Admiral Arbuthnot entered the harbor on the twentieth of March with his smaller vessels and transports, drove Whipple with his little fleet from Five Fathom Hole, and while exposed to an enfilading fire from Fort Moultrie,¹ sailed near to James's Island and anchored under the guns of Fort Johnson, within cannon shot of the town. Pinckney hoped that Whipple would retard the British vessels, and allow him to batter them, as Moultrie did four years before; but the commodore, with prudent caution, retreated to the mouth of the Cooper River, and sunk most of his own and some merchant vessels between the town and Shute's Folly (marked boom on the opposite map), and thus formed an effectual bar to the passage of British vessels up the channel to rake the American works upon the Neck. Clinton advanced to Hamstead Hill on the fifth,² and in the face of a

sharp fire, erected a battery and mounted twelve cannons upon it. He and Arbuthnot now demanded an immediate surrender of the town and garrison. Brigadier Woodford had just arrived with seven hundred Virginians, and reported others on their way. The citizens urged Lincoln to maintain a siege, for rumors had come that large numbers were pressing forward from the North to the relief of the city. Thus strengthened by fresh troops³ and public opinion, Lincoln assured the besiegers that he should continue his defense until the last extremity. Forty-eight hours elapsed, when Clinton opened his bat-

native country, he eagerly espoused the cause of the patriots. He commenced the practice of law in 1770, and soon became eminent. When a regiment was formed in Charleston in 1775, of which Gadsden was colonel, Pinckney was appointed a captain, and was at Newbern for a while on recruiting service. He was active in the defense of Charleston in 1776. In 1778, he accompanied General Howe in his expedition to Florida. He assisted in the repulse of Prevost in 1779, and in the defense of Charleston in 1780. When the city fell, he became a prisoner, and suffered much from sickness and cruel treatment. He was exchanged in February, 1782, when the war was almost ended. He was soon afterward raised to the brevet rank of brigadier. On the return of peace, he resumed the practice of his profession. He was a member of the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. Washington offered him a seat in his cabinet, which he declined, and in 1796 he accepted the appointment of minister to the French Republic. There he had a delicate duty to perform, and while in the midst of personal peril in the French capital, he uttered that noble sentiment, "*Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute.*" In 1797, Mr. Pinckney was appointed the second major general in the army under Washington, and for many years he was an active politician. For about twenty-five years he lived in elegant retirement, in the enjoyment of books and the pleasures of domestic happiness. He died on the sixteenth of August, 1825, in the eightieth year of his age.

¹ In this passage the British lost twenty-seven seamen killed, and a transport which ran aground and was burned by its crew.

² Woodford had marched five hundred miles within twenty-eight days. On the day of his arrival the terms of enlistment of about seven hundred North Carolinians expired, and they all went home at an hour when they were most needed.

Attack upon Charleston

Surprise of Huger.

Arrival of Cornwallis.

Proposed Surrender rejected.

teries upon the town and fortifications, and a terrible cannonade from both parties was kept up from that time until the twentieth.

When the British were about to open their batteries, Governor Rutledge, leaving the



civil power in the hands of his lieutenant Gadsden, went into the country, between the Cooper and Santee Rivers, to arouse the militia and keep a communication open with the town in that direction. Lincoln sent his cavalry (about three hundred men), with General Isaac Huger in command, to watch the country in the

vicinity of the head waters of the Cooper River. Led through the woods by a negro, Tarleton, with his legion cavalry, fell upon Huger at Biggin Bridge, near Monk's Corner, at dawn on the fourteenth of April, and scattered his troops, who were unsuspecting of danger. Twenty-five Americans were killed; the remainder fled to the swamps. Tarleton secured almost three hundred horses, and then scouring the country between the Cooper and Wando, returned in triumph to the British camp.

Four days after the surprise of Huger,^a Cornwallis arrived at Charleston with three thousand troops from New York. Thus strengthened, Clinton enlarged the area of his operations. Detachments were sent into the country, and drove the Americans back. Governor Rutledge was compelled to flee higher up the Santee; Haddrell's Point was taken possession of and fortified; supplies from the surrounding country were cut off, and every avenue for escape seemed closed. Lincoln called a council of war,^b and an attempted retreat to the open country was proposed. The inhabitants objected, because they feared the invading army was too exasperated by the obstinate defense already made, to spare them in person and property. With rapine and pillage before them, they implored Lincoln to remain. Terms of capitulation, which allowed the army to withdraw to the interior, and the property of the citizens to be undisturbed, were agreed upon and proposed to Clinton. Clinton would not acquiesce, and the terrible work of siege went on. The Americans made but one sortie, and that did not seriously damage the British or impede their progress,¹ and on the sixth of May² the besiegers completed

^a April 18, 1780.

^b April 21.

¹ At daybreak on the twenty-fourth of April, a party under Lieutenant-colonel Henderson made a sortie, surprised a British picket, and with the bayonet killed about twenty of them. Twelve were made prisoners. Captain Moultrie, a brother of the general, was killed, and two other Americans were wounded.

² This day was marked by disasters to the Americans. On that morning, Colonel Anthony Walton White, of New Jersey, with the collected remnant of Huger's cavalry, had crossed the Santee and captured a small party of British. While waiting at Lanneau's Ferry for boats to recross the river with his prisoners, a Tory informed Cornwallis of his situation. Tarleton was detached with a party of horse to surprise White, and was successful. A general rout of the Americans ensued. About thirty of them were

their third parallel, and in the face of a heavy fire raised redoubts nearer and nearer the American lines.¹

Now fully prepared to storm the town by sea and land, Clinton and Arbuthnot again demanded a surrender. The situation of the Americans was deplorable. The garrison consisted of less than three thousand men, a large portion of them raw militia; provisions of all kinds were becoming scarce, and the Loyalists in the city were fomenting disaffection among the distressed inhabitants. The engineers asserted that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might be carried by assault in ten minutes. Bombs and carcasses were falling in every part of the city with destructive effect, killing women and children, and setting houses on fire; and the town militia, in utter despair, had thrown down their arms. Further resistance seemed foolish and inhuman, for success was hardly possible, and lives and property were hourly sacrificed. The citizens, appalled by the destructive agencies at work around them, worn out by want of sleep and anxiety, and coveting any condition other than the one they were enduring, now expressed their willingness to treat for a surrender. A flag was sent out, and Clinton's ultimatum was received. He demanded the surrender of the garrison and the citizens as prisoners of war, with all the forts and other works, and their appliances, together with the shipping that remained in the harbor. He would promise nothing except that the town property of those within the lines should remain unmolested, and that all prisoners should be paroled. A truce until the next

May 9, day^a was asked by the besieged, and was allowed, when Lincoln again refused compliance with Clinton's demands. At eight o'clock in the evening the firing commenced again. It was a fearful night in Charleston. The thunder of two hundred cannons shook the city like the power of an earthquake, and the moon, then near its full, with the bright stars, were hidden by the lurid smoke. Shells were seen coursing in all directions, some bursting in mid air, others falling upon houses and in the streets, and in five different places the flames of burning buildings simultaneously shot up from the depths of the city. "It appeared," says Moultrie, alluding to the bomb-shells, "as if the stars were tumbling down. The fire was incessant almost the whole night; cannon-balls whizzing and shells hissing continually among us; ammunition chests and temporary magazines blowing up; great guns bursting, and wounded men groaning along the lines; it was a dreadful

night!" The cannonade was continued all the next day and part of the night, and many Americans were killed by the passage of balls through the embrasures of their batteries. Sand-bags were freely used for protection, but these were swept away, until at several points the besieged were obliged to abandon their works and withdraw. Arbuthnot now prepared to bombard the town from the water, and the batteries at Fort Johnson and at Wappoo hurled round shot into the streets.²



MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT.

At two o'clock on the morning of the eleventh,^b Lieutenant-governor Gadsden, the council, and many leading citizens, requested Lincoln to signify his agreement to Clinton's proposed terms of surrender, if better could not be obtained. A signal

killed, wounded, or captured, and the prisoners were retaken. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with Major Jamieson and a few privates, escaped by swimming the Santee. Major Call and seven others fought their way through the British cavalry, and escaped. At noon on the same day, the British flag was seen waving over Fort Moultrie, the little garrison, under Lieutenant-colonel Scott, having been obliged to surrender to Captain Charles Hudson, of the British Navy.

¹ Clinton's nearest battery in making this approach was on the lot in Mary Street, formerly used as the lower rail-way dépôt, and long known, according to Johnson, as the Fresh-water Pond. This redoubt was several times demolished by the American cannons, and rebuilt during the siege.—Johnson's *Traditions*, &c., 248.

² One of these shots demolished an arm of Pitt's statue, as mentioned on page 748.

Cessation of Hostilities.

Capitulation and Surrender.

Cruel Proclamation.

The French Fleet

was given, the firing ceased, and before dawn all the guns were quiet. Articles of capitulation were agreed to, and signed by the respective commanders, and by Christopher Gadsden in behalf of the citizens.¹ Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the twelfth of May, the Continental troops marched out with the Turk's march, and laid down their arms, after a gallant and desperate defense of about forty days. General Leslie immediately marched in and took possession of the town.

Great skill and courage were brought to bear upon the patriots during the siege, and never was a defense more obstinate and heroic, and yet it was not a bloody one. The loss on both sides in killed and wounded was nearly equal; that of the Americans, exclusive of the inhabitants of the town not bearing arms, was ninety-two killed, and one hundred and forty-eight wounded. The British lost seventy-six killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. The number of prisoners, including the inhabitants of the town, was between five and six thousand. About four hundred cannons were a part of the spoils of victory. Thirty houses were destroyed during the siege.²

The fall of Charleston, and loss of Lincoln's army, paralyzed the Republican strength at the South, and the British commanders confidently believed that the finishing-stroke of the war had been given. Lincoln suffered the infliction of unsparing censure, because he allowed himself to be thus shut up in a town; but had he repulsed the enemy, or the siege been raised, as at one time contemplated,³ the skill and wisdom of his course would have exceeded all praise.

Sir Henry Clinton now proceeded to re-establish the civil power of Great Britain in South Carolina. In proclamations, he made many promises of benefits to the obedient, and menaced the refractory with the miseries of confiscation of property and personal punishments. Finally, he offered pardon⁴ to all who should submit and crave it, and promised political franchises such as the people had never enjoyed. Lured by these prom-^{a June 1, 1780.} ises, the timid and lukewarm flocked to Charleston, took protection, and many entered the military service of the king. Two hundred and ten influential citizens in Charleston agreed to an address of congratulation on the restoration of order and the ancient bond of union between the province and Great Britain. This movement, with the hasty retreat northward of troops marching to the relief of Charleston, and the destruction of Buford's command (see page 664) on the Waxhaw, almost effaced every lineament of resistance in the South. As we have seen, garrison's were posted in the interior, and the voice of rebellion was hushed.

Clinton and Arbuthnot sailed for New York on the fifth of June, leaving Cornwallis in chief command of the British troops at the South. Before his departure, Clinton issued a proclamation, declaring all persons not in the military service, who were made prisoners at Charleston, released from their paroles, provided they returned to their allegiance as subjects of Great Britain. So far, well; but not the sequel. All persons refusing to comply with this requisition were declared to be *enemies and rebels, and were to be treated accordingly.*

¹ The terms of the capitulation were partly honorable and partly humiliating. The town, fortifications and shipping, artillery and stores, were to be given up; the Continental troops and sailors were to be conducted to some place to be agreed upon, there to remain prisoners of war until exchanged; the militia to be permitted to return home, as prisoners of war, on parole, and to be secured from molestation as long as they did not violate these paroles; the arms and baggage of the officers and their servants were to be retained by them; the garrison were to march out, and lay down their arms between the works and the canal (at I, on the map, page 765), the drums not to beat a British march, nor the *colors to be uncased*; the French consul, and French and Spanish residents should be unmolested, but considered prisoners of war; and that a vessel should convey a messenger to New York, that he might carry dispatches to General Washington.

² During the siege, Arbuthnot was informed that Admiral De Ternay was approaching with a French fleet, direct from Newport, to aid Lincoln; and on the very day when terms of surrender were agreed upon, the fear of being blockaded in the harbor of Charleston made Arbuthnot resolve to put to sea immediately. Ternay was certified of the surrender of Lincoln while on his way, by the capture of a pilot-boat, bearing Clinton's dispatches to Knyphausen, then in command at New York. These dispatches informed Knyphausen of the fall of Charleston. Had Lincoln held out another day, his army might have been saved, but he was not aware of the approach of Ternay.

³ Gordon, Ramsay, Moultrie, Marshall, Stedman, Lee, Tarleton.

Effect of Clinton's Proclamation.

Patriots sent to St. Augustine.

Sufferings at Haddrell's Point.

Approach of Gates

And more; they were required to enroll themselves as militia under the king's standard. This flagrant violation of the terms of capitulation aroused a spirit of indignant defiance, which proved a powerful lever in overturning the royal power in the South. Many considered themselves released from all the obligations of their paroles, and immediately armed themselves in defense of their homes and country, while others refused to exchange their paroles for any new conditions. The silent influence of eminent citizens who took this course was now perceived by Cornwallis, and, in further violation of the conditions of capitulation, he sent many leading men of Charleston as close prisoners to St. Augustine,¹ while a large number of the Continental soldiers were cast into the loathsome prison-ships, and other vessels in the harbor. There they suffered all the horrors of confined air, bad food, filth, and disease. It was to these that the mother of President Jackson came, as an angel of mercy, with materials of alleviation for the sufferers. But the camp and typhoid fevers, and dysentery, swept off hundreds before the cruel hand of the oppressor relinquished its grasp. Maddened by torture, and almost heart-broken on account of the sufferings of their families, more than five hundred of the soldiers who capitulated at Charleston agreed to enroll themselves as royal militia, as the least of two present evils, and were sent to do service in the British army in Jamaica. Of nineteen hundred prisoners surrendered at Charleston, and several hundreds more taken at Camden and Fishing Creek, only seven hundred and forty were restored to the service of their country.²

A brief lull in the storm of party strife and warring legions in South Carolina succeeded the blow which smote down Republicanism; but when the trumpet-blasts of the conqueror of Burgoyne were heard upon the Roanoke, and the brave hearts of Virginia and North Carolina were gathering around the standard of Gates, the patriots of the South lifted up their heads, and many of them, like Samson rising in strength, broke the feeble cords of "paroles" and "protections," and smote the Philistines of the crown with mighty energy. Sumter sounded the bugle among the hills on the Catawba and Broad Rivers; Marion's shrill whistle rang amid the swamps on the Pedee; and Pickens and Clarke called forth the brave sons of liberty upon the banks of the Saluda, the Savannah, the Ogeechee, and the

¹ Lieutenant-governor Gadsden and seventy-seven other public and influential men were taken from their beds by armed parties, before dawn on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, hurried on board the *Sandwich* prison-ship, without being allowed to bid adieu to their families, and were conveyed to St. Augustine. The pretense for this measure, by which the British authorities attempted to justify it, was the false accusation that these men were concerting a scheme for burning the town and massacring the loyal inhabitants! Nobody believed the tale, and the act was made more flagrant by this wicked calumny. Arrived at St. Augustine, the prisoners were offered paroles to enjoy liberty within the precincts of the town. Gadsden, the sturdy patriot, refused acquiescence, for he disdained making further terms with a power that did not regard the sanctity of a solemn treaty. He was determined not to be deceived a second time. "Had the British commanders," he said, "regarded the terms of capitulation at Charleston, I might now, although a prisoner, enjoy the smiles and consolations of my family under my own roof; but even without a shadow of accusation preferred against me, for any act inconsistent with my plighted faith, I am torn from them, and here, in a distant land, invited to enter into new engagements. I will give no parole." "Think better of it," said Governor Tonyn, who was in command; "a second refusal of it will fix your destiny—a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it, then," replied the inflexible patriot. "I will give no parole, so help me God!" And the petty tyrant *did* "prepare it;" and for forty-two weeks that patriot of almost threescore years of age, never saw the light of the blessed sun, but lay incarcerated in the dungeon of the Castle of St. Augustine. All the other prisoners accepted paroles, but they were exposed to indignities more barrowing to the sensitive soul than close confinement. When, in June, 1781, they were exchanged, they were not allowed to even touch at Charleston, but were sent to Philadelphia, whither their families had been expelled when the prisoners were taken to the *Sandwich*. More than a thousand persons were thus exiled, and husbands and wives, fathers and children, first met in a distant state, after a separation of ten months.

The Continental prisoners kept at Haddrell's Point suffered terribly. Many of them had been nurtured in affluence; now, far from friends and destitute of hard money, they were reduced to the greatest straits. During thirteen months' captivity, they received no more than nine days' pay. They were not allowed to fish for their support, but were obliged to perform the most menial services. Cornwallis finally ordered Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, to send them to one of the West India islands. The general exchange of prisoners which soon afterward took place alone prevented the execution of this cruel order.

² Gordon, iii., 226.

Marion at Charleston.

Formation of his Brigade.

His first Expeditions.

Alatamaha. The noble deeds of these partisans; the efforts and defeat of Gates; the successes of Greene and Morgan; and the brilliant achievements of "Legion Harry Lee," the strong right arm of the Southern army in the campaigns of 1781, we have considered in former chapters. Let us here, from this commanding point of view, note those daring exploits of *Marion and his men* not already considered, and also of their brave compatriots in their warfare in the vicinity of the sea-coast.

Marion was elected a captain in Moultrie's second South Carolina regiment, and, with his friend Peter Horry, received his commission on the twentieth of June, 1775. These young officers, in new uniforms and helmet-shaped leather caps, decorated with silver crescents inscribed "Liberty or Death!" went out immediately upon the recruiting service on the Black River and the Pedee, and every where excited the enthusiasm of the people. Brave young patriots flocked around them, and in Fort Sullivan, when its cannons shattered the fleet of Sir Peter Parker in 1776, these stout hearts and hands received their first practical lessons in defensive warfare. Already, as we have seen (page 751), they had been efficient in capturing Fort Johnson, on James's Island,^a but here they participated
^a Sept. 14,
1775.
in the severer duties of vigorous conflict.

Fortunately for the Republican cause, an accident¹ prevented Marion being among the prisoners when Charleston fell, and he was yet at liberty, having no parole to violate, to arouse his countrymen to make further efforts against the invaders. While yet unable to be active, he took refuge in the swamps upon the Black River, while Governor Rutledge, Colonel Horry, and others, who had escaped the disasters at Charleston, were in North Carolina arousing the people of that state to meet the danger which stood menacing upon its southern border. Marion's military genius and great bravery were known to friends and foes, and while the latter sought to entrap him, the former held over him the shield of their vigilance. "In the moment of alarm he was sped from house to house, from tree to thicket, from the thicket to the swamp."² As soon as he was able, he collected a few friends and started for North Carolina to join the Baron De Kalb, then marching southward with a small Continental army. On the way, he was joined by his old friend Horry and a few of his neighbors, and these formed the "ragged regiment" who appeared before General Gates, the successor of De Kalb, mentioned on page 685. It was while in the camp of Gates that Governor Rutledge, who also was there, commissioned Marion a brigadier, and he sped to the district of Williamsburg, between the Santee and Pedee, to lead its rising patriots to the field of active military duties. They had accepted the protection of British power after Charleston was surrendered, in common with their subdued brethren of the low country; but when Clinton's proclamation was promulgated, making active service for the crown or the penalty for rebellion an alternative, they eagerly chose the latter, and lifted the strong arm of resistance to tyranny. They called Marion to be their leader, and of these men he formed his efficient *brigade*, the terror of British scouts and outposts. Near the mouth of Lynch's Creek he assumed the command, and among the interminable swamps upon Snow's Island, near the junction of that stream with the Great Pedee, he made his chief rendezvous during a greater portion of his independent partisan warfare.

Marion's first expedition after taking command was against a large body of Tories, under Major Gainey, an active British officer, who were encamped upon Britton's Neck, between the Great and Little Pedee. He dispersed the whole party without losing a man.^b Flushed with victory, Marion was again in motion within twenty-four hours. In-
^b August,
1780.
formed that Captain Barfield and some Tories were encamped a few miles distant, he sped thither, fell upon and scattered them to the winds. These two victories inspired his fol-

¹ At the beginning of the siege, Marion was at a house in Tradd Street, and the host, determined that all of his guests should drink his wine freely, locked the door to prevent their departure. Marion would not submit to this act of social tyranny, and leaped from a second story window to the ground. His ankle was broken, and before the communication with the country toward the Santee was closed he was carried to his residence, in St. John's parish, on a litter. He was yet confined by the accident when the capitulation was signed. See Simm's *Life of Marion*, page 96.

² Simms.

Marion and Wemyss.

Retreat of the latter.

Defeat of Colonel Tyne.

Skirmish near Georgetown.

lowers with the greatest confidence in their commander and reliance upon themselves. These sentiments, acted upon with faithfulness, formed a prime element of that success which distinguished Marion's brigade.

Marion now sent Colonel Peter Horry, with a part of his brigade, to scour the country between the Santee and Pedee, while with the remainder of his command he proceeded to attack the British post near Nelson's Ferry, an event which we have considered on page 705. Striking his blows in quick succession, and at remote points, Marion excited the alarm of the British commander-in-chief, and he ordered Tarleton to endeavor to entrap and crush the "Swamp Fox." Colonel Wemyss, whom Sumter afterward defeated on the Broad River, was first sent after him with a strong force. With untiring industry he followed Marion in the direction of the Black River, and often fell upon his trail. But the wary patriot never suffered himself to be surprised, nor allowed his men to fight when almost certain destruction appeared inevitable. Wemyss was too strong for Marion, so the latter fled before him, and with sixty trusty followers he thrived his way through interminable swamps and across deep streams into North Carolina. It was a grievous necessity, for it left Williamsburg District, the hot-bed of rebellion, exposed to the fury of the pursuers.

^a August 30, 1780. Marion first halted on Drowning Creek; ^a then pushing further on, he encamped near Lake Waccamaw, whence he sent back scouts to procure intelligence. Soon he was swiftly retracing his steps, for Wemyss had relinquished pursuit, and had retired to Georgetown, leaving the sad marks of his desolating march over a space of seventy miles in length and fifteen in breadth. The injured inhabitants hailed Marion's return with joy, and his little army, seldom exceeding sixty men, soon had the appearance of a brigade. They were desperate men. Cruel wrongs gave strength to their arms, fleetness to their feet, power to their wills, and with joy they followed Marion toward the Black Mingo, fifteen miles below Georgetown, where a body of Tories were encamped. They fell upon them, in two divisions, at midnight. An obstinate resistance was made, but the patriots were victorious. Marion lost but one man killed; the enemy were almost annihilated. This victory dispirited the Tories throughout the low country, and for some time Marion's brigade enjoyed needful repose upon the banks of the Santee, except during a brief period when Tarleton, who succeeded Wemyss in attempts to smite Marion, came in pursuit. He scoured the country southward from Camden, between the Santee and the Black Rivers, in search of the partisan, and, like Wemyss, spread desolation in his path. Tarleton exerted his utmost skill and energy, but could never overtake the vigilant Marion. Sometimes he would be within a few miles of him, and feel sure of securing him before to-morrow's sun, when at the same moment Marion would be watching the movements of the Briton from some dark nook of a morass, and at midnight would strike his rear or flank with a keen and terrible blow.

In October, Marion proceeded toward Lynch's Creek to chastise Harrison, the lieutenant of Wemyss, who was encamped there with a considerable body of Tories. On his way toward Williamsburg, he fell upon Colonel Tyne, who, with two hundred Tories, was encamped at Tarcote Swamp, on the forks of Black River, in fancied security. It was mid-^b Oct. 25, 1780. night when he struck the blow. ^b While some slept, others were eating and drinking; a few were playing cards; but none were watching. The surprise was complete. Some were slain, twenty-three were made prisoners, but a large portion escaped to Tarcote Swamp, from which some soon appeared and joined the ranks of the victor, upon the High Hills of the Santee, where he encamped a short time after the action. Marion did not lose a man.

Informed that Harrison had moved from Lynch's Creek, Marion collected some new recruits, and with his bold followers pushed forward to assail the British post at Georgetown, where only he could procure what he now most needed, namely, salt, clothing, and powder. He knew a surprise would be difficult, and an open assault dangerous. He chose the former method, but when he approached, the garrison was on the alert. A severe skirmish ensued within a short distance of the town, and Marion, discomfited, retired to Snow's Island, where he fixed his camp and secured it by such works of art as the absence of natural defenses

Marion and Lee's Expedition against Georgetown.

Its Failure.

Snow's Island.

Harden's Exploits.

required. In this skirmish, Gabriel Marion, a nephew of the general, was made a prisoner, and murdered on the spot. After that, "No quarter for Tories!" was the battle cry of Marion's men.

From Snow's Island¹ Marion sent out his scouts in every direction, and there he planned some of his boldest expeditions. Re-enforcements came, and at the close of 1780, Marion felt strong enough to confront any British detachment then abroad from head-quarters.

While Greene's army was approaching the Pedee early in 1781, Marion was very active abroad from his camp, at which he always left a sufficient garrison for its defense. Here and there he was smiting detachments of the British army; and when Lee, who had been sent by Greene to join him with a part of his legion, sought for Marion, it was with great difficulty that he could be found, for his rapid marches were in the midst of vast swamps. As soon as the junction was consummated,^a these brave partisans planned an expedition against the British post at Georgetown, then garrisoned by two hundred men. April 14.
1781.

Although the British works were strong, and our partisans had no cannons, they felt confident of the success of their plan, which was to attack the town and fortifications at two separate points. One division went down the Pedee in boats, the other proceeded cautiously by land. The attack was made at midnight, but nothing was effected beyond the capture of Campbell (the commandant) and a few privates, and slaying some stragglers from the garrison, who could not escape to the stockade. Yet the enterprise was not fruitless of good to the patriot cause. The audacity of the attempt had a powerful effect upon the minds of the British officers at the South, and the contemplated movement of a large portion of their forces from the sea-board to the interior, was abandoned. Thus was begun a series of movements to keep Cornwallis from Virginia until a sufficient force could be collected in Carolina to oppose him, which was the object of earnest efforts on the part of Greene.

After resting a few hours, Marion and Lee moved rapidly up the north bank of the Santee, toward Nelson's Ferry, to surprise Colonel Watson, who had taken post there. That officer, informed of his approach, placed a small garrison in Fort Watson, five miles above, and with the remainder of his force hastened on toward Camden. At this time Greene was commencing his famous retreat, and summoned Huger and his troops at Cheraw, and Lee with his whole legion, to meet him at Guilford. The events which ensued in that quarter have been detailed in preceding chapters.²

The departure of Lee, with his legion, greatly weakened Marion's force. Yet he was

¹ This island is at the confluence of Lynch's Creek and the Pedee. It is chiefly high river swamp, dry, and covered with a heavy forest filled with game. The lower portions are cane-brakes, and a few spots are now devoted to the cultivation of Indian corn. Here was the scene of the interview between Marion and a young British officer from Georgetown, so well remembered by tradition, and so well delineated by the pen of Simms and the pencil of White. The officer who came to treat respecting prisoners was led blind-folded to the camp of Marion. There he first saw the diminutive form of the great partisan leader, and around him in groups were his followers, lounging beneath magnificent trees draped with moss. When their business was concluded, Marion invited the young Briton to dine with him. He remained, and to his utter astonishment he saw some roasted potatoes brought forward on a piece of bark, of which the general partook freely, and invited his guest to do the same. "Surely, general," said the officer, "this can not be your ordinary fare!" "Indeed it is," replied Marion, "and we are fortunate, on this occasion, entertaining company, to have more than our usual allowance." It is related that the young officer gave up his commission on his return, declaring that such a people could not be, and ought not to be subdued.

² At about this time, Colonel Harden, a gentleman of Beaufort, who, with a large number of the Whigs of his district, had taken refuge in Williamsburg, marched with seventy of the most resolute of his comrades to visit their homes. A few others from Georgia, under Colonel Baker, accompanied them, and in the face of the foe, then in possession of the country upon the Lower Santee and Edisto, they ravaged the region from Monk's Corner to the Savannah River. Like Marion, Harden made rapid and excentric marches, and always baffled pursuit. He crossed and recrossed the Savannah as often as circumstances required, and soon his force amounted to two hundred men. The name of Harden became as terrible to the Tories of Beaufort, Barnwell, and Colleton, as that of Marion beyond the Santee. He had several skirmishes with British detachments, and finally, on the twelfth of April, 1781, he surprised and captured a redoubt and garrison called Fort Balfour, at ancient Pocataligo, below the Combahee. Having awed the Tories in that section of the state, Colonel Harden and his detachment joined the forces under General Pickens, higher up on the Savannah

The Postelles.

Marion's Cavalry.

Conflicts with Watson.

Destruction of Marion's Camp.

not less active than before, and his enterprises were generally more important and successful. He sent out small detachments to beat up Tory camps and recruiting stations, wherever they might be found. His subordinates caught his spirit and imitated his example, and were generally successful. The brothers Captain and Major Postelle greatly annoyed the British and Tories beyond the Santee, in the direction of Charleston, early in 1781. Like Marion, his subordinates never lingered upon the arena of victory to be surprised, but, when a blow was struck, they hastened away to other fields of conflict. The great partisan never encumbered himself with prisoners—he always paroled them.

Toward the last of January,^a we find the blacksmiths of Kingstree forging saws into rough broadswords for a corps of cavalry which Marion placed in command of Colonel Peter Horry. In February, Horry is observed eastward of the Pedee battling with Tories and British regulars. Soon afterward he is engaged in a bloody conflict of eight hours, near Georgetown, slaying almost one half of his adversaries, and winning the victory. Every where the name of Marion was feared, and the presence of his men was dreaded by the opponents of the patriot cause.

In the spring of 1781, Colonel Watson was sent with a select corps of five hundred men to attempt the destruction of Marion's brigade. He moved with caution, evidently afraid of the partisan, for he was then striking successful blows at different points, in rapid succession, and appeared to be possessed of ubiquitous powers.¹ Marion observed him, and concentrated his force on Snow's Island, whence he sallied forth as occasion required. He sped with rapid foot to the path of Watson's approach, and at Wiboo Swamp, nearly opposite the present Santee Canal, he confronted him. The advanced guards of Marion and Watson (the former under Horry, the latter under Richboo, a Tory colonel) met unexpectedly, and a severe skirmish ensued. Other portions of the two armies engaged in the fight. The field-pieces of Watson gave him great advantage, and Marion was obliged to fall back in the direction of Williamsburg. At a bridge over the Black River, below Kingstree, he checked his pursuers by well-aimed rifle-balls and the destruction of the bridge by fire. Down the stream, upon opposite sides, the belligerents marched nearly ten miles, skirmishing all the way. Darkness terminated the conflict, and both parties arranged their flying camps for rest, near each other. For ten days Watson remained stationary, continually annoyed by Marion, until he was obliged to choose between certain destruction in detail there, or attempt boldly to fight his way to Georgetown. He decided upon the latter course, and at midnight he fled. Marion pursued, fell upon him at Sampit Bridge, near Georgetown, and smote down many of his wearied soldiers. Watson escaped to Georgetown with the remnant of his army, complaining that Marion would not "fight like a gentleman or a Christian!"

Sad intelligence now reached Marion. The Tory colonel, Doyle, had penetrated to his camp on Snow's Island, dispersed the little garrison, destroyed his provisions and stores, and then marched up Lynch's Creek. He pursued the marauder until he was informed that Doyle had destroyed all his heavy baggage, and had the advantage of a day's march on the road to Camden. Marion wheeled, and hastened, through the overflowed swamps, to confront Watson, who was again in motion with fresh troops, and had encamped upon Cat-fish Creek, near the present Marion Court House. Our partisan encamped within five miles of him, and there he was joined by Lee on the fourteenth of April.^b This junction alarmed Watson. He destroyed his heavy baggage, wheeled his field-pieces into Cat-fish Creek, and fled precipitately by a circuitous route back to Georgetown.^c Soon after this, we find Marione hanging upon the rear of Lord Rawdon on his

¹ At this time, Major M'Iraith, with a force about equal to that of Marion's, was met by the latter in a swamp near Nelson's Ferry. They prepared for battle, when M'Iraith, who was a humane man, made the chivalric proposition that twenty picked men of each army should meet and fight for victory. It was agreed to; the forty men were drawn up in line and approached each other, when those of M'Iraith's party fell back. The sun went down, and yet they lingered; and at midnight, M'Iraith doubtless considering prudence the better part of valor, decamped, leaving his heavy baggage behind. He was pursued by Colonel Horry early in the morning, but without effect.

Capture of Georgetown.

Attack on British Posts near Charleston.

Battle at Quimby's Creek Bridge.

retreat from Nelson's Ferry toward Charleston; and from that time until the siege of Ninety-Six, he was often with Sumter and Colonel Washington, watching the enemy's movements near the Santee and Edisto, and cutting off intelligence and supplies from Cruger.

In June^a Marion took possession of Georgetown, the garrison fleeing down Winyaw Bay after a slight resistance. He could not garrison it, so he moved the stores up the Pedee to his old encampment on Snow's Island, and demolished the military works. ^{a 1781.} Informed that the Loyalists of Charleston had organized, and under Colonel Ball were about to ravage the country south of the Santee, he anticipated them. He drove off the cattle, removed the provisions to a place of safety, laid waste the country, and left nothing but barrenness and desolation in the district menaced by the enemy.

We have observed (page 695) that soon after Greene abandoned his design of attacking Rawdon at Orangeburg, and retired to the High Hills of Santee, he detached Sumter, with Marion, Lee, and other active partisans, to beat up the British posts in the direction of Charleston, drive these hostile detachments to the gates of the city, and cut off all convoys of supplies for the British troops on the Edisto. The chief object to be gained was to cause Rawdon to abandon Orangeburg and hasten to the relief of Charleston. Sumter was the commander-in-chief of this expedition. As he approached Monk's Corner, he divided his little army into separate detachments. Among the subordinate commanders of these were Horry, Mayham, Taylor, the Hamptons, and James. The garrison at Dorchester, first attacked, made no resistance to Colonel Lee, who also captured, at about the same time, all the wagons and wagon horses belonging to a convoy of provisions; while Colonel Wade Hampton pressed forward to the very lines at Charleston, captured the patrol and guard at the Quarter-house, five miles from the city, and spread terror through the town. He also took fifty prisoners (mounted refugees) at Strawberry Ferry, and burned four vessels laden with valuable stores for the British army.

At Biggin, near Monk's Corner, where Huger's cavalry were surprised more than a year before, was a strong force of about five hundred infantry, one hundred and fifty horse, and a piece of artillery, under Colonel Coates of the British army. Biggin Church, and a redoubt at Monk's Corner, about a quarter of a mile distant, composed the defenses of the garrison. Against these Sumter, Marion, and Lee proceeded. They halted at sunset within a short distance of Coates's camp, with the intention of attacking him early in the morning. Coates, alarmed by the intelligence brought by his patrols, that one half of Greene's army, with all the partisan officers of the South, were upon him, decamped during the night, set fire to Biggin Church, so as to destroy stores which he could not carry away, and crossing the head waters of the Cooper River on the eastern side, retreated rapidly toward Charleston. When the blaze of the church was perceived in the American camp, Sumter called his troops to arms and hotly pursued the fugitives. Within a short distance of Quimby's Creek Bridge, eighteen miles from Monk's Corner, the cavalry of Lee and Marion overtook the rear-guard of the flying troops. Dismayed at the near approach of horsemen, they cast down their arms without firing a gun, and begged for quarter. Coates had crossed the bridge with his main body, and was waiting for the passage of his rear-guard, with the baggage, to destroy the bridge. The planks were already loosened, and every thing was in readiness for its demolition when the American cavalry approached. The brave Armstrong, with a section of Lee's horsemen, dashed across the bridge and fell upon the British guard with a howitzer stationed there for its defense, and drove the artillerists from the gun. The place of contest was a narrow causeway and lane leading to the bridge, and for a short time a close and deadly conflict ensued. Many of the British fled, and Coates and some of his officers were left to fight alone, defended only by a wagon. Another section of the cavalry, under Carrington, followed close upon Armstrong, and leaping the chasm formed by the casting down of some loose planks by the hoofs of Armstrong's horses, joined in the close combat with the enemy. Lee had now gained the bridge, where Captain O'Neil, with the third section, had halted. Captain Mayham, of Marion's cavalry, dashed by them, when his horse was shot under him. The chasm had been widened by

the passage of Carrington's troops, and all Lee's efforts to repair the breach were ineffectual. The stream was too deep to ford, and the shores too muddy to land if the horses had swam it, and, consequently, a victory so nearly secured had to be abandoned. Coates, with his recaptured howitzer, retreated to a strong two-story house and other buildings a little further up the stream, into which many of his soldiers had fled at the first attack. There he was assailed by Sumter and Marion, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and a severe battle was waged for three hours. Darkness, and the failure of the powder of the patriots, terminated the contest. Fifty of Marion's brigade were killed or wounded, and seventy of the British fell. Coates held his position, and Sumter, informed of the approach of Rawdon, collected his own immediate forces, crossed the Santee, and joined Greene upon the High Hills, while Marion remained lower down upon the river to watch the movements of the enemy.

It was at about this time, while the army of General Greene was in repose near the Wateree, that the execution of Colonel Isaac Hayne, a leading Whig of South Carolina, took place at Charleston; an event which, in the opinion of the Americans, and of just men in Europe, marked the character of the British officer in command at Charleston with the foul stain of dishonor and savage cruelty.¹ The patriots were greatly exasperated by it, and

¹ Isaac Hayne was a highly respected and well-beloved citizen of South Carolina. He was among the early patriots of that state who took the field, and at the siege of Charleston, in 1780, he served in a company of mounted militia, and at the same time was a member of the State Legislature. His corps was not in the city, but operated in the open country, in the rear of the besiegers, consequently it was not included in the capitulation. After that event his command was dispersed, and he returned to his family and estate, near the Edisto. Believing that the wisest policy for him to pursue was to go to Charleston, surrender himself a prisoner, and take his parole like others, he repaired thither. He was too confiding in the honor of the conquerors, for, knowing him to be a man of influence, the commandant refused the privilege, and told him that he must either become a British subject or submit to close confinement. He would gladly have endured imprisonment, but he could not bear the thought of leaving his family exposed to the insults of marauders, and the pestilence of small-pox, then spreading over the lower country. He consulted his friend, Dr. Ramsay, the historian, who was himself a prisoner in Charleston, and, influenced by family affection, he accepted a British protection upon the humiliating terms proposed by Clinton in his second and cruel proclamation, and took the oath of allegiance. He was assured by Patterson, the deputy British commandant in Charleston, that he would not be called upon to take up arms for the king, "For," he said, "when the regular forces of his majesty need the aid of the inhabitants for the defense of the province, it will be high time for them to leave it."

Colonel Hayne was often called upon by subordinate officers to take up arms for the king, but steadily refused. When, in 1781, Greene approached with a Continental army, and the partisan troops had swept royal power from almost every place where it had planted its heel of military subjugation, Colonel Hayne felt released from his oath of allegiance, because its conditions were such that its obligations ceased when royal rule should be suppressed. When again summoned (as he was peremptorily, while his wife was upon her dying bed) to repair, with arms, to the British camp at Charleston, he again refused. He did more; he huddled on his armor, repaired to the American camp, and, forswearing his forced allegiance to the British crown, he pledged his life to the defense of his country. With a troop of horse, accompanied by Colonel Harden, he scoured the country toward Charleston, and captured General Andrew Williamson, a former efficient patriot, but now active in the British service. When intelligence of the event reached the city, a troop of cavalry was sent in pursuit of Hayne. A battle ensued, and the patriot was made a prisoner and conveyed to Charleston. Colonel Nesbit Balfour, a proud, vain, and ambitious man, was then the commandant. He knew that the surest road to distinction was rigor toward the rebels. He chose to consider Hayne a traitor, because he had signed an oath of allegiance, and then took up arms against the king. Here was an opportunity for Balfour to distinguish himself, and Hayne was cast into the provost prison, and kept there until Rawdon arrived from Orangeburg. He was then taken before a court of inquiry, where neither the members nor the witnesses were sworn. The whole proceeding was a mockery, for Rawdon and Balfour had prejudged him worthy of death. Without even the form of a trial, he was condemned to be hung. No one, not even the prisoner, supposed that such cruelty was contemplated, until the sentence was made public, and he had but two days to live! The men of the city pleaded for him; the women signed petitions, and went in troops and upon their knees implored a remission of his sentence. His sister, Mrs. Peronneau, with his orphan children (for his wife was in her grave), clad in deep mourning, knelt in supplication before his judges, but in vain. Rawdon and Balfour were inexorable, and on the thirty-first of July, 1781, one of the purest patriots and most amiable of men was hung upon a gibbet. Like André, he asked to be shot as a soldier, but this boon was denied him. Thirty-two years afterward, Lord Rawdon, in a letter to General Henry Lee (see his *Memoirs*, page 459), attempted to excuse his want of humanity, by pleading the justice of the sentence. But the denunciations of the Duke of Richmond at the time, in the House of Lords, and the truth of history, have given the whole transaction the stamp of barbarism.

Skirmish at Parker's Ferry.

Retreat of the British from Eutaw.

Attack on British Posts near Charleston.

General Greene gave the British commander notice that he would retaliate when opportunity should offer, not by the sacrifice of misguided Tories, but of British officers. He soon had power to exhibit terrible retribution, but happily, actuated by a more humane policy, Greene hesitated; the beams of peace soon appeared in the horizon, and bloody human sacrifices were prevented.

Here let us resume the general narrative of events in the South not already related, from the time of the encampment of Greene upon the High Hills of Santee, in 1781, until the evacuation of Charleston by the British the following year.

We have noticed on page 705, that Greene's camp upon the Hills was broken up on the eighteenth of November, and the remnants of his diminished army were put in motion toward Charleston. Already intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown had reached him, and the day of its arrival^a was made jubilant by the army. In the mean while, Marion was operating with vigor. He suddenly disappeared from the Santee upon one of his secret expeditions, and as suddenly was seen sweeping across the country in the direction of the Edisto, on his way to relieve Colonel Harden, who was closely pressed near Parker's Ferry, a few miles above Jacksonborough, in Colleton District, by a British force of five hundred men, under Major Fraser. That officer's camp was at the ferry. Marion prepared an ambuscade, and then sent out some of his swiftest horses with experienced riders to decoy his enemy into the snare. Fraser, with his cavalry, fell into the ambuscade in a narrow place, and was terribly handled.^b The sure rifles of Marion's men thinned his ranks, and had not their ammunition failed them, they would have accomplished a complete victory. For the want of powder, they were obliged to retire at the moment when the palm was offered to them. The loss of the British was severe, while Marion was not bereft of a man. He had succeeded in rescuing Harden, and as we have seen (page 699), obedient to the call of Greene, hastened toward the Santee and joined the American army at Laurens's plantation,^c when pressing on toward Eutaw. After the great battle at that place, and his pursuit of Stewart, Marion encamped in the deep recesses of a cane-brake on Santee River Swamp, and awaited an occasion again to go forth to action.

The British commander, ignorant of the weakened condition of Marion's brigade,¹ and the great diminution of Greene's army, was alarmed when he was informed that the latter had crossed the Congaree, and was again pressing on toward Eutaw. He struck his tents and hastened toward Charleston. Perceiving this movement, Greene left his army while on its march from the Santee Hills, and at the head of two hundred cavalry and as many infantry moved rapidly toward Charleston. The garrison at Dorchester, more than six hundred strong, advised of his approach, went out to meet him. But so sudden and vigorous was the charge of Colonel Hampton, of the advance, that the enemy wheeled and fled in great confusion to their camp. Believing the whole army of Greene to be near, they destroyed all the public property, cast their cannons into the Ashley, and then fled toward Charleston, closely pursued. At the Quarter-house they were joined by Stewart's forces, retreating by another road, and all hastened to the city gates. Terror spread through the town. The bells were rung, alarm guns were fired, and every friend of the crown was called to the defense of the city. Greene's object was accomplished; the British outposts were driven in, and he hastened to join his army, now encamped at Round O, not far from the Four Holes' Creek, forty or fifty miles from the city. Marion and his men lingered around the head waters of the Cooper to watch the enemy, and prevent his incursions beyond Charleston Neck. St. Clair had driven the British from Wilmington, and only Charles-

¹ After the battle at Eutaw, Marion was re-enforced by detachments of mountain men, under Colonels Shelby and Sevier, the heroes of King's Mountain, and with them he confidently took the field. He attacked the British outpost at Fairlawn, while the main body, under Stewart, were encamped behind redoubts at Wappetaw and Wantoot. The attack upon Fairlawn was successful. The garrison, and three hundred stand of arms, with provisions and stores, were the spoils of victory. Encouraged by this success, Marion prepared for other enterprises, when the Mountaineers, after about three weeks' service, suddenly left him and returned to the upper country. No satisfactory reason for this movement has ever been given.

Re-establishment of Civil Government.

Change in public Sentiment.

Waning of British power.

Mutiny.

ton and Savannah, with their respective dependencies, now remained in undisputed possession of the Royalists.

Governor Rutledge, with his accustomed energy, now prepared to re-establish civil government. He first offered conditional pardon to Tories and others who should join the American army. Hundreds came from the British lines and eagerly accepted the governor's clemency. Writs for an election of representatives were issued, and in January, 1782, a Republican Legislature convened at Jacksonborough, on the Edisto, thirty-five miles below Charleston.

Hope dawned upon the future of the South, and the bowed head of Republicanism was lifted up. General Leslie, the chief commandant in Charleston, perceived the change in the aspect of affairs, with alarm, and sent out proclamations, filled with promises and menaces, to counteract the movements of the patriots. It was too late. The people perceived the waning of British power as the area of its action was diminished, and promises and threats were alike unheeded. The army of Greene drew near to Jacksonborough, and encamped upon the Charleston road, six miles below the town. Thus protected, the Legislature acted freely and judiciously, and from that time the civil power met with no obstructions.

John's Island was yet occupied by the enemy, under the command of Major Craig, who had been driven from Wilmington. Greene resolved to expel them. An expedition for the purpose was intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, a son of Henry Laurens, who had lately come from the field of victory at Yorktown. Lee was his second in command. An attempt was made, on the night of the thirteenth of January,* to surprise and capture the garrison of five hundred men, but the miscarriage of a part of their plan deprived them of their anticipated victory. Yet the design was not abandoned. A large body of Greene's army moved forward, and Craig, taking counsel of his fears, abandoned the island, and fled, with his troops, to Charleston. A few prisoners, and provisions and stores of the camp, were the spoils of victory. Still further secure, the Legislature now labored industriously and without fear. Confiscation laws were enacted; the currency was regulated; general laws for the future government of the state were adopted; and a bill was originated for presenting to General Greene, in consideration of his services, the sum of ten thousand guineas.¹ They closed their labors by electing John Matthews governor.

From this time until the evacuation of Charleston, military operations were confined to attempts on the part of the British to procure supplies from the country, and opposition thereto by the patriots. In these operations, Marion's brigade was conspicuous. Elected to a seat in the Assembly at Jacksonborough, he left it in command of Colonel Horry. Previous to his departure, he had a severe skirmish, near Monk's Corner, with three hundred regulars and Loyalists, who came up from Charleston to surprise him. He repulsed them, but soon afterward, while he was absent, a larger force, under Colonel Thompson (the celebrated Count Rumford, subsequently), attacked his brigade near the Santee. Fortunately, he arrived during the engagement, but not in time to prevent the defeat and partial dispersion of his beloved troops. The remnant of his brigade rallied around him, and he retired beyond the Santee to reorganize and recruit.

The main armies continued quiet. Each felt too weak to attempt to disturb the other. Leslie's condition was far worse than Greene's. Confined within the city, provisions soon became scarce, while the flight of Tories to the town increased the demand. Greene had ample provisions, and moving forward, encamped near the head of the Ashley, within twenty miles of the enemy's lines. Unable to damage the Americans in warfare, the British employed stratagem and bribery to weaken their power. Emissaries came into camp, and a mutinous spirit was engendered. A scheme was planned to abduct Greene, and convey him to Charleston. It was discovered twenty-four hours before it ripened, and was crushed. The conspirators were of the Pennsylvania line. Gornell, the leader, was executed, and

¹ This example was imitated by the Legislatures of North Carolina and Georgia. The former voted him five thousand guineas, and the latter twenty-four thousand acres of land.

Operations of a Spy.

War declared ended by Parliament.

Abduction of Governor Burke.

four of his known companions in crime were sent, guarded, up to Orangeburg. The demon of discord was seen no more, and the British made no further attempts to arouse it.

Early in April, Marion, with a considerable force, was sent to "keep watch and ward" over the country between the Cooper and Santee Rivers. A Scotchman, pretending to be a deserter, came out from the city, visited Marion, and passed on unsuspected toward the Scotch settlements on the Pedee. Soon an insurrection appeared in that quarter, and Marion was informed that Major Gainey, for the third time, was gathering the Tories. The pretended deserter was a spy, and, by false representations of the power of the British and weakness of the Americans, he called the Highlanders to arms. The spy was caught and hanged while returning to Charleston, and before Gainey could organize his recruits, Marion fell upon him. More than five hundred Loyalists laid down their arms, and Gainey, thoroughly humbled, joined the ranks of Marion.¹

While the theater of war was thus narrowing, British statesmen of all parties, considering the capture of Cornwallis and his army as the death-blow to all hope for future conquests, turned their attention to measures for an honorable termination of the unnatural war. General Conway, the firm and long-tried friend of the Americans, offered a resolution in Parliament in February,^a which was preliminary to the enactment of a decree for commanding the cessation of hostilities. It was lost by only *one vote*. Thus ^{a 1782} encouraged, the opposition pressed the subject warmly upon the attention of the House of Commons and the nation, and on the fourth of March, Conway moved "That the House would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who should advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war on the Continent of North America." The resolution was carried without a division, and the next day the attorney general introduced a plan for a truce with the Americans. Lord North, after an administration of affairs, as prime minister, for twelve years, finding himself in the minority, resigned the seals of office.^b Orders for a cessation of hostilities speedily went forth ^{b March 20, 1782} to the British commanders in America, and preparations were soon made for evacuating the cities of Savannah and Charleston.

When General Leslie was apprised of these proceedings in Parliament, he proposed to General Greene a cessation of hostilities in the South. That officer, like a true soldier, refused to meddle in civil affairs, and referred the matter to the Continental Congress, the only competent tribunal to decide. Of course there must be a delay of several weeks, and while no important military movement was made by the main army of either party, each was as vigilant as if an active campaign was in progress.

On the thirteenth of August, Leslie, in general orders, declared his intention of evacuating Charleston, and sent a flag to Greene with a request that he might be allowed to receive and purchase supplies from the planters.^c Greene refused his acquiescence, for it

¹ Among the insurgents was the notorious David Fanning, a Loyalist of North Carolina. He was one of the most desperate and brutal of the Tory leaders, and at one time had command of almost a thousand marauders like himself. He became a terror to the people of central North Carolina. He captured many leading Whigs, and took them to Craig, at Wilmington. On the thirteenth of September, 1781, he and his associate, Hector M'Neil, with their followers, entered Hillsborough, carried off the governor, Thomas Burke,* and other prominent Whigs, and hastened with them toward Wilmington. They were intercepted by a party under General Butler, and a severe skirmish ensued at Lindley's Mill, on Cane Creek. Fanning was wounded, but successfully retreated with his prisoners to Wilmington. After the defeat here mentioned, on the Pedee, Fanning went to Charleston, and accompanied the Tories who fled to Nova Scotia, where he died in 1825.

² Greene's army now covered a fertile district, where wealth abounded, and prevented foraging and

* Thomas Burke was one of the purest patriots of the South. He was a native of Ireland; came in early life to Virginia, and in 1774 settled as practicing lawyer, in Hillsborough, North Carolina. He was one of the earliest Republican legislators in the state. He was a member of the Provincial Congress at Halifax in 1776, and of the Continental Congress, from 1777 till 1781, when he was chosen governor of his state. After his capture by Fanning, he was sent to Charleston, and kept closely guarded, upon John's Island, when Craig commanded there. He escaped, and in 1782 resumed his official duties. He died at Hillsborough in 1783.

British attempts to collect Provisions.

Vigilance of Greene.

Skirmishes on the Combahee.

Death of Laurens.

would tend to nourish a viper, perhaps yet disposed to sting. Leslie replied that he should obtain supplies by force, for it was necessary to have them before putting to sea. This menace gave activity to the camp of Greene, for he resolved to oppose with spirit every attempt of the enemy to penetrate the country. General Gist, with a strong force, was advanced to the Stono, and spread defensive corps, under good officers, southward to the Combahee, while Marion was instructed to keep watch over the region of the Lower Santee. Rapidly, and in wide circuits, that partisan, with his cavalry, scoured the region between the Sampit and the Santee, and sometimes he would sweep down the country, all the way to Cainhoy and Haddrell's Point. Some warm skirmishes occurred, but he effectually kept the enemy at bay in that quarter.

Anxious to leave Charleston, where famine stood menacing the army and civilians, Leslie resolved to make a bold effort to penetrate the country by the Combahee, for little could be effected in the region guarded by Marion. He accordingly sent a large party thither in armed boats and schooners, where they arrived on the 25th of August, and passed up directly toward the head of the stream. Gist, with about three hundred cavalry and infantry, hastened to oppose the invaders, leaving Colonel Laurens with a guard near Wappoo, to watch the movements of the enemy in Charleston. Laurens, burning with a desire for active service, left a sick-bed and followed Gist. He overtook him upon the north bank of the Combahee, near the ferry, and at his earnest solicitation he was detached to the extreme end of Chehaw Neck, to garrison a small redoubt cast up there for the purpose of annoying the British when they should return down the river. With fifty light infantry,

• August 26,
1782. some matrosses, and a howitzer, Laurens moved down the river,^a and halted at the house of Mrs. Stock, within a short distance of the point. At three o'clock in the morning he resumed his march. He had proceeded but a short distance, when a picket of the enemy was perceived, and at the same moment a large detachment, which lay concealed in the high fennel grass, arose and delivered a murderous fire. They had been informed of the march of Laurens, and landing on the north shore of the Combahee, concealed themselves in ambush by the road side. Laurens saw the danger of a retreat, and had no alternative but to surrender or fight. His brave spirit could not brook the former, and leading the way, he made an energetic charge upon the foe. The step was fatal to the young commander; he fell at the first fire. Captain Smith of the artillery was also slain, the howitzer was seized by the enemy, and the whole American force turned and fled in confusion. The fugitives were pursued a short distance, when Gist, with a considerable force, confronted the victors. They recoiled for a moment, but soon recovered, and a severe combat ensued. The British fell back to their boats, and the field of strife was the field of victory for the Americans; yet it was dearly won. Many unnamed patriots fell, and in the death of Laurens the country lost one of its most promising men.¹ The

plundering where the enemy had generally found the best supplies. Perceiving their homes thus secured, many of the families returned from exile, and every where the board of hospitality was wide spread to their deliverers. The rugged features of war were soon changed by the refinements of social life, and the soldiers, who had been battling for years among desolated homes or the dark wilderness, felt that a paradise was gained. The wife of General Greene reached his camp at the close of March, and was every where caressed. The officers were greeted at numerous social gatherings, and the charms of many a fair daughter of the sunny South subdued hearts which never quailed before an enemy. In the district occupied by the army, were many wealthy, beautiful, and accomplished women, and "many," says Johnson, in his *Life of Greene*, "were the matrimonial connections to which this period gave rise between the officers of the army and the heiresses of Carolina and Georgia."

¹ John Laurens was a son of Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress in 1777. He joined the army early in 1777, and was wounded in the battle at Germantown. He continued in the army (with the exception of a few months), under the immediate command of Washington, until after the surrender of Cornwallis, in which event he was a conspicuous participant as one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the terms. Early in 1781, he was sent on a special mission to France, to solicit a loan of money and to procure arms. He was successful, and on his return received the thanks of Congress. Within three days after his arrival in Philadelphia, he had settled all matters with Congress, and departed for the army in the South, under Greene. There he did good service, and was killed on the Combahee, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1781, when he was but twenty-nine years of age. Washington, who made

Last Blood shed in the Revolution.

Evacuation of Charleston.

Revolutionary Localities near.

British succeeded in carrying off a large quantity of provisions and plunder from the Combahee, and from Beaufort and the neighboring islands. They made no other attempt to procure supplies, but applied themselves diligently to preparations for leaving Charleston. Kosciuszko, who was placed in command of Laurens's corps, watched Charleston Neck, and detachments guarded the passes of the Stono. In this latter service the last blood of the Revolution was shed.¹

The evacuation of Charleston took place on the fourteenth of December.^a Leslie ^{a 1782.} had leveled the walls of Charleston and demolished Fort Johnson, and on the morning of the thirteenth, the American army crossed the Ashley, and slowly approached the city, according to previous arrangements with Leslie. At daylight the next morning the British marched to Gadsden's Wharf, and embarked. At eleven o'clock an American detachment took formal possession of the town, and at three in the afternoon General Greene escorted Governor Mathews and other civil officers to the Town Hall. From windows, balconies, even housetops, the troops were greeted with cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries, "God bless you, gentlemen! Welcome! welcome!" Before night the British squadron (about three hundred sail) crossed the bar, and the last speck of canvas of that hostile array glittered far out upon the ocean in the parting beams of the sun that evening. The cool starry night which succeeded was one of great joy to the people, and the dawn of the morrow was that of a long and bright day for the emancipated state. Generosity succeeded revengeful feelings; confiscation acts were repealed; Loyalists were forgiven, on repentance, and those who had adhered to royal rule as the least of two evils, rejoiced in the glories of the happy days of freedom and prosperity which succeeded.

Here let us close the chronicles of the war in the Southern States, and depart for the North.

On the morning of the day when I departed from Charleston,^b the sun came ^{b January 29, 1849.} up from the sea bright and unclouded, and I could not have wished for a lovelier day to visit places of note in Charleston and vicinity. I had already been out to the *Lines*, and the old ship-yard and magazines on Cooper River, with Reverend Dr. Smythe. The scars of the former are yet visible in several places upon the Neck, and a portion of the citadel, a remnant of the "horn work," survives the general wreck of the military works about Charleston. It was just at sunset when we passed through a beautiful avenue of live oaks, draped with moss, to view the ruins of the magazines and officers' quarters, among thick shrubbery and tangled vines near the banks of the river, about four miles above the city. A little to the northwest of these ruins is an ancient burial-ground, on the verge of a deep morass. The tall trees, pendent moss, silent ruins, and deep shadows of night fast hovering over the scene, gave the place a tinge of romance, thrilling and sad. On our way to this interesting spot we turned aside, about a mile and a half nearer the town, to view a venerable and lordly magnolia, under whose spreading branches tradition avers General Lincoln held a council of officers during the siege in 1780. Incredible as it may ap-

him his aid, loved him as a child. He declared that he could discover no fault in him, unless it was intrepidity, bordering on rashness. "Poor Laurens," wrote Greene, "has fallen in a paltry little skirmish. You knew his temper, and I predicted his fate. The love of military glory made him seek it upon occasions unworthy his rank. The state will feel his loss." He was buried upon the plantation of Mrs. Stock, in whose family he spent the evening previous to his death in cheerful conversation. A small inclosure, without a stone, marks his grave.

¹ Captain Wilmot, a brave young officer, who commanded a company detailed for the purpose of covering John's Island, impatient of inaction, often crossed the river to harass British foraging parties on the island. While engaged in one of these excursions, in company with Kosciuszko, he fell into an ambuscade and was killed. This occurred in September, 1782, and was, it is believed, the last life sacrificed in battle.

² Preparatory to the evacuation, commissioners were appointed to make arrangements to prevent the carrying away of slaves on the departure of the British. All was made satisfactory; but the promises of the enemy were shamefully violated. Moultrie says that more than eight hundred slaves, employed on the works in the city, were sent to the West Indies and sold. It has been estimated that between the years 1775 and 1783 the state of South Carolina was robbed of twenty-five thousand negroes, valued at about twelve million five hundred thousand dollars.

Destruction of the "Council Tree."

Departure from Charleston.

Wilmington.

British Occupation there.

pear, the owner of the land, and of the house shaded by the tree wherein he and his mother were born, had just felled it for fire-wood. Instead of being its destroyer, who, in like circumstances, would not have been its defender? and when rude hands were laid upon it, would not have exclaimed,



THE COUNCIL TREE.

"Woodman, spare that tree!
Touch not a single bough!
In youth it sheltered me,
And I'll protect it now.
'Twas my forefather's hand
That placed it near his cot;
There, woodman, let it stand,
Thy ax shall harm it not!"—MORRIS.

I sketched the venerable house near by, the property of Colonel William Cummington during the Revolution, and marking the position of the stump of the magnolia, preserved for posterity a sketch of what tradition calls the *Council Tree*,

with its surroundings.

It was on the bright and balmy day of my departure that I visited Sullivan's Island, and made the sketch printed on page 757. From thence I crossed over to Haddrell's Point (now Point Pleasant), and after passing an hour there, where so many of the brave patriots of South Carolina suffered a long imprisonment, I returned by steam-boat to the city. There are no remains of Revolutionary fortifications at Point Pleasant, and it is now famous in the minds of the citizens of Charleston only as a delightful summer resort.

At three o'clock in the afternoon I left Charleston for home, in a steam-packet bound to Wilmington, bearing with me many mementoes of the war for independence at the South, and filled with pleasing recollections of a journey of several weeks among the inhabitants of that sunny land where I had enjoyed the hospitality and kindness of true Republicans, keenly alive to the reflected glory of their patriot fathers, and devotedly attached to the free institutions of our common country, the fruits of a happy union.

The waters of the harbor were unruffled by a breeze, and I anticipated a delightful voyage to the Cape Fear; but as the city and fortifications receded, and we crossed the bar to the broad bosom of the Atlantic, we found it heaving with long, silent undulations, the effects of the subsiding anger of a storm. Sea-sickness came upon me, and I went supperless to my berth, where I remained until we were fairly within the mouth of the Cape Fear, at Smith's Island, on the following morning. The low wooded shores of Carolina approached nearer and nearer, and at eight o'clock we landed at the ancient town of Wilmington, on the eastern side of the Cape Fear.

I contemplated spending a day at Wilmington, but circumstances requiring me to hasten homeward, I was there only during the hour while waiting for the starting of the rail-way cars for the North. I had but little opportunity to view the town, where Republicanism was most rife on the sea-board of North Carolina before and during the Revolution; but by the kindness of friends there, especially of Edward Kidder, Esq., I am enabled to give, traditionally and pictorially all that I could have possibly obtained by a protracted visit. Already I have noticed many stirring events here during the earlier years of the war; it now remains for me to notice only the British occupation.

When, toward the close of 1780, Cornwallis prepared to move from his encampment at Winnsborough, toward North Carolina, he directed Colonel Balfour, at Charleston, to dispatch a sufficient force to take possession of Wilmington, that he might have a sea-port for supplies, while in that state. Major James H. Craig (who was governor general of Canada in 1807) was sent with four hundred regulars to perform

Craig at Wilmington.

His Flight.

Journey Homeward.

Arrival in New York.

that service. He took possession of the town without much resistance, toward the close of January, 1781. He immediately fortified himself, using the Episcopal church, a strong brick edifice (of the front of which the engraving is a correct view), for a citadel. Craig held undisturbed possession of Wilmington until the arrival of Cornwallis, on the seventh of April, after his battle with Greene, at Guilford. He remained in Wilmington, with his shattered army, eighteen days, to recruit and to determine upon his future course. His residence was on the corner of Market and Third Streets, now (1852) the dwelling of Doctor T. H. Wright. Apprised of Greene's march toward Camden, and hoping to draw him away from Rawdon,



CHURCH.

then encamped there, Cornwallis marched into Virginia, and joined the forces of Arnold and Phillips at Petersburg. The subsequent movements of the earl, until his surrender at Yorktown, have been detailed in former chapters.

Major Craig held possession of Wilmington until the autumn of 1781, when, informed of the surrender of Cornwallis, and the approach of St. Clair on his way to join Greene, he abandoned Wilmington and fled to Charleston. This was the only post in North Carolina held by the British, and with the flight of Craig all military operations ceased within its borders.¹

CORNWALLIS'S HEAD-QUARTERS.²

The rail-way from Wilmington to Weldon, on the Roanoke, a distance of one hundred and sixty-two miles, passes through a level pine region, where little business is done, except gathering of turpentine and the manufacture of tar. It was a dreary day's ride, for on every side were interminable pine forests, dotted with swamps and traversed by numerous streams, all running coastward. We crossed the Neuse at Goldsborough, eighty-five miles north of Wilmington, and the Tar at Rocky Mount, forty miles further. At sunset we passed Halifax,³ near the falls of the Roanoke, and arrived at Weldon at dark. The morning was uncomfortably warm; the evening was damp and chilly; and when we arrived at Richmond the next morning, two hundred and forty miles north of Wilmington, a cold rain was falling, and every thing was incrustated with ice. I tarried a day at Richmond, another at Washington City, and on the fourth of February⁴ I sat by my own fireside in the city of New York, after an absence of about eleven weeks, and a journey of almost ^{1849.} three thousand miles. There my long and interesting tour ended, except an occasional "journey of a day" to some hallowed spot in its vicinity. God, in his providence, dealt kindly with me, in all that long and devious travel, for I did not suffer sickness for an hour, and no accident befell me on the way.

¹ This church was demolished in 1841, and upon its site a new Protestant Episcopal church now stands.

² This is from a pencil sketch, by Mr. Charles Burr, of Wilmington.

³ At Elizabeth, higher up on the Cape Fear, in Bladen county, quite a severe battle was fought in July, 1781, between a few refugee Whigs, under Colonel Thomas Brown, and a body of Tories. The Whigs forded the Cape Fear after dark, and before midnight were in deadly conflict with the Tories. The surprise was complete, and the victory quite easy. This bold act crushed Tory ascendancy in that section of the state. I received from the venerable Dr. De Rosset, of Wilmington, an interesting account of a gallant affair on the part of the Americans at a place called "The Oaks," near Wilmington, in which he, though a lad, participated. I regret the want of space that precludes the possibility of giving the narrative here. Like many other similar details, the local historian must make the record. Dr. De Rosset is a son, I believe, of the mayor of that name mentioned on page 568. I have also received (too late for insertion), from the venerable A. M. Hooper, of Crawford, Alabama, an interesting sketch of the public life of William Hill, an active patriot of Cape Fear, of whom Josiah Quincy in his journal (1773), said "though a crown officer, a man replete with sentiments of general liberty, and warmly attached to the cause of American freedom."

⁴ Here the Provincial Congress of North Carolina met on the fourth of April, 1776, and took precedence of all similar assemblies in action favorable to independence. It was at Halifax that Cornwallis crossed the Roanoke (see page 547), while on his march to Virginia, in May, 1781.

CHAPTER XXX.

'Hail, mighty city! High must be his fame
 Who round thy bounds at sunrise *now* should walk;¹
 Still wert thou lovely, whatsoe'r thy name,
 New Amsterdam, New Orange, or New York;
 Whether in cradle sleep in sea-weed laid,
 Or on thine island throne in queenly power arrayed."

Mrs. SIGOURNEY.



ISTORICAL associations of the deepest interest, colonial and revolution-
 ary, cluster around the city of New York and its immediate vicinity.
 Here was planted one of the earliest of the European settlements in the
 New World; and during the march of progress for more than a ^{a 1609.}
 century and a half, from the advent of the *Half Moon*^a before Man-
 hattan, until the departure of the last vestige of foreign dominion from its
 shores,^b the events of its history bear important relations to the gen- ^{b 1783.}
 eral structure of our republic. Here, when the colonies lifted the

strong arm of resistance against an unnatural mother, the military power of the latter first
 raised a permanent standard. Here was the central point of that power during almost the
 entire period of the conflict which ensued; and here it lingered longest when the conflict
 was ended. Here the last great act of the drama of the Revolution was performed, when
 the first President of the United States was inaugurated, and the machinery of our Federal
 government was put in motion. Liberty in America was born at Plymouth, cradled in
 Boston, and baptized in Philadelphia; in New York it was inaugurated *Pontifex Maxi-*
mus, and its Liturgy—the *Constitution*—accepted as the expression of the common senti-
 ment of a free people.

Volumes have been written concerning the colonial history of New York; I shall devote
 only a few pages to the same theme, in addition to that which has already been given in
 this work. We have glanced at colonial and revolutionary events north of the Hudson
 Highlands; let us now open the chronicles of the city and vicinity.

A few months after the return of Henry Hudson to Europe, with intelligence of his dis-
 covery of the beautiful island of Manhattan^a and the river bearing his name, some Dutch
 traders sailed up the bay and planted their tents near the spot where now flourish the
 stately trees of the Battery. Hudson, being in the employment of the Dutch *East India*
Company, the States General of Holland claimed political and territorial jurisdiction over
 a vast extent of country more than that watered by the river discovered by Hudson. Ship
 followed ship with adventurers from Holland, and as deep in the wilderness as Albany they
 planted trading stations. A Dutch *West India Company* was formed,^a clothed
^{a 1621.} with all the elementary powers of government, and furnished with a charter giving
 them territorial dominion over the shores of two continents, without the least regard to the

¹ While the Dutch possessed the city, after its recapture in 1673, it was the duty of the mayor to walk
 round the city every morning at sunrise, unlock all the gates, and then give the keys to the commander
 of the fort. The walls or palisades extended from the East River, across Broadway to the corner of Grace
 and Lumber Streets, along the line of the present Wall Street. From the most westerly point, they con-
 tinued along the brow of the high bank of the Hudson to the fort, near the present Battery.

^a According to Heekewelder, this Indian word signifies *place of drunkenness*, a name given to the spot
 fourscore years before, when Verrazani landed there, and at a council of the natives gave them strong
 liquor and made them drunk. The place and the local tribe were afterward called Manhattan and Man-
 hattans.

The Patroon System.

Government Established.

Trade of the People.

Governor Stuyvesant.

existing settlements of the English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The history of this company is instructive, but we must forbear.

A new system was adopted in 1629. *Patroons* came,¹ and women and children were brought to form the basis of a permanent colony. The new domain was called New Netherlands, and the settlement on Manhattan, the germ of the present city of New York, was named New Amsterdam. The chief trade of the people was in the skins of the bear, otter, and raccoon; and soon the New Englanders complained that Dutch trappers were seen even as far eastward as Narraganset Bay. Tales of the beauty and fertility of the New World were poured into the ears of the Dutch and Germans. Their neighbors, the Swedes, caught the whisper, came over the sea, and seated themselves upon the banks of the Delaware. Jealousy begat feuds, and feuds engendered conflicts, and Christian people spilled each others blood in the sight of the heathen.

When government for the new colony was ordained, Peter Minuits was sent as director general,^a and during his ad-

ministration, and that

^a 1625. of his successors, Van

Twiller and Kieft, the settlements increased, yet trouble with the Swedes and Indians abounded.^b The governors

were weak men, as statesmen, and possessed no mili-

tary talent. Not so the successor of Kieft, Petrus Stuy-

vesant, a military commander of renown; a man of dig-

nity, honest and true. He concil-

iated the Indians;^c made honorable

treaties respecting boundaries with

the people of Con-

upon it. Watered by Van der Donck, and a few Puritans who had strayed into the Dutch domain, it flourished, nevertheless, and at length it bore fruit. Two deputies from each village in New Netherlands, chosen by the people, met in council in New Am-
sterdam^c, without the governor's permission. This first popular assembly offended

the chief magistrate, and for five years animosity was allowed to fester in the public mind, while Stuyvesant opposed the manifest will of the people. They finally resisted taxes, scorned his menaces, and even expressed a willingness to bear English rule for the sake of enjoying English liberty.



Petrus Stuyvesant

Minuits was sent as director necticut, and by a promptly executed military expedi-

tion,^b he crushed the

rising power of the

Swedes on the Delaware,^c

and warned Lord Baltimore

not to attempt an extension

of his boundary line too far

northward. Yet, with all

his virtues, Stuyvesant was

an aristocrat. His education

and pursuit made him so;

and wherever the feeble plant

of democracy,

which now began

to spring up in

New Amsterdam,

lifted its petals, he

planted the heel

of arbitrary power

of democracy,

which now began

to spring up in

New Amsterdam,

lifted its petals, he

planted the heel

of arbitrary power

of democracy,

which now began

to spring up in

New Amsterdam,

lifted its petals, he

planted the heel

of arbitrary power

¹ See vol. i., p. 391. The chief *patroons*, or *patrons*, who first came, were Killian van Rensselaer, Samuel Godyn, Samuel Bloemart, and Michael Paw. Godyn and Bloemart purchased lands on the Delaware, Van Rensselaer at Albany, and Paw in New Jersey, from Hoboken to the Kills. Livingston, Philipse, Van Cortland, and others, came afterward.

² This year a company of Walloons came from Holland and settled upon the land around the present Navy Yard at Brooklyn. There, on the seventh of June, Sarah Rapelje, the first white child born in New Netherlands, made her advent.

³ Dishonest traders changed friendly Indians to deadly foes. Conflicts ensued, and, to cap the climax of iniquity, Kieft caused scores of men, women, and children, who had asked his protection against the Mohawks, to be murdered at midnight, on the banks of the Hudson, at Hoboken. This act awakened the fierce ire of the tribes far in the wilderness, and caused the settlers vast and complicated trouble.

⁴ Because of his honorable treatment of the natives, and their attachment to him, the New Englanders charged him with a design to exterminate the English by Indian instrumentality.

⁵ See vol. i., page 386.

New Netherlands seized by the English.

Disappointment of the People.

Governor Stuyvesant.

New Jersey.

A crisis approached. Charles the Second, without any pretense to title, gave the territory of New Netherlands to his brother James, duke of York.* The duke sent an English squadron under Richard Nicolls to secure the gift, and on the third of September, 1664, the red cross of St. George floated in triumph over the fort, and the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York.¹ It was an easy conquest, for the people were not unwilling. Stuyvesant began to make concessions when it was too late, and his real strength, the will of the people, had departed from him. Although they disliked him as a ruler, they loved him as a man, and in his retirement upon his Bowerie farm,² near the city, he passed the remainder of his days in quiet, honored and respected by all.

Nicolls, the conqueror, assumed the functions of governor.³ He changed the *form* of laws, but the despotic *spirit* remained. The people were disappointed, and felt that they had only changed one tyranny for another. Nicolls filled his pockets from the people's purses, departed, and was succeeded by Francis Lovelace, who developed new schemes of taxation, that the people should "have liberty for no thought," as he expressed it, "but how to discharge them." The people *did* think of something else, and were on the verge of open rebellion, when the clouds of national war overshadowed local difficulties. England and Holland were at variance, and in July, 1673, a Dutch squadron sailed up the Bay of New York, and, without firing a shot, took possession of the fort and town. The easy con-

¹ The fort was built of Holland brick, and was finished in 1635. It stood on high ground on the site of the row of brick houses southeast of the Bowling Green, and was capacious enough to contain the governor's house, a small church, and to accommodate three hundred soldiers. It was called Fort Amsterdam. On its surrender to the English, it was called Fort James; during the Dutch occupation again, in 1673, it was called Fort William Hendrick; then again Fort James; on the accession of William and Mary, it was called Fort Orange; and finally, it was named Fort George, when Anne, who married Prince George of Denmark, ascended the English throne. It retained that name until it was demolished in 1790-91.

² Governor Stuyvesant retired from active life after the surrender to the English, and lived in quiet dignity upon his "Bowerie" estate, a short distance from the city, during the remainder of his life.* Stuyvesant was a native of Holland, born in 1602, and was forty-five years of age when he came to rule New Netherlands. Soon after his arrival, he married Judith Bayard, daughter of a Huguenot, by whom he had two sons. After the capture by the English, he went to Holland (1665) to report to his superiors, and this was his last ocean voyage. With his little family he enjoyed the repose of agricultural pursuits, within sight of the smoke of the city, which curled above the tree-tops along the "Bowerie Lane." Upon his farm (on the site of the present Church of St. Mark's), he built a chapel, at his own expense, and dedicated it to the worship of God according to the rituals of the Reformed Dutch Church. He lived eighteen years after the change in the government, and at his death was buried in his vault within the chapel. Over his remains was placed a slab (which may still be seen in the eastern wall of St. Mark's), with the following inscription: "In this vault lies buried PETRUS STUYVESANT, late captain general and commander-in-chief of Amsterdam, in New Netherlands, now called New York, and the Dutch West India Islands. Died in August, A.D. 1682, aged eighty years."

³ The dismemberment of the New Netherlands speedily followed the English Conquest. James sold to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the domains included within the present limits of New Jersey. Many privileges were offered to settlers, and the new province flourished. Berkeley finally sold his moiety to a party of Quakers, among whom was William Penn. The province was divided into East and West Jersey. The latter was assigned to the Quakers. In 1682, the heirs of Carteret sold his share to Quakers, among whom, again, was William Penn, and all the territory became an asylum for the persecuted. The ownership of the Jerseys proved a bad speculation, and in 1702 the proprietors surrendered them to the crown. They were united, and for a while were under the jurisdiction of the governor of New York, yet having a distinct Legislative Assembly. New Jersey was separated from New York in 1738, and remained a distinct province until she assumed the position of a sovereign state in 1776.

* Governor Stuyvesant's house was built of small yellow brick, imported from Holland, and stood near the present St. Mark's church, between the Second and Third Avenues. I saw his well in 1851, in a vacant lot between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, nearly on a line with the rear of St. Mark's. A fine brick building now (1852) covers the spot. A pear-tree, imported from Holland in 1647, by Stuyvesant, and planted in his garden, yet flourishes on the corner of Thirteenth Street and Third Avenue, the only *living* relic which preserves the memory of the renowned Dutch governor. I saw it in May, 1852, white with blossoms, a patriarch two hundred and five years of age, standing in the midst of strangers, crowned with the hoary honors of age and clustered with wonderful associations. An iron railing protects it, and it may survive a century longer.



PEAR-TREE.

Leisler Chief Magistrate.

His Persecution and Death.

Suppression of Piracy.

Captain Kidd.

quest was the work of treason, yet, as the royal libertine on the throne of England doubtless shared in the bribe, the traitor went unpunished. New Jersey and the settlements on the Delaware yielded, and for a short period (from July, 1673, until November, 1674) New York was again New Netherlands.¹

During the period of twenty-four years from the English Conquest, until the Revolution, when James was driven from the throne, democratic ideas rapidly expanded, and democratic principles worked powerfully in New York. When, early in 1689,^{1684 to 1688} the people heard of the overthrow of the bigot James, and the accession of William and Mary, they appointed a Committee of Safety, and with almost unanimous voice approved the act of Jacob Leisler, the commander of the militia, in taking possession of the fort in the name of the new Protestant sovereigns. Nicholson, the royal governor, departed, and with the consent of the people Leisler assumed the reigns of local rule until the king should appoint a successor. This whole movement was the spontaneous act of the people, in their sovereign capacity of self-governors. The aristocracy were offended; denounced Leisler as a usurper; and when Governor Sloughter came, they represented the popular leader as an enemy to the king and queen. Never was a man more loyal than Jacob Leisler; never was an accusation more false. His enemies resolved on his destruction, and succeeded.

Jacob Leisler

Leisler and his son-in-law, Milborne, were arrested, tried under a charge of treason, and condemned to be hung. Sloughter withheld his signature to the death-warrants until the leaders of the aristocracy made him drunk at

a dinner party. He then signed the fatal instrument, and before he was sober, ^{May 16, 1691.} Leisler and Milborne were suspended upon a gallows^a on the verge of Beekman's Swamp, near the spot where Tammany Hall now stands. These were the proto-martyrs of popular liberty in America.³

Governor Sloughter, a man "licentious in his morals, avaricious, and poor,"³ died of *delirium tremens* two months after the death of Leisler, and was succeeded by Benjamin Fletcher, another weak, dissolute man; "a soldier of fortune." Fletcher became the tool of the aristocracy, and with their aid attempted to establish Episcopacy in New York, and make it the legal religion of the province. The popular Assembly was too strong for them, and defeated the scheme. Earl Bellomont,⁴ who succeeded Fletcher in 1698, was a better and a wiser man. Death removed him just as his more liberal policy was about to bear fruit,^b and Edward Hyde (afterward Lord Cornbury), a libertine and a knave, cursed the province with misrule for seven years, when the people successfully demanded his ^{1701.} recall. From that period until the arrival of William Cosby as governor, in 1732, the royal representatives, unable to resist the will of the people, expressed by the popular Assembly, allowed democratic principles to grow and bear fruit. Rip van Dam, "a man of the people," was acting governor when Cosby came. They soon quarreled, and two violent parties arose; the Democratic, who sided with Van Dam, and the Aristocratic, who sup-

¹ For interesting papers connected with this event, see *Documentary History of New York*, iii., 80-99 inclusive; also Valentine's *Manual of the Common Council of New York*, 1852, p. 415-435 inclusive.

² Jacob Leisler was a native of Frankfort, in Germany. He came to America in 1660, and after a brief residence in Albany, he became a trader in New York. While on a voyage to Europe, he, with seven others, was made a prisoner by the Turks, to whom he paid a high price for his ransom. Governor Dongan appointed him one of the commissioners of the Court of Admiralty in 1683. In 1689, while exercising the functions of governor, he purchased New Rochelle for the persecuted Huguenots. His death, by the violence of his enemies, lighted an intense flame of party spirit, which burned for many long years.

Abraham Gouverneur, Leisler's secretary, was condemned at the same time, but was pardoned. He afterward married the widow of Milborne, and became the ancestor of the large and respectable family of Gouverneurs in this country, and its collateral branches.

³ Chief Justice Smith.
⁴ It was during the administration of Bellomont, that efforts were made to suppress prevailing piracy. The governor, Robert Livingston, and others, fitted out an expedition for the purpose, intrusted the command to the famous Captain Kidd, and were to share with him in all the profits arising from the capture of piratical vessels. Kidd was hung as a pirate in 1701, apparently the victim of a political conspiracy.

Attempt to Muzzle the Press.

Triumph of Democracy.

The Negro Plot.

Death of Sir Danvers Osborn.

ported the governor. Each party had a newspaper at command,¹ and the war of words raged violently. The governor finally ordered Zenger, the publisher of the paper opposed to him, to be arrested on a charge of libel. After an imprisonment of thirty-five weeks, Zenger was tried and acquitted by a jury. The excitement was intense, and, as on other occasions, the heat of party zeal stimulated the growth of democratic ideas.²

The remarkable event in the history of judicial proceedings, known as *The Negro Plot*, occurred in the city of New York in 1741. The idea became prevalent that numerous negro slaves in the city had conspired to burn the town, murder the white people, and set up a government under a man of their own color. A panic appeared to subvert all reason and common sense, and before it was allayed, four white people were hanged; eleven negroes were burned, eighteen were hanged, and fifty were transported to the West Indies and sold. All the local histories contain accounts of this affair in detail.

During the administration of George Clinton (of the family of the Earls of Lincoln), from 1743 till 1753, disputes ran high between the government and the people. Clinton's haughty demeanor, exactions, and injudicious assumption of privileges, disgusted the people, and they treated him with scorn. Clinton menaced them with punishments; they defied him, and boldly pronounced his conduct "arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of their rights." Yielding to the democratic pressure, Clinton left the province, and was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborn, on whose goodness and integrity the people relied for quiet and just rule. Four days after his accession to office, he went down into the suicide's grave,³ and his deputy, James Delancey, officiated as governor. The "Seven Years' War," now kindling in Europe, and its counterpart in America, the "French and Indian War," absorbed public attention, and the local politics of New York became, in a measure, a secondary consideration with the people.⁴ In that war, the people of New York, like those of her sister colonies, perceived their true strength, and learned a lesson of vast importance to them in the crisis which was now approaching. We have too often, in these volumes, considered the events which led to this crisis—the open resistance of the people to the supreme government—to require a repetition here, except those circumstances of local interest which marked the reception of the Stamp Act in New York.

When intelligence of the passage of the Stamp Act came over the sea, the people of New York boldly avowed their opposition. Cadwallader Colden,⁵ a venerable Scotchman of

¹ The Democratic paper was published by John Peter Zenger, and was called *The New York Weekly Journal*; the aristocratic paper was published by William Bradford, formerly of Philadelphia (see page 258), and was called *The New York Gazette*. The latter was established in 1725, and the former in 1726. Bradford had been in the printing business in New York since 1693. His was the first newspaper printed in the colony.

² This was the first attempt in New York to muzzle the press. Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, was Zenger's counsel; and the people, to express their approbation of the verdict, entertained Hamilton at a public dinner, and the corporation presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. On his departure, he was honored with salutes of cannon.

³ The loss of his wife had preyed upon the cheerfulness of Osborn, and he had become almost a misanthrope. Dismayed by the cares and perplexities of office which he saw awaited him, he hung himself with a handkerchief upon the garden fence of his residence.

⁴ We have already considered, in the first volume, the convention of colonial delegates at Albany in 1754, and the part which New York took in the war which ensued, and continued until 1763.

⁵ Colden was one of the most active and useful of the public men of New York before the Revolution. From a well-written memoir of him, by the pen of John W. Francis, M.D., of the city of New York, and published in *The American Medical and Philosophical Register* (January, 1811, volume i.), I have gleaned the materials for the following brief sketch:

Cadwallader Colden was the son of a Scotch minister of the Gospel, and was born at Dunse, in Scotland, on the seventeenth of February, 1688. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he completed his collegiate studies in 1705, at the early age of seventeen years. He then devoted three years to the study of mathematics and medical science, when he came to America, and remained here five years, practicing the profession of a physician. He returned to Great Britain in 1715, and in London became acquainted with the leading minds of the day; among others, with Halley the astronomer. He married a young lady in Scotland, and returned, with her, to America in 1716. They settled in the city of New York in 1718, and soon afterward Colden abandoned his profession for employments in public life. He became the surveyor general of the province, a master in Chancery, and a member of the Governor's Council.

Cadwallader Colden.

Sons of Liberty.

Place of Meeting.

Newspapers in the City.

eighty years was acting governor, and his council were men of the highest character in the province. Colden was a liberal-minded man, yet duty to his sovereign compelled him to discountenance the proceedings of the people, and his name appears in the records as the enemy of civil freedom. The SONS OF LIBERTY, who organized at this time throughout the colonies, though not numerous at first in New York, were very active, and gave Colden a great



Cadwallader Colden

merchants appended their names to resolutions condemnatory of the act; a Committee of Correspondence was appointed,⁴ and measures were adopted to force James M'Evers, the appointed stamp distributor, to resign his commission.

deal of trouble.¹ The newspapers spoke out moderately but manly, and there were few persons who openly advocated the Stamp Act. As the day approached when the act was to be put in force,² the tone of the press and the people became more defiant,³ and it was resolved not to allow the stamps to be landed. A general meeting of the citizens was held on the evening of the thirty-first of October,⁴ when two hundred

About 1750, he obtained a patent for a large tract of land near Newburgh, in Orange county, which was called Coldenham, where he resided with his family a great portion of his time, after 1755. In 1760, he was appointed lieutenant governor, and held that office until a year before his death. On account of the absence or death of the governor-in-chief, Colden often exercised the functions of chief magistrate. Such was his position when the Stamp Act excitement prevailed. He was relieved from office in 1775, when he retired to his seat at Flushing. He died there on the twenty-eighth of September, 1776, a few days after the great fire broke out, which consumed a large portion of the city of New York.

Doctor Colden was a close student and keen observer through life, and he enriched medical and other scientific works by numerous treatises from his pen. His "History of the Five Nations of Indians" is a work of great research and observation, and is now much sought after by scholars. Botany was his delight, and with Linnæus, the great master of the science, he was a constant and valued correspondent for many years. Almost all of the eminent scientific men of Europe became his correspondents, and Franklin and other leading men in America were his intimate epistolary friends. Doctor Colden paid much attention to the art of printing, wrote upon the subject, and was a real, if not the *original*, inventor of the process called *stereotyping*. To Doctor Francis I am indebted for a fine copy of the portrait of Colden, from which the one here given was made.

¹ The association in New York had a correspondent (Nicholas Ray) in London, to whom they gave regular accounts of their proceedings, and from whom they as regularly received intelligence of the movements of the ministry. The most prominent men of the association in the province of New York were Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Alexander M'Dougal, Marinus Willett, William Wiley, Edward Laight, Thomas Robinson, Hugh Hughes, Flores Bancker, Charles Nicoll, Joseph Alliocock, and Gershom Mott, of New York city; Jeremiah van Rensselaer, Myndert Rosenboom, Robert Henry, Volkert P. Dow, Jelles Fonda, and Thomas Young, of Albany and Tryon counties; John Sloss Hobart, Gilbert Potter, Thomas Brush, Cornelius Conklin, and Nathan Williams, of Huntington, Long Island; George Townsend, Barak Sneething, Benjamin Townsend, George and Michael Weekes, and Rowland Chambers, of Oyster Bay, Long Island.

The house of Richard Howard, "in the fields" (now the Park), which stood very near the site of Howard's Irving House, on the corner of Broadway and Chamber Street, was the usual place of meeting of the Sons of Liberty. They also met at Bardin's (afterward Abraham Montagne's) which stood on the site of Francis's bookstore, on Broadway, near Murray Street. To this house a garden was attached, which extended as far as the present Church Street, and was a place of public resort.

² There were only three newspapers in the city of New York, then containing a population of about seventeen thousand. These were *The New York Mercury*, published by Hugh Gainé; *The New York Weekly Gazette*, by William Weyman; and *The New York Gazette* (formerly Parker's paper), by John Holt. The latter commenced the publication of his *New York Journal* in 1766.

³ This meeting was held at Burns's "King's Arms," the present house fronting the "Atlantic Garden," No. 9 Broadway.

⁴ The following-named persons constituted the committee: Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson. There was also a Committee of Vigilance organized at about the same time, consisting of fifty-one persons.

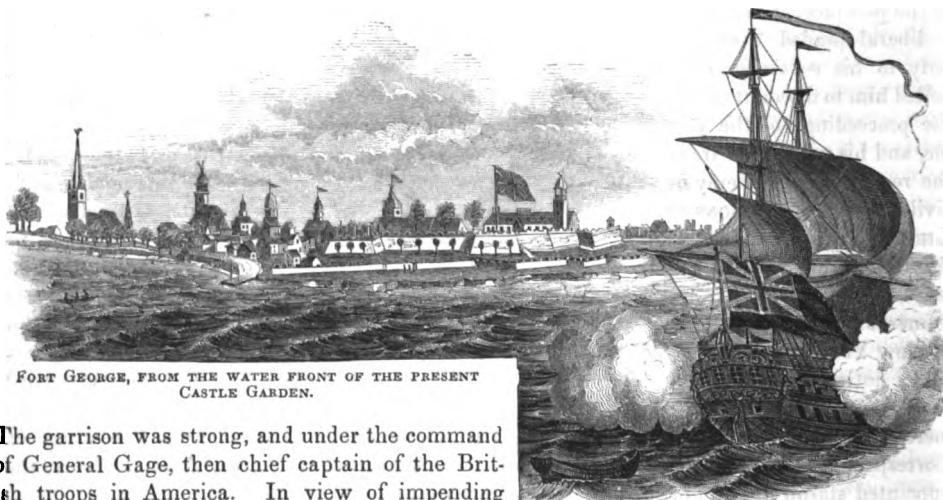
Arrival of Stamps.

The People demand them.

Colden burned in Effigy.

Destruction of James's Property.

The stamps arrived on the twenty-third of October, and M'Evers, already alarmed by the manifestation of the public feeling, refusing to receive them, they were placed in the hands of Lieutenant-governor Colden (who resided within Fort George) for safe keeping.



FORT GEORGE, FROM THE WATER FRONT OF THE PRESENT CASTLE GARDEN.

The garrison was strong, and under the command of General Gage, then chief captain of the British troops in America. In view of impending troubles, Colden had strengthened the fort and replenished the magazine. A knowledge of these facts increased the indignation of the people, but did not alter their resolution. Notwithstanding armed ships were riding in the harbor, and the guns of the fort were pointed upon the town, the people assembled in great numbers, appeared before the fort, and demanded the delivery of the stamps to their appointed leader. A refusal was answered by defiant shouts, and half an hour afterward the lieutenant governor was hung in effigy,¹ in "the fields," near the spot where Leisler was gibbeted seventy-five years before. Thence they paraded through the streets, back to the fort, dragged Colden's fine coach to the open space in front, tore down the wooden fence around the Bowling Green, and after making a pile, cast the coach² and effigy upon it, and set fire to and consumed all together. The mob then proceeded out of town to the beautiful residence of Major James, of the royal artillery, where they destroyed his fine library, works of art and furniture, and desolated his choice garden.³ Isaac Sears and others, leaders of the Sons of Liberty, who had issued strict orders forbidding injury to private property, endeavored to restrain the mob, but the storm they had raised could not be quieted till the appetite for violence was appeased. After parading the streets, with the Stamp Act printed upon large sheets, and raised upon poles, headed "England's Folly and America's Ruin," the populace quietly dispersed to their homes.⁴

¹ The effigy had a drum upon its back, a label on its breast, and in one hand a stamped paper. The drum was in allusion to the fact that Colden was a drummer in the army of the Scotch Pretender in 1715. An effigy of the devil hung by his side, with a *boot* in his hand, to indicate the people's detestation of the Earl of Bute. By the advice of Colden, Gage wisely refrained from firing upon the people while these outrages were occurring.

² There were only three or four coaches in the city at that time, and as they belonged to wealthy friends of government, they were considered by the people evidences of aristocratic pride. Such was the prejudice against the name of coach, that Robert Murray, a Quaker merchant who owned one, called his "a leathern conveniency." Mr. Murray owned a country seat near the intersection of Fourth and Fifth Avenues, and Thirty-sixth and Fortieth Streets, long known as Murray Hill. Colden's coach was made in England for Sir Henry Moore, the absent governor-in-chief at the time. Colden's coach-house and stables were outside the fort, and easy of access by the populace.

³ James's house stood on an eminence a little east of the present intersection of Anthony Street and West Broadway, and was called Ranelagh. I find in the newspapers of the day, the Ranelagh Garden advertised, a few months after this outrage, by John Jones, as a place of public resort, where fire-works were exhibited and refreshments furnished. Vauxhall, the seat of Sir Peter Warren, was at the foot of Warren Street.

⁴ During the evening of excitement, the cannons on Capsey battery (near the present flag-staff, toward

Stamps delivered to the Mayor.	Quiet.	Repeal of the Act.	Rejoicings.	Pitt's Statue.
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Excitement still prevailed in the city, when Colden, perceiving further resistance to the will of the people unavailing, ordered the stamps to be delivered to the Mayor (Cruger) and Common Council, the former giving a receipt for the same, and the corporation agreeing to pay for all stamps that should be destroyed or lost.¹ This was satisfactory to the people, and quiet was restored. Yet the colonists were no less vigilant, and efforts to enforce a repeal of the obnoxious act were every where made. Non-importation agreements were numerously signed; the hum of spinning-wheels and the clatter of shuttles were heard in almost every household, and rich men and women, who commonly walked in broadcloths and brocades, now appeared, on all occasions, in homespun garments.

On Tuesday, the sixth of May,^a the joyful intelligence of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached New York.^b The city was filled with delight. Bells rung a merry peal, cannons roared, and placards every where appeared, calling a meeting of the citizens at Howard's the next day to celebrate the event. Hundreds assembled, and marching in procession to "the fields," they fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns upon the spot where the City Hall now stands. An immense table was spread at Howard's, where the Sons of Liberty feasted, and drank twenty-eight "loyal and constitutional toasts." The city was illuminated in the evening, and bonfires blazed at every corner. Another celebration was had on the king's birth-day,^c under the auspices of Governor Moore. The governor, council, military officers, and the clergy, dined at the King's Arms (now Atlantic Garden), where General Gage resided, and great rejoicings were had by the people in "the fields."^d The Sons of Liberty feasted at Montagne's, and with the sanction of the governor, they erected a mast (afterward called Liberty Pole) a little northeast of the present City Hall, in front of Warren Street. It was inscribed, "*To his most gracious Majesty, George the Third, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty.*" The loyalty of the people, and their idolatry of Pitt, were boundless, and at a meeting at the Coffee House,^e corner of Dock (now Pearl) and Wall Streets, a petition was numerously signed, praying the Assembly to erect a statue to the great commoner. The Assembly complied, and on the same day voted an equestrian statue in honor of the king. These were erected in 1770, but within six years that of the king was destroyed by the Republicans, and Pitt's was mutilated by the Royalists soon afterwards.^f

Even while the people were singing alleluiahs, there were some in New York, who, like Christopher Gadsden of Charleston (see page 748), were sagacious enough to perceive the tendency of Pitt's Declaratory Act, which accompanied the Repeal Bill, and were bold enough to warn the people, even in the midst of the loyal excitement. The liberal press of England immediately denounced



REMAINS OF PITT'S STATUE

the Whitehall end of the Battery), and also several in the government store-yard near by, were spiked, and rendered unfit for service.

¹ Less than a month after this, some stamps, which were brought in a brig, were disposed of in a more summary way. Ten boxes of them were seized by some of the citizens, put into a boat, and taken to the ship-yards at the foot of the present Catharine Street, on the East river, where they were burned in a tar barrel. Governor Sir Henry Moore arrived on the third of December, and his conciliatory course tended to confirm the quiet which Colden had restored to the province.

² The intelligence was brought by Major James, who came passenger in the *Hynde*, from Plymouth. She was six weeks on her voyage.

³ An ox was roasted whole; twenty-five barrels of beer and a hogshead of rum were opened for the populace; twenty-five pieces of cannon, ranged in a row where the City Hall now stands, thundered a royal salute; and in the evening twenty-five tar barrels, hoisted upon poles, were burned, and gorgeous fire-works were exhibited at Bowling Green.

⁴ The statue of the king was placed in the center of the Bowling Green, and the iron railing which now incloses the spot was placed there for its protection. We shall notice it more in detail presently.

The statue of Pitt was pedestrian, and made of marble. It was placed at the intersection of William and Wall Streets. The figure was in a Roman habit; in one hand was a scroll partly open, on which

Murmuring against the Mutiny Act.

Liberty Pole several times cut down.

Excitement.

Pitt Caricatured.

it,¹ and Pitt's plea of *expediency* could hardly save him from the anathemas of the Americans, when they gravely considered the matter. However, the Sons of Liberty regarded the repeal of the Stamp Act as a secession of the ministry from their authoritative position, and believing that a full redress of grievances complained of would follow, they dissolved their association, but agreed to meet each year on the anniversary of the repeal, to celebrate the event.

Before the echoes of repeal rejoicings had died away, the low mutterings of another storm were heard. When intelligence of the Stamp Act riots reached England, Parliament passed the *Mutiny Act*, which provided for the quartering of troops in America, at the partial expense of the colonists themselves. In June, Governor Moore informed the people of New York that he hourly expected the arrival of a re-enforcement for the garrison, and that he desired the Assembly to make immediate provisions for them, according to the demands of the Mutiny Act. The Sons of Liberty were aroused, and at a meeting at Montagne's, they solemnly resolved to resist this new measure of oppression to the uttermost. The troops came; angry feelings were soon excited between them and the people, and thirty-six days after the Liberty Pole was erected with so much harmony and loyalty it was cut down by

^a Aug. 16, 1766. the insolent soldiery.^a The people re-erected it the next evening, in the face of the armed mercenaries; not, however, without a fracas, in which blood was shed.^a

^b Sept. 23. A little more than a month afterward,^b the soldiers again prostrated the Liberty Pole, and again the people upreared it, and from its top they flung the British banner to the breeze.^c

^c Sept. 25. The autumn and winter passed without serious trouble in the city, but when the people met to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal,^d and with great rejoicings inaugurated the "mast" as a "Liberty Pole," the soldiers again interfered, and that night the cherished emblem of freedom was prostrated for the third time.

The people again erected it, bound it with iron, and placed a guard there. The soldiers came with loaded muskets,^e fired two random shots into Montagne's house, where the Sons of Liberty were assembled, and attempted to drive the people from "the fields." Fearful retaliation would have followed this atrocious act, had not the governor interfered and ordered the soldiers to refrain from further aggressive movements. On the

^f June 4. king's birth-day,^f they made another unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Liberty Pole, but it stood in proud defiance until 1770, when armed men came from the

^g Jan. 16, 1770. barracks at midnight,^g prostrated it, sawed it in pieces, and then piled it up in front of Montagne's. The perpetrators were discovered, the bell of St. George's Chapel,

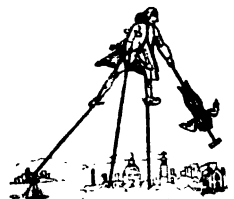
in Beekman Street, was rung, and early the next morning three thousand people stood around the stump of the pole, and, by resolutions, declared their rights, and their determination to maintain them. For three days the most intense excitement prevailed. In frequent affrays with the citizens, the soldiers were generally worsted; and in a severe conflict on Golden

was inscribed *Articuli Magna Charta Libertatum*. The left hand was extended in oratorical attitude. On the south side of the pedestal was the following inscription: "This statue of the Right Honorable William Pitt, earl of Chatham, was erected as a public testimony of the grateful sense the colony of New York retains of the many services he rendered to America, particularly in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act. Anno Dom., 1770."

While the British soldiers occupied the city they knocked off the head and arms of the statue, and other wise defaced it. It was removed after the war, and for many years laid among rubbish in the corporation-yard, from which it was conveyed by Mr. Riley, of the Fifth Ward Hotel, to the corner of his house within an iron railing, where it yet (1852) remains. The engraving on the preceding page is a representation of its present appearance.

¹ A caricature appeared in London, which represented Pitt upon stilts, his gouty leg resting on the Royal Exchange, in the midst of bubbles inscribed *War, Peace, &c.* This stilt was called *Popularity*. The other stilt, called *Sedition*, he stretched over the sea toward New York, fishing for popularity in the Atlantic. The staff on which he leaned was called *Pension*. This caricature was entitled *The Colossus*, and was accompanied by five satirical verses in broken English, as if spoken by a Frenchman.

² No citizen was killed, or very seriously wounded. Isaac Sears and John Berrien each received a wound.



Soldiers Disarmed.	Fifth Liberty Pole.	Political Coalition.	Public Sentiment.	John Lamb.
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Hill (Cliff Street, between Fulton Street and Maiden Lane), near Burling Slip, several of the soldiers were disarmed.¹ Quiet was at length restored; the people erected another Liberty Pole^a upon private ground purchased for the purpose, upon Broadway, near Warren Street, and a few days afterward the soldiers departed for Boston.² This fifth Liberty Pole remained untouched as a rallying-place for the Whigs until 1776, when it was hewn down by Cunningham, the notorious provost marshal, who, it is said, had been whipped at its foot.

The Colonial Assembly steadily refused compliance with the demands of the Mutiny Act, until Parliament, early in 1767, passed an act "prohibiting the governor, council, and Assembly of New York passing any legislative act for any purpose whatever," when partial concessions were made. A new Assembly was convened in 1768.^b It was composed of less pliable material than the other, and, notwithstanding the imperial government made the province feel the weight of its displeasure, and would not recede from its position of absolute master, the Assembly refused submission, until May, 1769, when an appropriation was made for the support of the troops. In the autumn of that year Sir Henry Moore died,^c and the reins of government were again held by Colden. Soon an unlooked for coalition between Colden and Delancey, the leaders of opposing parties, appeared. Opposite political elements seemed to assimilate, and the leaven of aristocracy began its work in the Assembly. A game for political power, based upon a money scheme, was commenced, which menaced the liberties of the people.³ The popular leaders sounded the alarm, and an inflammatory hand-bill appeared,^d signed "A Son of Liberty," calling a meeting of "the betrayed inhabitants in the fields." It denounced the money scheme, the pliancy of the Assembly, and the unnatural coalition of Colden and Delancey, as omens of danger to the state. A large concourse of people assembled around the Liberty Pole the next day. They were harangued by John Lamb,⁴ one of the most ardent of the Sons of Liberty, and by



John Lamb.

¹ The late Col. Michael Smith, who died in New York in April, 1846, at the age of ninety-six years, was then a young man of twenty. He was engaged in the affray, and was one of those who disarmed the soldiers. I have seen the musket which he seized at the time, and which, as a soldier, he bore throughout the war that soon followed. It is a very heavy *Tower* gun, and is preserved by his family as a precious heir-loom.

² At this time the true Sons of Liberty were excluded from Montagne's by those who were active with them in 1765, but now leaned toward the government side. With these Montagne sympathized, and to them he hired his rooms, when the day approached for celebrating the repeal of the Stamp Act. The patriots purchased a small house at the corner of Broadway and the Bowery road (where Barnum's American Museum now stands), named it *Hampden Hall*, and that was their place of assemblage during the four years preceding the bursting forth of the storm of the Revolution.—See Holt's *Journal* (supplement), No. 1418.

³ This was the issuing of bills of credit, on the security of the province, to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be loaned to the people, the interest to be applied to defraying the expenses of the colonial government. It was none other than a Monster Bank, without checks, and was intended to cheat the people into a compliance with the requirements of the Mutiny Act, by the indirect method of applying the profits to that purpose.

⁴ John Lamb was born in the city of New York, on the first of January, 1735. In early youth he followed the occupation of his father (optician and mathematical instrument maker), but in 1760 entered into the liquor trade. He was a good writer and fluent speaker, both of which accomplishments he brought into use when the troubles with Great Britain began. He was active in all the preliminary scenes of the Revolution in New York, and in 1775 received a captain's commission. He accompanied Montgomery to Quebec, was active and brave during the siege, and was wounded and made prisoner at the close. He retired to New York the ensuing summer, was promoted to mayor, and attached to the regiment of artillery under Knox. As we have met him at various times in his military career, we will not stop to repeat the story of his services. He was elected to a seat in the New York Assembly at the close of the

M'Dougal Imprisoned.

Partial Triumph of Toryism.

Arrival of a Tea-ship.

Destruction of Tea.

a vote unanimously condemned the action of the Assembly. They communicated their sentiments to that body by a committee,¹ when the Assembly adopted measures for the discovery and punishment of the author of the obnoxious hand-bill. Lamb was cited before the House, but was soon discharged; and the guilt being fixed upon Alexander M'Dougal (the Revolutionary general, subsequently) by the printer, he was arrested, and refusing to make any acknowledgment or to give bail, he was cast into prison, where he remained about fourteen weeks, until arraigned for trial. He then pleaded not guilty, gave bail, was arraigned before the House several months afterward (when he was defended by George Clinton), and was again put in prison for contempt. He was soon released, and was never troubled with the matter afterward. These proceedings engendered dissatisfaction. Popular opinion was with M'Dougal, and men and women flocked to the prison to sympathize with him. The growth of democratic principles was promoted by these events.

Gradually the Loyalist party gained ascendancy in the Legislature, and the influence of that body was felt among the people. Non-importation agreements were disregarded, and only the Hampden Hall Sons of Liberty maintained the integrity of their principles. Disaffection appeared among the members of the general committee of One Hundred, and of the vigilance committee of Fifty-one, recently organized. The Loyalists rejoiced, and Livingston printed in his *Gazetteer*,

"And so my good masters, I find it no joke,
For York has stepp'd forward and thrown off the yoke
Of Congress, committees, and even King Sears,
Who shows you good nature by showing his ears."

Yet the great mass of the people remained sufficiently democratic to preserve a spirit of hostility to oppressive government measures. We need not here repeat the story of Britain's sins and America's endurance. New York shared in common with the other colonies, and ^{July 3, 1771.} when Tryon came from North Carolina^a to rule the province, he found the same loathing for petty tyranny and aristocratic assumptions. Comparative quiet prevailed, however, until intelligence of Lord North's Tea Act came. The flame of excitement then burst out in New York as suddenly and fiercely as in Boston. The Sons of Liberty reorganized; the Committee of Correspondence resumed its labors; tea commissioners and stamp distributors were considered co-workers in iniquity, and in front of the Coffee House in Wall Street, an effigy of Kelly, a New Yorker in London, who had ridiculed popular indignation here, was burned.^b ^{Nov. 5, 1773.} The fire in Hampden Hall spread among the people, and when Captain Lockyer, of the *Nancy*, the first tea-ship that came, arrived at Sandy Hook, he heeded the advice of the pilot, and went up to the city without his vessel. The "Mohawks"^c were warned to be in readiness, and the people resolved that no tea should be landed. Captain Lockyer's conference with the committee satisfied him that he had no fair alternative but to return to England with his cargo. Even while he was ashore, a merchant vessel (Captain Chambers) arrived with eighteen chests of tea hidden among its cargo. The vigilant Sons of Liberty searched his vessel, cast his tea into the harbor, and advised him to leave port as soon as possible. He heeded the advice, and left New York with Lockyer, while the people crowded the wharf at Whitehall, shouted a farewell, and amid cannon peals hoisted the royal flag upon the Liberty Pole in token of triumph.

war, and was active in civil services until the organization of government under the Federal Constitution, when Washington appointed him collector of customs for the port of New York. He held this office until his death, which occurred on the thirty-first of May, 1800. Never was there a purer patriot or more honest man than John Lamb.

¹ The committee consisted of Isaac Sears, Caspar Wistar, Alexander M'Dougal, Jacobus van Zandt, Samuel Broome, Erasmus Williams, and James van Vreck (Varick).

² When it was known that tea-ships were on their way, a notice appeared in Holt's journal, calling the "Mohawks" to action. There appeared to be the same understanding in New York as in Boston, that tea was to be destroyed, if necessary, by men disguised as Indians.

New Parties.	Meeting of Provincial Congress.	Arrest of Captain Sears.	Seizure of Arms.	Post-office.
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Loyalty and timidity again developed their fruit in the Revolutionary committees, and by adroit management moderate men and royalists gained the ascendancy. Afraid openly to oppose the popular will, they insidiously cast obstacles in the way of efficient co-operation with other colonies. Soon two distinct parties were formed among professed Republicans, marked by a line of social distinction—the *Patricians* and the *Tribunes*—the merchants and gentry, and the mechanics. They coalesced, however, in the nomination of delegates to the Continental Congress, and on the twenty-seventh of July,^a the people, by unanimous voice, ratified their choice.¹ This was an act of the people alone, for the Assembly, too timid or too loyal, refrained from any expression of opinion concerning the proposed Congress.²

The *American Association*, adopted by the first Continental Congress, was popular in New York, and a committee of sixty was immediately organized to enforce its provisions. Warmly supported by the true Sons of Liberty, they took the lead in political matters. By their recommendation, the people in the several counties chose representatives for a Provincial Congress, and on the twenty-second of May, 1775, that body convened in the Exchange, at the foot of Broad Street, in New York.³ The General Assembly had adjourned a month previously, and never met again.⁴

The great crisis was now approaching, and the occurrence of many local circumstances inflamed the minds of the people, and prepared them for open rebellion.⁵ Intelligence of the martyrdom of patriots at Lexington and Concord came at the moment when Captain Sears, the popular leader, was in official custody,^b because he had made, it was alleged, treasonable propositions.⁶ Aroused by that first clarion-blast of war, the

^a April 24, 1775.

¹ Philip Livingston, John Jay, James Duane, John Alsop, and Isaac Low were chosen. They were adopted as delegates by other districts, and the name of Henry Wisner was afterward added. The people of Suffolk county elected William Floyd, and the credentials of all were presented together.

² Governor Tryon's house was destroyed by fire at midnight on the twenty-ninth of December, 1773. So rapidly did the flames spread, that the governor's family had great difficulty in escaping, and Elizabeth Garret, a servant girl sixteen years of age, perished in the flames. The governor lost all of his personal effects. The Assembly made him a present of twenty thousand dollars in consideration of his misfortune. The great seal of the province was found among the ashes, two days after the fire, uninjured. Tryon went to England in April, 1774, and on his departure he was honored with addresses; a public dinner by the Common Council; a ball by General Haldimand, then in command of the troops; and King's (now Columbia) College, then under the care of Dr. Cooper, conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

³ Peter van Brugh Livingston was chosen president, Volkert P. Douw, vice-president, and John McKisson and Robert Benson, secretaries. Nathaniel Woodhull, of Suffolk county, was soon afterward called to the presidential chair. He was appointed a brigadier the following year.

⁴ Fifteen of the twenty-four members of the Assembly were Loyalists, and during their last session, efforts to pass resolutions approving the proceedings of the Continental Congress were fruitless. A motion to that effect, offered by Nathaniel Woodhull (afterward slain by the British), was lost by a party vote. Those who voted in the affirmative were George Clinton, Nathaniel Woodhull, Philip Schuyler, Abraham Tenbroeck, Philip Livingston, Captain Seaman, and Messrs. Boerum, Thomas, and De Witt.

⁵ On the twentieth of December, the ship *Lady Gage*, commanded by Captain Thomas Mesnard, arrived with ten cases and three boxes of arms, and a barrel of gunpowder, consigned to Walter Franklin. The collector ordered these to be seized, because, as he alleged, they had been lying in Franklin's warehouse several days without cockets. While on their way to the custom-house, a small party of the Sons of Liberty took them from the officers in charge, but before they could conceal them, they were retaken and placed on board an armed ship in the harbor. On the same day a letter for the collector was put in the post-office,* containing menaces of vengeance, and that night a very inflammatory hand-bill was left at almost every door in the city.†

⁶ When General Gage began to fortify Boston Neck, the people refused him labor and materials; and in the spring of 1775, he sent to New York for both, in order to erect barracks for the soldiers on Boston Common. The patriots were informed that a sloop laden with boards was about to sail for Boston. A meeting was called at the Coffee-house, and it was resolved to seize the vessel. At that meeting, Sears exhorted the people to arm themselves with muskets and twenty-four ball-cartridges each. For this he was arrested and taken before the mayor. He refused to give bail, and was about to be carried to prison,

* A scheme for the establishment of an independent post-office, proposed by William Goddard, the publisher of the *Maryland Journal*, was put into partial operation in 1775, and on the eleventh of May, John Holt, the printer, was appointed post-master. The office was kept at Holt's printing-house.

† This is supposed to have been written by John Lamb. To avoid being betrayed, the Sons of Liberty went to Holt's printing-house at night, and put in type and printed their hand-bills themselves, and then circulated them through the town.

Arming of the People.

Closing of the Custom-house.

Arms seized by the Sons of Liberty.

Fortifications Ordered.

people took possession of the City Hall, armed themselves, and with Lamb and Willett at their head, they embargoed all vessels in the harbor laden with provisions for the British army in Boston. They did more; Andrew Elliott, the collector, forbade the landing of a cargo of rum for the patriots. Sears and Lamb ordered the vessel to Cruger's Wharf (between Coenties' and Old Slips), landed the rum, and carted it to its destination in the city; then returning to the custom-house, they demanded and received the keys, dismissed the employées, and closed the building.^a When they had committed this overt act of

^a May 2 treason, they boldly gave notice of the fact to their brethren in other cities. Persons known to be engaged in sending provisions to the British ships in the harbor were seized, and general alarm pervaded the Tory ranks.^b A grand Committee of Safety, consisting of one hundred of the most respectable citizens, was now organized; a military association for practice in the use of fire-arms was formed, under Samuel Broome; a pledge (see page 384, volume i.) was circulated, and numerously signed; six hundred stand of arms were taken from the city arsenals by the committee, and distributed among the citizens; and when an Irish battalion (the last remains of the garrison in Fort George), under Major Moncrief, were on their way to a vessel bound for Boston, with a quantity of spare arms in boxes upon wagons, Marinus Willett and a small body of Sons of Liberty, encouraged by a short harangue by John Morin Scott, boldly confronted the soldiers, seized the

^b Jan. 23, 1775. arms, and carried them back to the now deserted fort.^b These arms were afterward used by Gansevoort's regiment, of which Willett was lieutenant colonel.

^c May 22. When the Provincial Congress assembled,^c its complexion disappointed the people. Toryism and timidity prevailed in that Assembly, and the elaboration of schemes for conciliation, instead of measures for defense, occupied the majority. Hard pressed by public opinion,^d and the influence of important events daily transpiring, they were obliged to yield. Four regiments were authorized to be raised;^e fortifications at King's Bridge^e were ordered, and measures were taken to fortify the Hudson passes in the Highlands. In the mean while, the patriots gathered in force around Boston; the battle of Bunker Hill was fought; a Continental army was organized, and George Washington appointed the commander-in-chief.^f Rumors of the approach of troops from Ireland came, and the Provincial Congress,

when the people took him from the officers, and bore him in triumph through the town, preceded by a band of music and a banner. That night Sears addressed the people in "the fields," and a few days afterward he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress. The names of Burling, Ivers, Alner, M'Dougal, Roorbach, and Richard Livingston are preserved as among those of Sears's friends on that occasion.

¹ This is a corruption of *Countess's Slip*, a name given to it in honor of the Countess Bellomont, the child-wife of Governor Bellomont. She was a mother at the age of thirteen.

² Dr. Cooper, the president of King's (now Columbia) College, becoming alarmed, soon afterward fled to Stuyvesant's house, near the East River, where he remained concealed, under the impression that the Whigs were trying to seize him. He finally escaped to the *Asia* man-of-war. He had written much in favor of Episcopacy in America, and was a decided Loyalist; so decided, that, next to Tryon, Colden, and Mayor Hicks, he was most detested by the Whigs. Dr. Cooper was eminent for his learning. He succeeded Dr. Johnson as president of the college in 1763. Soon after his flight he went to England. He died suddenly in Edinburgh, on the first of May, 1785, at the age of fifty years, and was buried in the Episcopal chapel there.

³ New York has been unjustly taunted for its adherence to royalty, when the curtain of the Revolutionary drama was first lifted in 1775. Family influence was very great in that colony, and through it the General Assembly and the Provincial Congress were very loyally inclined. But the masses were chiefly republican in feeling, and when Toryism was fairly crushed out of the popular Assembly by pressure from without, no state was more patriotic. With a population of only one hundred and sixty-four thousand, of whom thirty-two thousand five hundred were liable to do militia duty, New York furnished seventeen thousand seven hundred and eighty-one soldiers for the Continental army; over three thousand more than Congress required.—Judge Campbell's *Address* before the New York Historical Society, 1850.

⁴ These were commanded by colonels M'Dougal, James Clinton, Ritzema, and Wynkoop. Herman Zedwitz, a Prussian, was M'Dougal's first major. Ritzema joined the Royal army after the battle at White Plains; and about the same time Zedwitz was cashiered for attempting a treasonable correspondence with Tryon.

⁵ King's Bridge spans Spyt den Duyvel Creek, at the northern end of York Island. The first structure there was of wood, erected at the expense of the colony in 1691, and was called the King's bridge.

⁶ For a notice of Washington's arrival in New York, when on his way to Cambridge, see vol. i., page 564.

Wooster and his Troops at Harlem.

Capture of British Stores.

Turtle Bay.

Committee of One Hundred.

somewhat purged of its Toryism by intelligence from the East, invited General Wooster, then in command of eighteen hundred Connecticut militia at Greenwich, to come to the defense of New

York. He encamped at Harlem^a for several weeks, sent detachments to beat off

marauders, who were carrying away the cattle of Long Island to the British army in Boston, and by his presence made the New York patriots bold and active. At midnight^b they captured

British stores at Turtle Bay, and sent part to the grand army at Boston and a part to the troops then collecting on Lake Champlain to invade Canada; they also seized a tender, with stores, belonging to the *Asia*, and took possession of provisions and clothing deposited at Greenwich^c by the government.³

VIEW AT TURTLE BAY.³

Governor Tryon returned to New York in the *Asia* on the third of July, and was received with respect. His course soon indicated his opposition to the Republicans. The energetic actions of the committee of One Hundred taught him to be circumspect in public, and his private intrigues to gain ascendancy for Toryism in the Provincial Congress were abortive. That body, now guided by the popular will, and perceiving a resort to arms to be inevitable, ordered Lamb, who was then a captain of artillery, to remove the cannons from the grand battery and the fort, and take them to a place of security. Assisted by an independent corps under Colonel Lasher, and a body of citizens guided by King Sears, as

¹ Greenwich was then a village of a few houses, a mile and a half from the city. It has long since been merged into the metropolis, and is now (1852) at about a central point, on the Hudson, between the lower and upper part of the city.

² These acts were done under the immediate sanction of the committee of One Hundred,* who, while the Provincial Congress legislated, were busy in executing according to the known will of the people. The patriots regarded this committee with more confidence than they did the Provincial Congress.

³ Turtle Bay is a small rock-bound cove of the East River, at the foot of Forty-seventh Street. The banks are high and precipitous, and afforded a safe retreat for small vessels. Here the government had made a magazine of military stores, and these the Sons of Liberty determined to seize. Under the direction of Lamb, Sears, Willett, and M'Dougal, a party procured a sloop at Greenwich, came stealthily through the dangerous vortex of Hell Gate at twilight, and at midnight surprised and captured the guard, and secured the stores. The old store-house in which they were deposited is yet standing upon a wharf on the southern side of the little bay. The above view is from the bank at the foot of Forty-sixth Street. Beyond the rocky point on the north side of the bay is seen the lower end of Blackwell's Island, with the shore of Long Island in the distance. On the left of the old store-house, delineated in the annexed sketch, is seen the bridge across the mouth of Newtown Creek, a locality which will be mentioned presently in connection with a notice of the landing of troops under Sir Henry Clinton.



OLD STORE-HOUSE.

* The following-named gentlemen composed the committee of One Hundred: Isaac Low, *Chairman*; John Jay, Francis Lewis, John Alsop, Philip Livingston, James Duane, E. Duyckman, William Seton, William W. Ludlow, Cornelius Clopper, Abraham Brinckerhoff, Henry Remsen, Robert Ray, Evert Bancker, Joseph Totten, Abraham P. Lott, David Beekman, Isaac Roosevelt, Gabriel H. Ludlow, William Walton, Daniel Phoenix, Frederick Jay, Samuel Broome, John De Lancey, Augustus van Horne, Abraham Durfee, Samuel Verplanck, Rudolphus Ritzema, John Morton, Joseph Hallett, Robert Benson, Abraham Brashear, Leonard Lispenard, Nicholas Hoffman, P. V. Brugh Livingston, Thomas Marsten, Lewis Pintard, John Imlay, Eleazar Miller, Jr., John Broome, John B. Moore, Nicholas Bogart, John Anthony, Victor Bicker, William Goforth, Hercules Mulligan, Alexander M'Dougal, John Reade, Joseph Ball, George Janeway, John White, Gabriel W. Ludlow, John Lasher, Theophilus Anthony, Thomas Smith, Richard Yates, Oliver Templeton, Jacobus van Landby, Jeremiah Platt, Peter S. Curtenius, Thomas Randall, Lancaster Burling, Benjamin Kissam, Jacob Lefferts, Anthony van Dam, Abraham Walton, Hamilton Young, Nicholas Roosevelt, Cornelius P. Low, Francis Bassett, James Beekman, Thomas Ivers, William Dunning, John Berrien, Benjamin Helme, William W. Gilbert, Daniel Duncombe, John Lamb, Richard Sharpe, John Morin Scott, Jacob van Voorhis, Comfort Sands, Edward Flemming, Peter Golet, Gerrit Keteltas, Thomas Buchanan, James Desbrosses, Petrus Byvanck, Lott Embree.—See Dunlap's *History of New York*, ii., Appendix, ccxvi.

Removal of Cannons from the Battery.

Cannonade from the Asia.

Newspapers in the City.

the sturdy Son of Liberty was now called, he proceeded to the battery at nine o'clock on the evening of the twenty-third of August. Captain Vandeput, of the *Asia*, informed of the intended movement, sent a barge filled with armed men to watch the patriots. When they appeared, a musket ball was indiscreetly sent among them from the barge. It was answered by a volley, when the barge hastened to the *Asia*, bearing several men killed and wounded. That vessel opened her port-holes, and hurled three balls ashore in quick succession. Lamb ordered the drums to beat to arms; the church bells were rung, and while all was confusion and alarm, a broadside came from the *Asia*. Others rapidly followed, and several houses near the fort and Whitehall were injured by the grape and round shot.¹ No life was sacrificed, but terror seized the people. Believing the rumor that the city was to be sacked and burned, hundreds of men, women, and children were seen at midnight hurrying with their light effects to places of safety beyond the doomed town. Yet the patriots at the battery were firm, and in the face of the cannonade every gun was deliberately removed. Some of them afterward performed good service in the American cause.²

Deep feelings of exasperation moved the Sons of Liberty in the city after this cannonade, and Tryon's fears wisely counseled his flight. Mayor Hicks and others promised him protection, but he had more confidence in gunpowder, and on the nineteenth of October³ he took refuge on board the British sloop of war *Halifax*,⁴ where he received his council, and, like Dunmore, attempted to exercise civil authority.⁵ Aided by Rivington,⁶ with

¹ Among the houses injured at that time was the tavern of Samuel Fraunce (commonly called *Black Sam*, because of his dark complexion), on the corner of Broad and Pearl Streets, where Washington parted with his officers more than eight years afterward. That house, known as the Broad Street Hotel, was partly destroyed by fire in June, 1852. Freneau, in his *Petition of Hugh Gaine*, makes that time-server allude to the cannonade of the *Asia*, and say,

"At first we supposed it was only a sham,
Till he drove a round ball through the roof of Black Sam."

² There were twenty-one iron eighteen-pounders and some smaller cannon on the battery. Alexander Hamilton, then a student in King's (now Columbia) College, was among the citizens on that occasion. He had organized a corps for artillery discipline among his fellow-students, and fifteen of them were now with him. Among their trophies were two six-pounders, which they buried in the earth on the College Green, despite the menaces of Dr. Cooper, the Tory president. These two cannons may yet (1852) be seen at the entrance gate of the College Green, fronting Park Place.

³ The Continental Congress, on the sixth of October, recommended the several Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety to secure every person believed to be inimical to the Republican cause. No doubt this recommendation hastened Tryon's flight.

⁴ The members in attendance were Oliver Delancey, Hugh Wallace, William Axtell, John Harris Cruger, and James Jauncey.

⁵ James Rivington was a native of London, well educated, and of pleasing deportment. He came to America in 1760, established a bookstore in Philadelphia the same year, and in 1761 opened one near the foot of Wall Street, in New York, where his *Royal Gazetteer** was established in April, 1773. No man

* There were three other newspapers printed in the city when Rivington's press was destroyed, namely, *Gaine's New York Mercury*, in Hanover Square, established in 1752; *Holt's New York Journal*, in Dock (Pearl) Street, near Wall, commenced in 1766; and Anderson's *Constitutional Gazette*, a very small sheet, published for a few months in 1775, at Beekman's Slip. Hugh Gaine was a time-server. He was a professed patriot until the British took possession of New York in 1776, when he returned to the city after a brief exile at Newark, became a moderate Loyalist, and, on making an humble petition to the State Legislature at the close of the war, he was allowed to remain. This petition was the subject of one of Freneau's best satirical poems. Gaine kept a bookstore under the sign of the Bible and Crown, at Hanover Square, for forty years. He died on the twenty-fifth of April, 1807, at the age of eighty-one years. Previous to the meeting of the first Congress, Holt's paper contained the Snake device (see page 508, volume I.) at its head; in December, after its secession, it bore the annexed significant picture as a vignette. This is half the size of the original. Upon the body of the serpent were these words.

"United, now, alive and free,
Firm on this basis Liberty shall stand,
And thus supported ever bless our land,
Till Time becomes Eternity."

After the destruction of his press, Rivington went to England. When the British took possession of New York, he was appointed king's printer, and in October, 1777, he resumed the publication of his paper, under the original title. On the thirteenth of December, he changed the title to "The Royal Gazette," and published it semi-weekly. During the occupation of the city by the British, a paper was issued every day but one; *Gaine's Mercury* on Monday; Rivington's *Gazette* on Wednesday and Saturday; Robertson's, Mills', and Hicks' *Loyal American Gazette* on Thursday; and Lewis's *New York Mercury and General Advertiser* on Friday. Rivington alone assumed the title of "printer to the king."—Thomas's *History of Printing*, II, 312.



Destruction of Rivington's Printing Materials.

Capture of Seabury.

Rivington and Sears.

his *Royal Gazetteer*, his influence was still great, and he managed to keep disaffection alive and in active propagation. In total disregard of truth and common fairness, Rivington abused the Republicans with unsparing severity, and none more bitterly than Captain Sears. That patriot, fired by personal insult and political zeal, came from Connecticut, where he had gone to plan schemes for the future with ardent Whigs, and at

Nov. 23,
1775, the city at

the head of seventy-five light-horsemen, proceeded to the printing establishment of

Seabury² and two other obnoxious Tories, and carried them in triumph to New Haven.



James Rivington

Rivington, at the foot of Wall Street, placed a guard with fixed bayonets around it, put all of his types into bags, destroyed his press and other apparatus, and then in the same order, amid the shouts of the populace, and to the tune of Yankee Doodle, left the city. They carried off the types and made bullets of them. On their way back to Connecticut they disarmed all the Tories in their route, and at West Chester seized and took with them the Reverend Samuel

was more thoroughly detested by the Whigs than Rivington, for he held a keen and unscrupulous pen. His good nature often pointed his severest thrusts. When, in 1781, he perceived the improbability of success on the part of the British, he made a peace-offering to the Americans, by furnishing the commander-in-chief with important information. By means of books which he published, he performed his treason without suspicion. He wrote his secret billets upon thin paper, and bound them in the cover of a book, which he always managed to sell to those who would carry the article immediately to Washington. The men employed for this purpose were ignorant of the nature of their service. While thus playing into the hands of the Republicans, he unceasingly abused them, and kept Clinton, Robertson, and Carleton in blissful ignorance of his perfidy. When the Loyalists fled, and the American army entered the city in the autumn of 1783, Rivington remained; a fact which has puzzled those acquainted with his course during the war. Others, not a tithe so obnoxious, were driven away; in his secret treason lies the explanation. His business declined, and he lived in comparative poverty until July, 1802, when he died at the age of seventy-eight years. The portrait here given is from a fine painting by Stuart, in the possession of Honorable John Hunter, of Hunter's Island, New Rochelle. The signature is half the size of the original. Mr. Hunter remembers Rivington as a vivacious, companionable man, fond of good living, a lover of wine, and a perfect gentleman in his deportment.

¹ Isaac Sears was born at Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1729. His ancestors, who were among the earliest emigrants to Massachusetts, were from Colchester, England, and came to Plymouth in 1630. Mr. Sears was a successful merchant in the city of New York, engaged in the European and West India trade, when political matters attracted his attention. When the Stamp Act aroused the colonists, Sears stood forth as the champion of right, and, as we have seen in preceding pages, was one of the most active and zealous members of the association of the Sons of Liberty. He was an active Whig during the whole war, and when it ended, his business and his fortune had disappeared. Before the war he had commanded a vessel engaged in the West India trade. In 1785, we find him on the ocean as supercargo, bound for Canton, with others engaged in the venture. When they arrived at Canton, Captain Sears was very ill with fever, and on the twenty-eighth of October, 1785, he died at the age of nearly fifty-seven years. He was buried upon French Island, and his fellow-voyagers placed a slab, with a suitable inscription, over his grave.

Isaac Sears

² This was Bishop Seabury of a later day, whose grave we have noticed on page 50. He was born at New London in 1728, graduated at Yale in 1751, took orders in the church, in London, in 1753, and then settled in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was at Jamaica, Long Island, for ten years, and then removed to West Chester, in the county of West Chester. He took sides with the Loyalists, and was one of those who signed a protest at White Plains against the measures of the Whigs. Sears and his party carried him to New Haven, where he was kept for some time, and then paroled to Long Island. His school at West Chester was broken up, his church was converted into a hospital, and he went to New York, and served as chaplain, at one time, in Colonel Fanning's corps of Loyalists. At the close of the war he settled in his native town. He was consecrated a bishop (the first in the United States) in 1784, and for

Disaffection. Disarming of the Tories. Troops under Lee in New York. His Head-quarters. Sir Henry Clinton.

During the winter of 1775–6, disaffection to the Republican cause prevailed extensively throughout the province, and in Queen's county and vicinity, on Long Island, the people began to arm in favor of the crown. Tryon expected to see the province speedily declare in favor of royalty, and from the *Duchess of Gordon* (armed ship), where he made his head-quarters, he kept up an active correspondence with Hicks, Delancey, and other Loyalists in the city. The Continental Congress promptly opposed the progress of disaffection, and vigorous measures were adopted for a general disarming of the Tories throughout the colonies.¹

^a 1776. Early in January,^a Washington, then at Cambridge, was informed that General

Sir Henry Clinton was about to sail on a secret expedition. He doubted not that New York was his destination, where Tryon was ready to head the Loyalists in a formal demonstration in favor of the crown. Fearing that province might be lost to the patriots, Washington readily acceded to the request of General Charles Lee, then in Connecticut, to embody volunteers in that colony, and march to New York. Governor Trumbull lent his aid to the service, and within a fortnight Lee, having the bold Isaac Sears for his adjutant general, was in rapid march toward New York with twelve hundred men. His approach produced great alarm, and many Tories fled, with their families and effects, to Long Island and New Jersey. The Committee of Safety, yet dozing over the anodyne of disaffection, were aroused by fear, and protested against Lee's entrance into the city, because Captain Parker, of the *Asia*, had declared his intention to cannonade and burn the town if rebel troops should be allowed to enter it.² Lee was unmoved alike by Parker's threats and the committee's protest, and encamping the larger portion of his troops in "the fields" (the present City Hall Park), he made his head-quarters at the house of Captain Kennedy, No. 1 Broadway.³ He proclaimed his mission, and said, "I come to prevent the occupation of Long Island or the city by the enemies of liberty. If the ships of war are quiet, I shall be quiet; if they make my presence a pretext for firing on the town, the first house set in flames by their guns shall be the funeral pile of some of their best friends." Lee's energy of expression and action was potential. The Tories shrunk into inactivity; a glow of patriotism was felt in the Provincial Congress, and measures were speedily adopted for fortifying the city and the approaches to it, and garrisoning it with two thousand men.



VIEW AT THE FOOT OF BROADWAY.

^b March, 1776. Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Sandy Hook on the day when Lee entered the city. He sailed for North Carolina,^b was followed thither by Lee, and in June

the remainder of his life he presided over the diocese of Connecticut and Rhode Island. He died on the twenty-fifth of February, 1796.

¹ Resolutions to this effect were adopted on the second of January, 1776, and on the same day Lord Stirling was directed to "seize and secure all the ammunition and warlike stores belonging to the enemy" then or thereafter in New Jersey.—See *Journal*, ii., 5, 6, 7.

² Parker did not fire a shot because of the "rebel troops" in the city. His reasons were ludicrous. He said Lee desired the destruction of the city, and he would not gratify him.—*Lee's Letter to Washington*.

³ This house (yet standing) was built by Captain Kennedy, of the royal navy, at about the time of his marriage with the daughter of Colonel Peter Schuyler, of Newark, New Jersey, in April, 1765. The above engraving exhibits the locality in the vicinity of the Kennedy House. On the extreme left is seen the Broadway front of the Kennedy House (No. 1), where Lee, Washington, and afterward Sir Henry Clinton, Robertson, Carleton, and other British officers, were quartered, and where André wrote his letter, to Arnold. The building next to it (No. 3) is the one occupied by Arnold (see page 209) when Champe attempted his capture. The two high buildings beyond (Nos. 5 and 7) are more modern; the small, low one (No. 9, Atlantic Garden) was Gage's head-quarters in 1765. On the right of the picture is part of the Bowling Green, where the statue of the king stood. The view is taken from the site of the northwest bastion of Fort George.

Fortifications upon York or Manhattan Island.

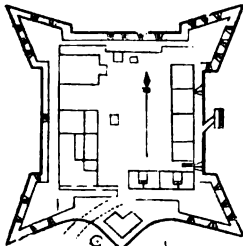
they were in conflict in Charleston harbor. The army in New York was left in charge of Lord Stirling,^a and that officer prosecuted with vigor the labor of fortifying the city, begun by Lee.¹ Already the Tories who remained had been compelled to take an oath to act with the Americans if required, and officers were busy upon Staten Island, and some parts of Long Island, in disarming them.

Washington hastened to New York after the British evacuated Boston,^b for he suspected Howe would sail directly to attack that city. He arrived on the fourteenth of April, and approving of the course of Lee and Stirling, he pushed forward the defenses of the city. Fort George was strengthened, and in the course of three months strong works were erected in the vicinity of the city and in the Hudson Highlands.² Toward the

¹ On the night of the tenth of April, one thousand Continentals went over to Governor's Island and constructed a redoubt upon the west side, a little southeast of Castle William. On the same night a regiment went over to Red Hook, the extreme point of land north of Gowanus Bay, over which South Brooklyn is now spreading, constructed a redoubt for four eighteen-pounders, and named it Fort Defiance. It was upon a small island, close to the shore, near the water termination of Conover and Van Brunt Streets, south of the Atlantic Docks.

² Redoubts and batteries were constructed at eligible points along the East River to Harlem, and along the Hudson to King's Bridge; also upon Governor's Island, Red Hook, Brooklyn Heights, and Paulus's Hook.*

* Fort George with its dependencies, on the site of ancient Fort Amsterdam, was the principal military work upon the island.



FORT GEORGE.

A larger work was on Rutgers' first hill (a little eastward of the Jews' burying-ground), at the intersection of Market and Madison Streets. It was called *Badlam's Battery*, and mounted eight guns. Another small work, of horse-shoe form, was on a high bank near the water, in Pike Street, between Cherry and Monroe Streets, with a breast-work on the water's edge. Here General Spencer was encamped, and this was called *Spencer's Redoubt*. It had two twelve-pounders. On Rutgers' second hill, between Henry and Madison, Clinton and Monroe Streets, was a star redoubt, embasured for twelve guns. This was connected by an irregular line of works, extending to a strong battery called *Crown Point*, at Corlaer's Hook, situated upon the site of the present Allaire Works. Eastward of this, upon Burnt Mill Point, was a battery, on the site of the Novelty Iron Works. From *Crown Point* was a line of intrenchments extending to a strong redoubt, of circular form, mounting eight heavy pieces, and called *Fort Pitt*. It was upon the brow of a hill at the intersection of Grand and Pitt Streets. From *Fort Pitt* a series of strong works extended nearly on a line with the present Grand and Broome Streets, to Broadway, and thence, diverging to the northwest, terminated in a redoubt on the brow of a hill, on the borders of a marsh near the intersection of Thompson and Spring Streets. Within this line, upon an eminence called Bayard's Mount, was the largest of all the works, except *Fort George* and the *Grand Battery*. This was called *Independent Battery*, and the Americans named the eminence *Bunker Hill*. This name was retained until the *Collect* or *Fresh Water Pond*, which covered many acres in the vicinity of the Halls of Justice, was filled by digging down the hills around it. The battery on Bunker Hill was upon the space included within the intersections of Center, Mott, Mulberry, Grand, and Broome Streets; and for a long time after the hill was digged down, the brick lining of a well, constructed within the works, stood up like a huge chimney. This battery had nine eight-pounders, four three's, and six royal cohorns and mortars.

The first work on the Hudson, after leaving Fort George, was the *Oyster Battery* in the rear of No. 1 Broadway. It had two thirty-two pounders and three twelve's. Southwest of Trinity Church, on the high river bank, was *M'Dougal's Battery* of four guns. West of Greenwich Street ("Greenwich road"), near the water, between Reade and Duane Streets, was the *Jersey Battery*, with five guns. Along the high river bank a breast-work extended almost to the Vauxhall (see page 788) at the corner of Warren and Greenwich Streets. On Greenwich, between Franklin and North Moore Streets, was the "Air-furnace" and "Brew-house." The former was fortified, and from it a line of intrenchments extended northeast, to the north part of the present St. John's Park, overlooking Lispenard's Meadows. On the river bank, in front of the "Brew-house," was a circular work called the *Grenadier's Battery*, with three twelve-pounders and two mortars. From it a line of breast-works extended along the river to Hubert Street. From that point, close along the west side of Greenwich Street, was a line of breast-works, extending to Desbrosses Street. Where Watt Street crosses Greenwich was another small breast-work; at the foot of King Street was another; and from the foot of Clarkson to Barrow was another. Upon the high ground known until within a few years as Richmond Hill, there was quite an extensive line of fortifications, which commanded the river, and the Greenwich and Broadway roads. This line commenced near the junction of Spring and M'Dougal Streets, and, sweeping around near Houston and Hammersley, ended at Varick, near King Street. On the west side of Broadway, near Houston Street, was an eminence on which works were erected; and directly east of them, between Broadway and the Bowery, were four small breast-works, a few rods apart. East of the Bowery, at the intersection of Forsyth and Delancey



INDEPENDENT BATTERY.

Washington's Conference with Congress.

Preparation for the Defense of New York.

Landing of British Troops.

close of May,^a he left the troops in command of General Putnam, while he hastened to Philadelphia to confer with Congress respecting the general defense of the colonies. The wicked bargain of Great Britain with the German princes for their men was now known, and it was believed that New York was the point where the mercenary vultures would probably strike their first blow. To that point the eyes of all America were now turned. Congress authorized a re-enforcement of thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, to be drawn from New England, New York,¹ and New Jersey, and provided for the establishment of a flying camp of ten thousand men, to be formed of militia from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The latter were to rendezvous at Amboy, and the accomplished General Mercer was appointed to the command. General Greene took post at Brooklyn, and superintended the preparation of defenses there. On his return,^b Washington went to the upper end of the island, and personally aided in the surveys and the arrangement of the plan of Fort Washington and its outworks.

WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.²

General Howe, who went to Halifax from Boston, arrived at Sandy Hook on the twenty-ninth of June,^c with ships and transports bearing his recruited army, where he was visited by Governor Tryon. On the eighth of July he landed nine thousand men upon Staten Island,³ and there awaited the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe, with English

¹ John Morin Scott was appointed to the command of the New York troops, with the commission of a brigadier.

² I was informed by the venerable Anna van Antwerp,* about a fortnight before her death, in the autumn of 1851, that Washington made his head-quarters, on first entering the city, at the spacious house (half of which is yet standing at 180 Pearl Street, opposite Cedar Street), delineated in the engraving. The large window, with an arch, toward the right, indicates the center of the original building. It is of brick, stuccoed, and roofed with tiles. There Washington remained until summoned to visit Congress at Philadelphia, toward the last of May. On his return, he went to the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway, where he remained until the evacuation in September.

³ The main body of Howe's troops landed near the present quarantine ground, and encamped upon the hills in the vicinity. The fleet had anchored off Vanderventer's point (the telegraph station at the Narrows), and three ships of war and some transports brought the English troops within the Narrows, to the landing-place.—(Howe's *Dispatch to Lord George Germaine*.) Howe made his head-quarters at the *Rose and Crown Tavern*, upon the road leading from Stapleton to Richmond, near New Dorp. The house is near the forks of the Richmond and Amboy roads, and overlooks the beautiful level country between it and the sea, two miles distant. It is now (1852) the property of Mr. Leonard Parkinson, of Old Town, Staten Island. The house was built by a Huguenot, one of the first settlers upon that part of the island.



ROSE AND CROWN.

When Howe landed, the great body of the people on the island formed a corps of Loyalists, under Tryon, and some of them were in the battle near Brooklyn.

Streets, was a small circular battery. On the west side of Broadway, near Walker, was an irregular work; and the Hospital (on Broadway, fronting Pearl Street), a strong stone building, was fortified. There was also a line of breast-works extending along the East River from the present Dry Dock to Stuyvesant Square; and at Horn's Hook, at the foot of Eighty-ninth Street, was a work called *Thompson's Battery*, with nine guns. I was informed by the venerable Judge Woodhull, of Franklinville, Long Island (now ninety-eight years of age), that when the lines across the island, from the East River toward the Hudson, were constructed, the merchants and other citizens were pressed into service.

It must be remembered that most of the streets here mentioned were not then in existence. Chambers Street up Broadway, Hester Street up the Bowery, and Catharine Street up the East River, were the extreme points to which streets were laid out at the time of the Revolution. Now (1852) the streets and avenues are all opened to Fortieth Street, and some beyond; and almost a solid mass of edifices cover the island from river to river below Thirty-second Street. Then the Hospital was quite in the fields, and Greenwich was a country village.

* Mrs. Van Antwerp left the city with her parents when the British took possession, and retired to Tappan, where she was married. They returned to the city after the war, and her husband purchased the lot No. 38 Maiden Lane, where she resided from that time until her death, a period of almost seventy years. Her style of living was that of the Revolution, and all the

Plot to destroy Washington.

Declaration of Independence read to the Army.

Destruction of the King's Statue.

regulars and Hessian hirelings. These arrived in the course of a few days, and on the eleventh, Clinton and Parker, with their broken forces, joined them. Another debarkation took place on the twelfth, and there, upon the wooded heights of Staten Island, above Stapleton and Clifton, and upon the English transports, almost thirty thousand men stood ready to fall upon the Republicans.¹ Already the Declaration of Independence had gone abroad;² the statue of the king in New York had been pulled down,³ and brave men, pledged to the support of the Continental Congress and its measures, were piling fortifications upon every eligible point around the devoted city.

¹ A plot, originated by Tryon, to murder the American general officers on the arrival of the British, or at best to capture Washington and deliver him to Sir William Howe, was discovered at this time. It was arranged to blow up the magazine, secure the passes to the city, and at one blow deprive the Republicans of their leaders, and by massacre or capture annihilate the "rebel army." Mayor Hicks was one of the conspirators; and from his secure place on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, Tryon sent money freely to bribe Americans. Two of Washington's Guard were seduced, but the patriotism of a third was proof against their temptations, and he exposed the plot. Hicks, Gilbert Forbes (a gunsmith on Broadway), and about a dozen others, were immediately arrested, and sent prisoners to Connecticut. It was ascertained that about five hundred persons were concerned in the conspiracy. Thomas Hickey, one of the Guard, was hanged on the twenty-seventh of June, 1776. This was the first military execution in New York.—See Spark's *Writings of Washington*, iii., 438; Force's *American Archives*, vi., 1064; *Ib.*, i. (second series), 117; Gaine's *New York Mercury*.

² Washington received the Declaration of Independence on the ninth of July, with instructions to have it read to the army. He immediately issued an order for the several brigades, then in and near the city, to be drawn up at six o'clock that evening, to hear it read by their several commanders or their aids. The brigades were formed in hollow squares on their respective parades. The venerable Zachariah Greene (commonly known as "Parson Greene," the father-in-law of Mr. Thompson, historian of Long Island), yet (1852) living at Hempstead, at the age of ninety-three years, informed me that he belonged to the brigade, then encamped on the "Common," where the City Hall now stands. The hollow square was formed at about the spot where the Park Fountain now is. He says Washington was within the square, on horseback, and that the Declaration was read in a clear voice by one of his aids. When it was concluded, three hearty cheers were given. Holt's *Journal* for July 11, 1776, says, "In pursuance of the Declaration of Independence, a general jail delivery took place with respect to debtors." Ten days afterward, the people assembled at the City Hall, at the head of Broad Street, to hear the Declaration read. They then took the British arms from over the seat of justice in the court-room, also the arms wrought in stone in front of the building, and the picture of the king in the council chamber, and destroyed them, by fire, in the street. They also ordered the British arms in all the churches in the city to be destroyed. This order seems not to have been obeyed. Those in Trinity church were taken down and carried to New Brunswick by the Reverend Charles Inglis, at the close of the war, and now hang upon the walls of a Protestant Episcopal church in St. John's.

³ The statue of George the Third was equestrian, made of lead, and gilded. It was the workmanship of Wilton, then a celebrated statuary of London, and was the first equestrian effigy of his majesty yet erected. It was placed upon its pedestal, in the center of the Bowling Green, on the twenty-first of August, 1770. On the same evening when the Declaration of Independence was read to the troops in New York, a large concourse of people assembled, pulled down the statue, broke it in pieces, and sent it to be made into bullets. Ebenezer Hazard, in a letter to Gates, referring to the destruction of the king's statue, said, "His troops will probably have melted majesty fired at them." Some of the soldiers appear to have been engaged in the matter, for on the following morning Washington issued an order for them to desist from such riotous acts in future.* The greater portion of the statue was sent to Litchfield, in Connecticut, and there converted into bullets by two daughters and a son of Governor Wolcott, a Mrs. and Miss Marvin, and a Mrs. Beach. According to an account current of the cartridges made from this statue, found among the papers of Governor Wolcott, it appears that it furnished materials for forty-two thousand bullets.

persuasions of her wealthy children could not lure her from that simplicity and the home of her early years of married life. She arose one morning, sat down by her table, leaned her head upon it, and expired like a waning ember, at the age of ninety-five years. Almost all of the few who knew her half a century ago, had forgotten her.

* In a coarse Tory drama, entitled "The Battle of Brooklyn; a farce in two acts, as it was performed on Long Island on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of August, 1776, by the representatives of the Tyrants of America assembled, at Philadelphia," published by Rivington, the destruction of the statue is attributed to Washington. A servant girl of Lady Gates is made to say, concerning the chief, "And more, my lady, did he not order the king's statue to be pulled down, and the head cut off?" Mr. Greene described the statue to me as of the natural size, both horse and man. The horse was poised upon his hinder legs. The king had a crown upon his head; his right hand held the bridle-reins, the left rested upon the handle of a sword. The artist omitted stirrups, and the soldiers often said, in allusion to the fact, "the tyrant ought to ride a hard-trotting horse, without stirrups." Stephens, in his *Travels in Greece, &c.* (ii., 33), says, that in the house of a Russian major, at Chioff, he saw a picture representing the destruction of this statue. The major pledged him in the toast, "Success to Liberty throughout the world."

Effect of the Declaration.

Howe's Letter to Washington.

Commission of the Brothers.

Preparations for Battle.

On the arrival of General Howe at Sandy Hook, the Provincial Congress of New York adjourned to White Plains, and there, on the ninth of July, they reassembled, approved of the Declaration of Independence, and changed the title of the Assembly to *Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York*. The Declaration, however, offended many influential men, who, though warmly attached to their country, and yearning for a redress of grievances, shuddered at the thought of separation from Great Britain. Some closed their mouths in silence and folded their arms in inaction, while others, like Beverly Robinson, the Delancey's, and men of that character, actively espoused the cause of the king. The patriot army in New York was surrounded by domestic enemies, more to be dreaded than open adversaries, and this fact seemed favorable to the hopes of Howe, that the olive branch would be accepted by the Americans when offered.¹ He soon perceived that much of loyalty was the child of timidity, and when his proclamations were sent abroad, offering peace only on condition of submission, the missiles proved powerless. Although doubtless desiring peace, he was obliged to draw the sword and sever the leashes of the blood-hounds of war.

On the twelfth of July, the *Rose* and *Phoenix* ships of war, with their decks guarded by sand-bags, sailed up the bay, and passing the American batteries without serious injury, proceeded up the Hudson to Haverstraw Bay, for the double purpose of keeping open a communication with Carleton, who was endeavoring to make his way southward by Lake Champlain,² and for furnishing arms to the Tories of West Chester. The vigilant Whigs would not allow their boats to land, and there they remained inactive for three weeks. In the mean while, the belligerent forces were preparing for the inevitable battle. Hulks of vessels were sunk in the channel between Governor's Island³ and the Battery, and *chevaux de frise* were formed there under the direction of General Putnam, to prevent the passage of the British vessels up the East River. A large body of troops were concentrated at Brooklyn, under General Greene; Sullivan and his little army hastened from the North; two battalions from Pennsylvania and Maryland, under Smallwood, arrived, and the New York and New England militia flocked to the city by hundreds. On the first of August the American army in and around New York numbered about twenty-seven thousand men,

¹ General Howe, and his brother, the admiral, were appointed by Parliament commissioners to treat for peace with the Americans. They were authorized to extend a free pardon to all who should return to their allegiance; to declare penitent towns or colonies exempt from the penalties of non-intercourse; and to offer rewards to those who should render meritorious services in restoring tranquillity. Howe sent proclamations to this effect ashore at Amboy, addressed to the colonial governors, and designed for general circulation among the people. The General Congress denounced it as a scheme to "amuse and disarm the people," and exhorted them to perceive "that the valor alone of their country was to save its liberties."—*Journal*, ii., 260. At about the same time, Colonel Paterson, the British adjutant general, went to New York with a flag, bearing a letter from General Howe, addressed to "George Washington, Esq." This was so addressed because the Briton was unwilling to acknowledge the official character of the "rebel chief." It was a silly movement; Washington penetrated the design, and refused any communication, unless addressed to General Washington. Paterson urged Washington not to be punctilious, pleading the necessity of waving all ceremony, for Howe came to cause the sheathing of swords, if possible. Washington was inflexible, and said, in reference to the commissioners, that they seemed empowered only to grant pardons; that those who had committed no fault needed no pardon, and that the Americans were only defending their rights as British subjects. Paterson returned, and Howe made no further attempts to correspond with "George Washington, Esq." Congress, by resolution, expressed its approval of the course of the commander-in-chief in this matter.

² The chief plan of the campaign of 1776 was for Howe to attack New York and ascend the Hudson, while Carleton should come from Canada and form a junction. This would effectually cut off the Eastern States from the rest of the confederacy. Clinton, in the mean while, was to make war in the Southern States, and the American forces being thus divided, might be easily conquered. Their designs miscarried. Clinton was repulsed at Charleston, Carleton was kept at bay, and Howe did not pass the Highlands.

³ The original name of this island was Nutten. The rents of the land being a perquisite of the colonial governors, it was called Governor's Island. It was held as such perquisite until the close of Governor Clinton's administration. General Johnson, of Brooklyn, informed me that Clinton rented it to Dr. Price, who built a house of entertainment there, and laid out a race-course. Owing to the difficulty of taking race-horses to the island, it was abandoned after two or three years, and the course at Harlem was established.

Disposition of American Detachments.

Kip's Bay.

The Kip Family.

but at least one fourth of them were unfitted by sickness for active duty. Bilious fever prostrated Greene about the middle of August, and Sullivan was placed in command at Brooklyn. A small detachment was ordered to Governor's Island; another was posted at Paulus' Hook, where Jersey City now stands, and General George Clinton, with a body of New York militia, was ordered to West Chester county to oppose the landing of the British on the shores of the Sound, or, in the event of their landing, to prevent their taking possession of the strong post at King's Bridge. Parson's brigade took post at Kip's Bay,¹ on the East River, to watch British vessels if they should enter those waters. Such was the position of the two armies immediately antecedent to the battle near Brooklyn, at the close of August, 1776.

¹ The family mansion of the Kips, a strong house built of brick imported from Holland, remained near the corner of Second Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street, until July, 1850, when it was taken down. A pear-tree near, planted in 1700, bore fruit the present season. The house was built in 1641 by Samuel Kip, who was secretary of the council of New Netherlands, and at the time of its destruction was probably the oldest edifice in the State of New York. The sketch here given is from a painting in possession of the Reverend W. Ingraham Kip, D.D., of Albany, and gives its appearance at the time of the Revolution. The Kip family are among the oldest in this state.



Kip's House.

Ruloff de Kype (anglicized to Kip after the English took possession of New Netherlands) was the first of the name found in history. He was a native of Bretagne, and was a warm partisan of the Guises in the civil wars between Protestants and Papists in the sixteenth century. On the defeat of his party, he fled to the Low Countries. He afterward joined the army of the Duke of Anjou, and fell in battle near Jarnac. He was buried in a church there, where an altar-tomb was erected to his memory bearing his coat of arms.* His son Ruloff became a Protestant, and settled in Amsterdam. His grandson, Henry, (born in 1576) became an active member of the "Company of Foreign Countries," which was organized in 1588 for the purpose of exploring a northeast passage to the Indies. In 1635 he came to America with his family, but soon returned to Holland. His sons remained, bought large tracts of land, and were active in public affairs. One of them (Henry) was a member of the first popular Assembly in New Netherlands (see page 783), and married a daughter of De Sille, the attorney general. His brother Jacob bought the land at Kip's Bay, and a third son, Isaac, owned the property which is now the City Hall Park. Nassau Street was called Kip Street. In 1686 one of the family purchased the tract where the village of Rhinebeck, Dutchess county, now stands. It was called "the manor of Kipsburg." A part of this was sold to Henry Beekman, by whose grand-daughter, the mother of Chancellor Livingston, it passed into the Livingston family. At the opening of the Revolution, the Kip family were divided in politics; some held royal commissions, others were staunch Whigs. The proprietors of the Kip's Bay property were strong Whigs, but one of them, Samuel, was induced by Colonel Delancey to take the loyal side. He raised a company of cavalry, principally from his own tenants, joined Delancey, and was active in West Chester county, where, in a skirmish in 1781, he was severely wounded. He lived several years after the war, and suffered great loss of property by confiscation.

For several years after the British took possession of York Island, Kip's house was used as head-quarters by officers. There Colonel Williams, of the 80th regiment, was quartered in 1780, and on the day when André left the city to meet Arnold, Williams gave a dinner to Sir Henry Clinton and his staff. André was there and shared in the socialities of the hour. It was his last dinner in New York. Such is well authenticated tradition.—See Holgate's *American Genealogies*, page 109.

* The device was a shield. On one side, occupying a moiety, was a cross. The other moiety was quartered by a strip of gold; above were two griffins, and below an open mailed hand. There were two crests, a game-cock, and a demi-griffin holding a cross: the legend, "Vestigia nulla retrorsum."

CHAPTER XXXI.

"In the year seventy-six came the two noble brothers,
 With an army and fleet fit to conquer a world;
 And Cornwallis, and Rawdon, and Tarleton, and others—
 And murder and rapine on our country were hur'l'd."

YANKEE CHRONOLOGY.

"There the old-fashioned colonel galloped through the white infernal
 Powder cloud;
 And his broad sword was swinging, and his brazen throat was ringing
 Trumpet loud:
 There the blue bullets flew,
 And the trooper jackets redden at the touch of the leaden
 Rifle breath;
 And rounder, rounder, rounder, roared the iron six-pounder,
 Hurling Death!"

KNICKERBOCKER MAGAZINE.



On Thursday morning, the twenty-second of August, 1776, the British troops under General William Howe landed upon Long Island, in the vicinity of New Utrecht. Four thousand men crossed the ferry from Staten Island, at the Quarantine Ground, to Denyse's strong stone house, where Fort Hamilton now stands, and landed under cover of the guns of the *Rainbow*, anchored where Fort La Fayette looms up in the center of the Narrows. Some riflemen, under Colonel Edward Hand, posted on the hill above, retired toward Flatbush. An hour afterward, British and Hessian troops poured

over the sides of the English ships and transports, and in long rows of boats, directed by Commodore Hotham, five thousand more soldiers landed upon Long Island, in the bow of Gravesend Bay (at a place known as Bath, in front of New Utrecht), under cover of the guns of the *Phoenix*, *Rose*,¹ and *Greyhound*. The chief commanders of the English were Sir Henry Clinton, Earls Cornwallis and Percy, and Generals Grant and Sir William Erskine. Count Donop, who was killed at Red Bank in 1777, landed, with some Hessians, with the first division, and on the

August, twenty-fifth,² the veteran De Heister,³
 1776. with Knyphausen, and two Hessian

brigades, also landed near New Utrecht. The whole invading force was about ten thousand men well armed, with forty cannons. Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple remained to keep Staten Island.

VIEW AT GRAVESEND BAY.³

¹ The *Rose* and *Phoenix*, after remaining in Haverstraw Bay three weeks, had passed the American batteries and joined the fleet.—See page 802.

² Lieutenant-general De Heister was an old man, and warmly attached to his master, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The long voyage of almost fourteen weeks dispirited him, "and," says Sir George Collier, "his patience and tobacco became exhausted." A sniff of land breeze revived him. "He called for Hook, and swallowed large potatoes to the health of his friends."

³ This view is from the road on the high shore, a little below Fort Hamilton, looking southeast; the house in the center belonged to Simon Cortelyou, a Tory, during the Revolution, and has not been altered. Gravesend Bay is seen beyond the house, and the distant land is Coney Island beach.

Alarm in New York.

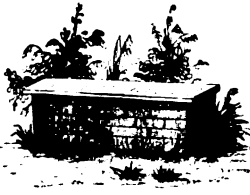
General Putnam.

General John Morin Scott

When this movement of the enemy was known in New York, alarm and confusion prevailed.¹ Re-enforcements were sent to General Sullivan, then encamped at Brooklyn, and the next day the veteran General Putnam² was ordered thither by Washington, to take the supreme command there. The military works on Long Island had been constructed under the immediate direction of General Greene, who made himself acquainted with every important point between Hell Gate and the Narrows. Unfortunately, he fell sick, and none knew so well as he the importance of certain passes in the rear of Brooklyn. The chief fortifications were within the limits of the present city,³ while at the passes alluded to

¹ Many Whig families left the city, and for seven long years of exile they endured privations with heroic fortitude.* Many of their houses were destroyed by fire, and others were ruined by military occupants.

² Israel Putnam was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the seventh of January, 1718. He was a vigorous, athletic lad, and in 1739 we find him cultivating land in Pomfret, Connecticut. He was appointed to the command of the first troops raised in Connecticut for the French and Indian war in 1755, in which capacity the reader has met him several times in these volumes. He returned to his farm after the peace, where he remained until he heard of the affair at Lexington. At the head of Connecticut troops, he distinguished himself in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was one of the four major generals appointed by Congress in 1775. His services during the war are mentioned in many portions of this work, and we will not repeat them here. His last military services were performed at West Point and vicinity in 1779, where he was chiefly engaged in strengthening the fortifications. Paralysis of one side impaired the activity of his body, but his mind retained its powers until his death. He lived in retirement after the war, and died at Brooklyn, Windham county, Connecticut, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1790, aged seventy-two years. His remains repose beneath



a marble slab in the grave-yard south of the village, upon which is an appropriate inscription.†

³ Over all the sites of Revolutionary fortifications, near Brooklyn, the modern city is rapidly spreading. Streets and avenues reticulate the whole area, and it is difficult now to identify the consecrated places.

* I have before me a manuscript letter, written by a daughter of General John Morin Scott, from Elizabethtown, three days after the landing of the British on Long Island, which exhibits the alarms and privations to which wealthy families, who had left the city, were subjected. After mentioning their hourly expectation of the landing of the British at Elizabethtown Point, she says: "We have our coach standing before our door every night, and the horses harnessed ready to make our escape, if we have time. We have hardly any clothes to wear: only a second change." Warned by Governor Livingston to leave Elizabethtown, the family of General Scott fled at night to Springfield, in the midst of a terrible thunder-storm. The writer continues: "We were obliged to stop on the road and stay all night, and all the lodging we could get was a dirty bed on the floor. How hard it seems for us, that have always been used to living comfortable! Papa, with his brigade, has gone over to Long Island, which makes us very uneasy. Poor New York! I long to have the battle over, and yet I dread the consequences." This letter is in the possession of her grandson, Charles S. McKnight, Esq., of New York.

JOHN MORIN SCOTT was an early opponent of British oppression, the coadjutor of Sears, Lamb, Willett, and others. He was a descendant of the baronial family of Scott of Ancram, Teviotdale, Scotland, and was born in New York in 1730. He graduated at Yale College in 1746. He adopted the profession of the law, married Helena Rutgers, of New York, and made that city his field of active usefulness. With William Livingston, of New Jersey, his voice and pen boldly advocated extreme measures, and, because of his ultra Whig principles, the timid ones defeated his election to the General Congress in 1774. He was one of the most active and influential members of the General Committee of New York in 1775, and was a member of the Provincial Congress that year. On the ninth of June, 1776, he was commissioned a brigadier, which office he held until March, 1777. He was with his brigade in the battle of Long Island, and was one of the Council of War called by Washington to decide whether to fight longer or retreat. He was afterward with General Heath in the lower part of West Chester, but left the service in March, 1777, when he was appointed secretary of the State of New York. He was a member of the General Congress in 1782 and 1783. In 1784 he was elected an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He died on the fourteenth of September of the same year, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His remains lie in Trinity church-yard with those of his ancestors, close by the railing on Broadway, north of the great entrance-door to the church. I am indebted to John Morin Scott, Esq., of Philadelphia, a grandson of the general, for the materials of this brief sketch.

† "This monument is erected to the memory of the Honorable ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq., major general in the armies of the United States of America; who was born at Salem, in the Province of Massachusetts, on the seventh day of January, 1718, and died at Brooklyn, in the State of Connecticut, on the twenty-ninth day of May, A.D. 1790. Passenger, if thou art a soldier, go not away till thou hast dropped a tear over the dust of a Hero, who, ever tenderly attentive to the lives and happiness of his men, dared to lead where any one dared to follow. If thou art a patriot, remember with gratitude how much thou and thy country owe to the disinterested and gallant exertions of the patriot who sleeps beneath this marble. If thou art an honest, generous, and worthy man, render a sincere and cheerful tribute of respect to a man whose generosity was singular; whose honesty was proverbial; and who, with a slender education, with small advantages, and with powerful friends, raised himself to universal esteem, and to offices of eminent distinction by personal worth, and by the diligent services of a useful life."

breast-works were cast up. These passes were in a range of hills extending from the Narrows to the Jamaica road, at the present East New York, and in broken elevations further on. There were several roads traversing the flat country in the rear of these hills. These Colonel Miles, of Pennsylvania, was directed to reconnoiter with his regiment, to watch and report upon the progress of the enemy. To Sullivan was intrusted the command of the troops without the lines, assisted by Brigadier-general



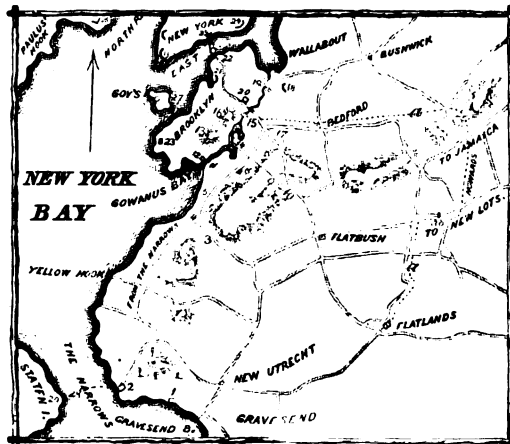
Israel Putnam

Lord Stirling; General Woodhull (late president of the Provincial Congress), now in arms, was commissioned to deprive the invaders of provisions by removing the live stock to the plains of Hempstead.

The invading army prepared for marching soon after the debarkation. The Hessians, under De Heister, formed the center or main body; the English, under General Grant, composed the left wing, which rested

By a careful comparison of maps, military plans, and other authorities, with maps of the modern city, I have endeavored to locate the various works. I am satisfied that there will be found no material errors in the statement.*

* The first work erected, after fortifying Red Hook and constructing *Fort Stirling*, on Brooklyn Heights (see page 799), was a redoubt called *Fort Putnam*, upon a wooded hill near the Wallabout, now known as *Fort Greene* and *Washington Square*. This was a redoubt with five guns; and when the trees were felled, it commanded the East River, and the roads approaching Brooklyn from the interior. An intrenchment extended from *Fort Putnam* northwesterly down the hill to a spring now (1852,) in a tanning-yard, with a pump in it, near the intersection of Portland Street and Flushing Avenue. This spring was then on the verge of the Wallabout. From the western side of the fort an intrenchment extended in zigzag course across the Flatbush road, near the junction of Flatbush Avenue and Power Street, to Freek's mill-pond, at the head of Gowanus Creek, near the junction of Second Avenue and Carroll Street. Near the intersection of Nevins and Dean Streets, about half way between *Fort Putnam* and the mill-pond, on the land of Debevoise and Vanbrunt, a redoubt was constructed with five guns, and called *Fort Greene*. A little eastward of *Fort Putnam*, near the Jamaica road, was a small redoubt; and upon the slope of Bergen Hill (also called Boerums's Hill), opposite Brower's mill, was a small redoubt with four guns. It stood between Smith Street and First Avenue, not far from the termination of Hoyt Street, at Carroll. This is supposed to be *Box Fort*. It was afterward strengthened by the British while a detachment lay encamped on Bergen Hill. Last year (1851) a friend of the writer picked up arrow heads, and buttons marked "42" (42d Highlanders), on the site of this redoubt. At the head of the tunnel of the Long Island rail-way, in the vicinity of Boerum and Atlantic Streets, was a high, conical hill, called Ponckiesbergh and Cobble Hill. A redoubt for three cannons was constructed on the top of this hill, and, from the circumstance that an intrenchment extended spirally from summit to base, it was called *Cork-screw Fort*.—(See Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents of Long Island*, ii., 118.) This redoubt remained until 1812, when it was strengthened and called *Fort Swift*. *Fort Putnam* was strengthened at the same time, and called *Fort Greene*. The banks then raised on those of the fort of the Revolution were very prominent until the present year (1852), when diluted patriotism and bad taste allowed them to be leveled so as to give the face of *Washington Square* a smooth appearance. To the eye of a true American there is more beauty in a single mound consecrated by patriotism than in a score of graveled walks trodden by the gay and thoughtless.



These several fortifications, with other localities and events mentioned in the account of the battle, will be better understood by reference to the accompanying map, which is a reduced copy of one carefully prepared by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., and published in his valuable collection of *Revolutionary Incidents of Long Island*. Mr. Onderdonk has thoroughly explored the ground we are considering; and to him, as a cicero, when visiting the field of conflict, I am much indebted for a knowledge of the various localities.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.—*Figure 1*, Gravesend beach, where the British landed; 2, Denyse's (Fort Hamilton); 3, Martense's Lane, along the southern boundary of Greenwood Cemetery, extending from Third Avenue, at the lower end of Gowanus Bay, to the Flatbush and New Utrecht road; 4, Red Lion tavern; 5, Grant's forces; 6, Stirling's forces; 7, Stirling's last encounter; 8, Cortelyou's house; 9, Port or Mill road; 10, Flatbush pass; 11, Americans retreating across the creek; 12, Party of Americans covering the retreat; 13, Box Fort; 14, Brower's mill; 15, Fort Greene, near the mill-pond; 16, Cork-screw Fort; 17, Baker's tavern, near the junction of Fulton and Flatbush Avenues; 18, British redoubt, cast up after the battle; 19, Fort Putnam, now Fort Greene; 20, Stone church, where Washington held a council of war; 21, Fort Stirling; 22, The ferry, foot of Fulton Street; 23, Fort at Red Hook; 24, Corlaer's Hook; 25, Battery, foot of Catharine Street; 26, Paulus' Hook; 27, Governor's Island;

March of the British.

Advantage gained.

Advance of Grant toward Gowanus.

on New York Bay ; and the right wing, designed for the principal performance in the drama about to be opened, was composed of choice battalions, under the command of Clinton, Cornwallis, and Percy, accompanied by Howe, the commander-in-chief. While Grant and De Heister were diverting the Americans on the left and center, the right was to make a circuitous march by the way of Flatlands, to secure the roads and passes between that village and Jamaica, and to gain the American left, if possible. This division, under the general command of Clinton, moved from Flatlands on the evening of the twenty-sixth,^a and, guided by a Tory, passed the narrow causeway, over a marsh near the scattered village of New Lots,¹ called Shoemaker's Bridge. At two o'clock in the morning they gained the high wooded hills within half a mile of the present village of East New York, unobserved by Colonel Miles and the American patrols, except some subaltern officers on horseback, whom they captured. Informed that the Jamaica road was unguarded, Clinton hastened to secure the pass, and before daylight that important post and the Bedford pass² were in his possession, and yet General Sullivan was ignorant of the departure of the enemy from Flatlands. Expecting an attack upon his right, in the vicinity of Gowanus, all his vigilance seems to have been turned in that direction, and he did not send fresh scouts in the direction of Jamaica. The advantage thus gained by Clinton decided the fortunes of the day.

While the British right wing was gaining this vantage ground, General Grant, with the left, composed of two brigades, one regiment, and a battalion of New York Loyalists raised by Tryon, made a forward movement toward Brooklyn, along the coast road,³ by way of Martense's Lane—"the road from Flatbush to the Red Lion" (4) mentioned by Lord Stirling. The guard at the lower pass (3) gave the alarm, and at three o'clock in the morning^b Putnam detached Lord Stirling,⁴ with Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland regiments, commanded by Atlee, Haslet, and Smallwood, to oppose Grant.^b The militia guard at Martense's Lane were driven back by Grant to the hills of Greenwood Cemetery, a little north of Sylvan Water, where they were rallied by Parsons, and maintained a conflict until the arrival of Stirling⁵ at daybreak, with fifteen hundred men. Stir-

¹ New Lots village is about a mile south of the rail-way station at East New York, upon the same plain. The morass at Shoemaker's Bridge (30 on map, page 806) is now only a wet swale, with a small sluggish stream, and presents none of the difficulties of passage of former days. It is said that at the time in question a single regiment might have kept the whole British force at bay at Shoemaker's Bridge.

² There were four important passes through the hills which should have been well guarded, namely, at Martense's Lane (3), on the southern border of Greenwood Cemetery ; the Flatbush pass, at the junction of the present Brooklyn and Flatbush turnpike and the Coney Island Plank road ; the Bedford pass, about half a mile northward of the junction of the Flatbush and Bedford roads ; and the Jamaica pass, a short distance from East New York, on the road to Williamsburgh, just at the entrance to the Cemetery of the Evergreens.

At East New York, "Howard's half-way house" of the Revolution is yet standing, though much altered. William Howard, a son of the Whig tavern-keeper, is yet (1852) living there, at the age of ninety. He told me that he remembers well seeing the British approaching from New Lots, and then taking his father a prisoner and compelling him to show them the Jamaica pass, and the best route over the hills east of it, to the open country toward Brooklyn. We sat in the room in which he was born eighty-nine years before.

³ It must be remembered that the present road along the verge of the high bank from Yellow Hook to Gowanus did not exist. The "coast road" was on the slopes further inland, and terminated at Martense's Lane.

⁴ Lord Stirling was in the English House of Commons on the second of February, 1775, when this same General Grant declared in debate that the Americans "could not fight," and that he would "undertake to march from one end of the Continent to the other with five thousand men."—Duer's *Life of Lord Stirling*, 162 ; Par. Reg., i., 135.

⁵ William Alexander, earl of Stirling, was born in the city of New York in 1726. His father, James Alexander, was a native of Scotland, and took refuge in America in 1716, after an active espousal of the

28, The Narrows ; 29, Vandeventer's Point ; 30, Shoemaker's Bridge, near New Lots. Bennet's Cove is near figure 4, where, it is said, three thousand British troops landed on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, the day of the battle. ^a a, track of the left wing of the British army, under the immediate command of General Howe, from Flatlands, by way of the present East New York (Howard's half-way house) to Brooklyn.

While in possession of New York and vicinity, the British so strengthened Fort Stirling, on Brooklyn Heights, that it assumed the character of a regular fortification, with four bastions, similar to *Fort George*, in New York. They also cast up a line of intrenchments along the brow of the hill from the Heights to the present Navy Yard.

Sketch of Lord Stirling.

The construction of Beacons.

ling took position upon the slopes a little northwest of "Battle Hill," in Greenwood, and Atlee ambuscaded in the woods on the left of Martense's Lane, near the Firemen's Monu-

cause of the pretender, in the rebellion the previous year. His mother was the widow of David Provost, better known in the city of New York, a little more than a century ago, as "Ready-money Provost."* Young Alexander joined the army during a portion of the French and Indian war, and was aid-de-camp and secretary to General Shirley. He accompanied that officer to England in 1755, and while there he made the acquaintance of some of the leading statesmen of the time. By the advice of many of them, he instituted legal proceedings to obtain the title of Earl of Stirling, to which his father was heir presumptive when he left Scotland. Although he did not obtain a legal recognition of the title, his right to it was generally conceded, and from that time he was addressed as Earl of Stirling. He returned to America in 1761, and soon afterward married the daughter of Philip Livingston (the second lord of the manor), a sister of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, and built a fine mansion (yet standing) at Baskenridge, in that state. He was a member of the Provincial Council of New Jersey for several years. In 1775, the Provincial Convention of New Jersey appointed him colonel of the first regiment of militia, and in March, 1776, the Continental Congress gave him the commission of brigadier. Lee left him in command at New York in April. He was conspicuous in the battle near Brooklyn in August, and in February ensuing Congress appointed him a major general. He performed varied and active service until the summer of 1781, when he was ordered to the command of the Northern army, his head-quarters at Albany. An invasion from Canada was then expected. Quite a large British force was at Ticonderoga and vicinity, under St. Leger, who was repulsed at Fort Stanwix in 1777, and much alarm

prevailed above the Highlands. We have already met detachments in the vicinity of Johnstown (see p. 290, vol. i.),

The figure of Beacons will appear thus.



and witnessed their reception by Colonel Willett. The vigorous and effective preparations made by Lord Stirling intimidated St. Leger, and he returned to Canada. Late in the autumn Stirling took the chief command in New Jersey, and the following summer he was again in command at Albany, with a general supervision of military affairs between that place and New York. Among other orders issued by him at those of South Carolina and Georgia.

His youngest daughter married Colonel William Duer, and became the mother of William A. Duer, late president of Columbia College, and Judge John Duer, of the city of New York.†—See *Life of Lord Stirling*, by his grandson, William A. Duer, LL.D.

that time were several respecting beacons and alarm posts. From one of them, in possession of the son of Colonel Aaron Burr, I copied the annexed sketch, made by the pen of Lord Stirling, together with the full order.‡ Lord Stirling died at Albany on the fifteenth of January, 1783, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. It is a singular fact that at different periods during the war, Lord Stirling had under his command every brigade of the American army except

* He acquired this title because he won riches rapidly by the illicit trade in which the colonists were then engaged. His family vault may now (1852) be seen a few rods from the bank of the East River, in "Jones's Woods," between Seventieth and Seventy-first Streets. On the top is a large marble slab, placed there in memory of the wife of his son David.

† The following is a copy of the order: "Each of the beacons are to be of the following dimensions: at bottom, fourteen feet square, to rise in a pyramidal form to about eighteen or twenty feet high, and then to terminate about six feet square, with a stout sapling in the center of about thirty feet high from the ground. In order to erect them, the officer who oversees the execution should proceed thus: he should order the following sized logs to be cut as near the place as possible: twenty logs of fourteen feet long and about one foot diameter; ten logs of about twelve feet long; ten logs of about ten feet long; ten logs of about nine feet long; ten logs of about eight feet long; twenty logs of about seven feet long; twenty logs of about six feet long. He should then sort his longest logs as to diameter, and place the four longest on the ground, parallel to each other, and about three feet apart from each other. He should then place the four next logs in size across these at right angles, and so proceed till all the logs of fourteen feet be placed. Then he is to go on in the same manner with logs of twelve feet long, and when they are all placed, with those of a lesser size, till the whole are placed, taking care, as he goes on, to fill the vacancies between the logs with old dry split wood or useless dry rails and brush, not too close, and leaving the fifth tier open for firing and air. In the beginning of his work, to place a good stout sapling in the center, with part of its top left, about ten or twelve feet above the whole work. The figure of the beacon will appear thus. [The sketch above given.] The two upper rows of logs should be fastened in their places with good strong wooden plugs or trunnels." These beacons were erected upon hills from the Hudson Highlands through New Jersey by way of Morristown, Pluckemin, and Middlebrook, and upon the Neversink Hills at Sandy Hook. They were to be used as signals denoting the approach of the enemy, for the assembling of the militia at certain points, and to direct the movements of certain Continental battalions.

‡ I have before me an old manuscript schedule of Lord Stirling's wardrobe, in which the material and color of each article is given. I print the number as a curious example of the personal provisions of a gentleman of his class at that time, namely: Thirty-one coats, fifty-eight vests, forty-three pairs of breeches, six powdering gowns (used when powdering the hair), two pairs

Skirmish between Grant and Stirling. Storming of the Flatbush Redoubt. Descent of Clinton. Surrender of the Americans.

ment, to attack Grant on his approach. This was done, and after two or three rounds Atlee fell back to the left of Stirling, on the top of the hills. At this moment Kiehline and his riflemen, De Haas and his battalion, and Captain Carpenter, with two field-pieces, arrived. Grant advanced and took post in an orchard,¹ within one hundred and fifty yards of Stirling, and a severe skirmish ensued. Grant had also two field-pieces, but neither party made much use of their cannons. In that position the belligerents remained, without severe fighting, until eleven o'clock in the forenoon,² when events on the left wing of the American army changed the whole aspect of affairs.

While Grant and Stirling were thus engaged, De Heister and his Hessians moved from Flatbush, and cannonaded the works at the Flatbush pass, where Sullivan was in command with the regiments of Colonels Williams and Miles. In the mean while, Clinton had descended from the wooded hills and attacked the extreme left of the Americans on the plain at Bedford. The firing was understood by De



Wm Alexander



Heister, who immediately ordered Count Donop to storm the redoubt at the pass, while he pressed forward with the main body of the Hessians. A fierce and bloody combat ensued,³ when Sullivan, perceiving the peril of his little army (for Clinton was rapidly gaining his rear), ordered a retreat to the lines at Brooklyn. The opportunity was gone, and on descending the rough slope from Mount Prospect, they were met by Clinton's light infantry and dragoons, who drove them back in confusion upon the Hessian bayonets. Sullivan and his ensnared soldiers fought desperately, hand to hand, with the foe, while driven backward and forward between the full ranks of the assailants. Many broke through the gleaming fence of bayonets and sabers, and

¹ A few trees of this orchard yet remain in the southwest part of Greenwood Cemetery.

² During the morning the *Roebuck* frigate approached Red Hook and cannonaded the battery there. This, like the movement of Grant, was intended to divert the Americans from the operations of Clinton on their left.

³ The Hessians fought with desperation, and gave no quarter. They had been told that the Americans would not suffer one of them to live, and their sentiment was total extermination. "Our Hessians and our brave Highlanders gave no quarter," wrote an officer of the 71st, "and it was a fine sight to see with what alacrity they dispatched the rebels with their bayonets, after we had surrounded them so they could not resist."—See Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, ii., 138.

of trousers, thirty shirts, seventeen handkerchiefs, twenty-seven stocks, twenty-seven cravats, eight razor cloths, one hundred and nineteen pairs of hose, six pairs of socks, fifteen night-caps, five pairs of drawers, two pairs of gloves, fourteen pairs of shoes, four pairs of boots; total, four hundred and twelve garments.

Battle between Stirling and Cornwallis.

Retreat across the Gowanus.

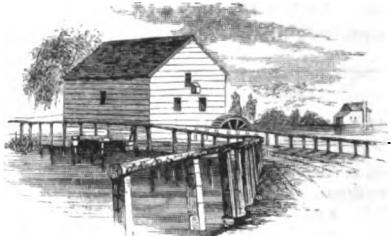
Defeat and Capture of Stirling.

escaped to Fort Putnam,¹ while their less fortunate companions died upon the field or were made prisoners. Among the latter were General Sullivan and several subordinate officers. Those who escaped were followed up to the verge of the American lines, and the pursuing grenadiers were with difficulty restrained from storming Fort Putnam. An easy victory would doubtless have been the result.

Stirling was not aware of the disasters on the left until Cornwallis had marched down the Port or Mill road (9), took position near the ancient dwelling known as "the Cortelyou House," near Gowanus, and fired two guns as a signal for Grant to press forward. That officer immediately attacked the Americans, and in the engagement Colonel Atlee was made a prisoner. Hemmed in by the foe, Stirling saw no opportunity for escape except across the Gowanus Creek, at the dam of the "Yellow Mill," and other places below Brower's Mill. To effect this, it was necessary to attack Cornwallis, and while a few—a forlorn hope—should keep him at bay, a large part of the Americans might escape. No time was to be lost, for the tide was rising,

CORTELYOU'S HOUSE.²

and soon the creek would be impassable. Changing his front, and leaving his main body in conflict with Grant, Stirling, at the head of a part of Smallwood's battalion, commanded by Major (afterward General) Gist, fell upon Cornwallis, and blood flowed freely. For twenty minutes the conflict was terrible. Stirling endeavored to drive the earl up the Port road, get between him and Fort Box, and under cover of its guns escape across Brower's dam. He was successful, but

BROWER'S MILL.³

while with his handful of brave young men he was keeping the invader in check, a large part of his companions in arms, consisting now chiefly of Haslet's Delawares and a part of Smallwood's Marylanders, reached the creek. Some passed it in safety, but many sunk into silence in the deep mud on its margin or beneath its turbid waters. Stirling was obliged to yield when despoiled of nearly all of his brave men.⁴ He became a prisoner, and was sent immediately on board the *Eagle*, Lord Howe's flag-ship. Thus ended the battle, when the sun was at meridian; when it disappeared behind the low hills of New Jersey, one third of the five thousand patriots who had contended for victory were lost to their country—dead, wounded, or prisoners.⁵ Soon many of the latter were festering with

¹ The most sanguinary conflict occurred after the Americans had left the Flatbush pass, and attempted to retreat to the lines at Brooklyn. The place of severest contest, and where Sullivan and his men were made prisoners, was upon the slope between the Flatbush Avenue and the Long Island rail-way, between Bedford and Brooklyn, near "Baker's Tavern" (17), at a little east of the junction of these avenues. The preceding map, compiled from those of the English engineers for Marshall's *Life of Washington*, will assist the reader in obtaining a proper understanding of the movements of the two armies.

² This house, built of stone, with a brick gable from eaves to peak, is yet (1852) standing upon the eastern side of the road leading from Brooklyn to Gowanus. It was built by Nicholas Vechte in 1699, and was one of the first houses erected between Brooklyn and New Utrecht.

³ This is a view of the old mill of the Revolution, as it appeared when I made the sketch in 1850, before it was destroyed. The view is from the west side of Gowanus Creek, looking southeast. In the extreme distance is seen the "Yellow Mill" between which and the one in the foreground so many of the patriots perished.

⁴ Smallwood's regiment was composed chiefly of young men belonging to the most respectable and influential families in Maryland. Two hundred and fifty-nine of them perished in this conflict with Cornwallis's grenadiers near the "Cortelyou House."

⁵ Dispatches of Washington and General Howe; Letter of R. H. Harrison, quoted by Sparks, *Washington's Writings*, iv., 513; Letters of Haslet and Sullivan, *ib.*, 516, 517; Duer's *Life of Lord Stirling*, 163; *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i., 218-224; Gordon, ii., 96-101; Marshall, i., 87-91; Stedman, i., 191-196; Onderdonk, ii., 127-131. The loss of the Americans is not precisely known. Howe estimated it at 3300; it probably did not exceed 1650, of whom about 1100 were made prisoners. Howe stated his own loss at 367 killed, wounded, and made prisoners.

Capture, Treatment, and Death of General Woodhull.

Preparations to Besiege the Works at Brooklyn.

disease in the loathsome prisons in New York, or in the more loathsome prison-ships at the Wallabout.¹ General Woodhull was made a prisoner at Jamaica the next day,² and at the close of summer no man was in arms against the crown in Kings, Queens, and Richmond counties.

The victors encamped in front of the patriot lines, and reposed until the morning of the twenty-eighth,³ when they broke ground within six hundred yards of Fort Putnam, cast up a redoubt (18), and cannonaded the American works. Washington was there, and joyfully perceived the design of Howe to commence regular approaches instead of rapid assaults. This fact was a ray of light in the midst of surrounding gloom. The

¹ An account of the New York prisons and prison-ships may be found in the Supplement to this work.

² Nathaniel Woodhull was born at Mastic, Long Island, December 30, 1722. Agriculture was the chief pursuit of his life. He was a major, under Abercrombie, in the attack upon Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and afterward accompanied Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac. He was a colonel, under Amherst, in 1760, and at the close of the campaign he returned home and married Ruth Floyd. He espoused the popular side in the Stamp Act movements, and, possessing the esteem of the people, he was elected, with Will-

iam Nicoll, a representative of Suffolk county, in the Colonial Assembly in 1769. He represented Suffolk in the first Provincial Congress in 1775, and was elected president of that body. He was appointed a brigadier of militia in August of that year, and in July, 1776, he was summoned home to embody the militia of Suffolk and Queens, to assist in repelling invasion. He was engaged in this service when he was made a prisoner,* cruelly wounded by a British officer, and died of his injuries three weeks afterward, at New Utrecht. His wife, who was with him in his last moments, conveyed his body to Mastic, and there, in a secluded family cemetery, a short distance from his residence, his remains rest. A marble slab marks his grave, and bears the following inscription: "In memory of General NATHANIEL WOODHULL, who, wounded and a prisoner, died on the twentieth of September, 1776, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; regretted by all who knew how to value his many private virtues, and that pure zeal for the rights of his country to which he perished a vic-



WOODHULL'S GRAVE.

* In consequence of the tardy movements of others, on whom devolved the duty of furnishing him with a proper force to perform the labors assigned him, General Woodhull (Udell in many old accounts) did not participate in the battle on the twenty-seventh of August. He made his headquarters at Jamaica, and with his inadequate force he scoured the country for miles around, watching the movements of the enemy, and driving large numbers of cattle to Hempstead plains. When he perceived the position of Clinton, near the Jamaica pass, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, he sent urgent messages to the Provincial Congress asking for re-enforcements. It was now too late, for the regiments of Smith and Remsen, of Kings and Queens counties, could not be spared from the lines at Brooklyn. With a soldier's impatience he was obliged to listen to the distant roar of battle, for with a soldier's strict discipline he would not move without orders. When apprised of the disasters of the day, he ordered his little band to fall back four miles beyond Jamaica, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, while he awaited orders from camp. In the afternoon, he left Jamaica with two companions, to join his soldiers, and while taking refuge from a thunder-storm in the inn of Increase Carpenter, two miles east of Jamaica village, he was made a prisoner by a party of British, under Captain Sir James Baird (whom we met at Savannah, page 732), piloted by some Tories. Tradition says that Baird ordered Woodhull to shout "God save the King!" and because instead he cried "God save us all!" he smote him with his broadsword, and would have killed him on the spot, if Major Delancey, who accompanied Baird, had not interfered. The blow badly wounded the head of the general, and mangled his left arm the whole length. He and his companions were taken to Jamaica, confined until the next morning in the Presbyterian stone church (which stood in the middle of the present Fulton Street, at the head of Union Hall Street. It was demolished in 1832), then taken to the British camp at Brooklyn, and conveyed to a loathsome cattle transport in Gravesend Bay. A humane British officer procured his removal to a house in the village of New Utrecht, where his arm was amputated at the elbow. Woodhull sent for his wife, with a request that she should bring with her all the money in her possession, and all she could borrow. This was distributed among his fellow-prisoners. His wife arrived in time to attend him in his last moments, for the unskillful amputation resulted in mortification, and he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age.



CHURCH AT JAMAICA.

I am indebted to Mr. Onderdonk for the sketch of the old Jamaica church. With him I visited New Utrecht (1850) to make a drawing of the house wherein General Woodhull died. It had just been demolished, and a modern house placed on its site by the owner, Mr. Barent Wyckoff. To the patriotism and artistic skill of Miss C. Lott, living near, I am indebted for the sketch of that venerated edifice, probably the first house erected in that town. It was of stone, covered with red tiles, and answered the description of a dwelling erected in 1658, by De Sille, the attorney general of the province.—See *Doc. Hist. of New York*, I., 634. The New Utrecht church, which stood near, was of octagon form like one at Jamaica. The weather-vane from its steeple now graces the barn of Mr. Lott, and the gilt dove from the pulpit sounding-board is perched upon the roof of his well.



HOUSE IN WHICH WOODHULL DIED.

chief had crossed from New York early in the morning, and had witnessed the destruction of some of his finest troops, without ability to send them aid except at the peril of the safety of the camp or of the city, and his whole army. Ignorant of his real strength, Howe dared not attempt an assault, and Washington had time to conceive and execute measures for the safety of his troops.

^a August, 1776. The morning of the twenty-eighth^a dawned drearily. Heavy masses of vapor rolled up from the sea, and at ten o'clock, when the British cannonade commenced, a fine mist was falling. Although half dead with fatigue, the Americans had slumbered little, for it was a night of fearful anxiety to them. At five in the morning, General Mifflin, who had come down from King's Bridge and Fort Washington with the regiments of Shee, Magaw, and Glover, a thousand strong, in obedience to an order sent the day before, crossed the East River, and took post at the Wallabout. The outposts of the patriots were immediately strengthened, and during the rainy day which succeeded there were frequent skirmishes. Rain fell copiously during the afternoon, and that night the Americans, possessing neither tents nor barracks, suffered dreadfully. A heavy fog fell upon the hostile

^b Aug. 29. camps at midnight, and all the next day^b it hung like a funeral pall over that sanguinary battle-field. Toward evening, while Adjutant-general Reed, accompanied by Mifflin and Colonel Grayson, were reconnoitering near Red Hook, a light breeze arose and gently lifted the fog from Staten Island. There they beheld the British fleet lying within the Narrows, and boats passing rapidly from ship to ship, in evident preparation for a movement toward the city. Reed hastened to the camp with the information, and at five o'clock that evening the commander-in-chief held a council of war.¹ An evacuation of Long Island, and a retreat to New York, was the unanimous resolve of the council. Colonel Glover, whose regiment was composed chiefly of sailors and fishermen from Marblehead and vicinity,² was ordered to collect and man boats for the purpose, and General M'Dougal was directed to superintend the embarkation. The fog still rested heavily upon the island, the harbor, and the adjacent city, like a shield of the Almighty to cover the patriots from the peril of discovery. Although lying within a few hundred yards of the American lines, the enemy had no suspicion of the movement.³

At eight o'clock in the evening the patriot regiments were silently paraded, the soldiers ignorant of the intent; but, owing to delay on account of unfavorable wind, and some confusion in orders, it was near midnight when the embarkation commenced at the Ferry Stairs, foot of Fulton Street, Brooklyn. For six hours those fishermen-soldiers plied their muffled oars; and boat after boat, filled with the champions of freedom, touched at the various wharves from Fulton Ferry to Whitehall, and left their precious burdens. At six in the morning, nine thousand men, with their baggage and munitions, except heavy artillery, had crossed. Mifflin, with his Pennsylvania battalions and the remains of the regiments of Smallwood and Haslet, formed the covering party, and Washington and his staff, who had been in the saddle all night, remained until the last company had embarked.⁴ At dawn

¹ The council was held in the stone Dutch church (20), which stood near the junction of the present Fulton and Flatbush Avenues. This church was designated in the order for the evening as an alarm post during the night, where they might rendezvous, in the event of the movement being discovered by the British. The officers present at the council were Washington, Putnam, Spencer, Mifflin, M'Dougal, Parsons, John Morin Scott, Wadsworth, and Fellows.—See *Life*, &c., of President Reed, i., 417.

² The uniform of these men, until they were attached to the Continental line, consisted of blue round jackets and trousers, trimmed with leather buttons. They were about five hundred in number.

³ A late English author complains bitterly of the apathy of the British general on this occasion. He says, his troops "kept digging their trenches on one side, while Washington was smuggling his forces out on the other, and ferrying them over the East River to the city of New York. . . . The high-feeding English general slept on, and his brother the admiral (Lord Howe), though not so apt to doze, did not move a single ship or boat, and was to all appearance unconscious of what was going on."—*Pict. Hist. of the Reign of George the Third*, i., 273. Notwithstanding his want of energy on this occasion, General Howe received the honors of knighthood from his king for this victory. The ceremony was performed by Knyphausen, Clinton, and Robertson, in November, 1776.

⁴ In his dispatches to the president of Congress, Washington said that he had scarcely been out of the lines from the twenty-seventh till the morning of the evacuation, and forty-eight hours preceding that had

British first aware of the Retreat.

Condition of the Army.

Disposition of the British Army.

the fog lifted from the city, but remained dark and dreary upon the deserted camp and the serried ranks of the foe, until the last boat left the Long Island shore. Surely, if "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," in the time of Deborah, the wings of the Cherubim of Mercy and Hope were over the Americans on this occasion.

Intelligence of this movement reached the British commander-in-chief at half past four in the morning. Cautiously Captain Montrossor and a small party climbed the embankments of Fort Putnam and were certified of the fact.¹ It was too late for successful pursuit, for when battalion after battalion were called to arms, and a troop of horsemen sped toward the East River, the last boat was beyond pistol shot; and as the fog rolled away and the sunlight burst upon the scene, the Union flag was waving over the motley host of Continentals and militia marching toward the hills of Rutgers' farm, beyond the present Catharine Street.² Howe was greatly mortified by the event, for he felt certain that his prey could not escape his meshes.

Although the American army was safe in New York, yet sectional feelings, want of discipline, general insubordination of inferior officers and men, and prevailing immorality, appeared ominous of great evils. Never was the hopeful mind of Washington more clouded with doubts than when he wrote his dispatches to the president of Congress, in the month of September.³ Those dispatches and the known perils which menaced the effort for independence led to the establishment of a permanent army.⁴ 1776.

On the evacuation of Long Island, the British took possession of the American works, and, leaving some English and Hessian troops to garrison them, Howe posted the remainder of his army at Bushwick, Newtown, Hell Gate, and Flushing.

Howe made his head-quarters at a house in Newtown (yet standing), now the property of Augustus Bretonnier, and there, on the third of September, he wrote his dispatch, concerning the battle, to the British ministry. On the thirtieth,^b Admiral Howe

^a August, 1776. sailed up the bay with his fleet and anchored near Governor's Island, within cannon-shot of the city. During the night after the battle, a forty-gun ship had passed the batteries and anchored in Turtle Bay, somewhat damaged by round shot from Burnt Mill or Stuyvesant's Point, the site of the Novelty Iron-works.⁴ Other vessels went around Long Island, and passed into the East River from the Sound, and on the third of September the whole British land force was upon Long Island, except four thousand men left upon Staten Island to awe the patriots of New Jersey. A blow was evidently in preparation for the republican army in the city. Perceiving it, Washington made arrangements for evacuating New York, if necessary.⁵



HOWE'S QUARTERS.

hardly been off his horse and never closed his eyes. Yet a popular English author of our day (see *Pict. Hist. of the Reign of George the Third*, i., 273) mendaciously says, "Washington kept his person safe in New York."

¹ Onderdonk (ii., 131) says that a Mrs. Rapelye, living near the ferry, sent her servant to inform the British of the retreat. The negro was arrested by a Hessian guard, who could not understand a word that he uttered. He was detained until morning, when he was taken to head-quarters, and revealed the secret, but too late.

² A cannonade was opened upon the pursuers from Waterbury's battery, where Catharine Market now stands.

³ See page 225. In his letter of the second of September, Washington evidently foresaw his inability to retain his position in the city of New York. He asked the question, "If we should be obliged to abandon the town, ought it to stand as winter quarters for the enemy?" and added, "If Congress, therefore, should resolve upon the destruction of it, the resolution should be a profound secret, as a knowledge of it will make a capital change in their plans." General Greene and other military men, and John Jay and several leading civilians, were in favor of destroying New York. But Congress, by resolution of the third of September, ordered otherwise, because they hoped to regain it if it should be lost.—See *Journal*, ii., 321.

⁴ Washington sent Major Crane of the artillery to annoy her. With two guns, upon the high bank at Forty-sixth Street, he cannonaded her until she was obliged to take shelter in the channel east of Blackwell's Island.

⁵ On the approach of the fleet, the little garrison on Governor's Island and at Red Hook withdrew to

Howe's proposition for a Conference.

Meeting with a Committee of Congress.

Bushnell's "Marine Turtle" or Torpedo.

Lord Howe now offered the olive-branch as a commissioner to treat for peace, not doubting the result of the late battle to be favorable to success. General Sullivan and Lord Stirling were both prisoners on board his flag-ship, the *Eagle*. The former was paroled,¹ and sent with a verbal message from Howe to the Continental Congress, proposing an informal conference with persons whom that body might appoint. Impressed with the belief that Lord Howe possessed more ample powers than Parliament expressed in his appointment, Congress consented to a conference, after debating the subject four days. A committee, composed of three members of that body, was appointed, and the conference was held² at the house of Captain ^{Sept. 11, 1776.}



LORD HOWE.

Billop, formerly of the British navy, situated upon the high shore of Staten Island, opposite Perth Amboy.³ The event was barren of expected fruit, yet it convinced the Americans

New York. One man at Governor's Island lost an arm by a ball from a British ship, just as he was embarking.*

¹ Both officers were exchanged soon afterward, Sullivan for General Prescott, captured nine months before (see vol. i., page 181), and Lord Stirling for Governor Brown, of Providence Island, who had been captured by Commodore Hopkins. Lord Stirling was exchanged within a month after he was made prisoner.

² The committee consisted of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge. When they reached Perth Amboy, they found the barge of Lord Howe in waiting for them, with a British officer who was left as a hostage. The meeting was friendly, and Lord Howe, who was personally acquainted with Franklin, freely expressed to that statesman his abhorrence of the war, and his sincere personal desire for peace.[†] The whole interview was distinguished by courtesy and good feeling. Howe informed the committee that he would not recognize them as members of Congress, but as private gentlemen, and that the independence of the colonies could not be considered for a moment. They told him he might call them what he pleased, they were nevertheless representatives of a free and independent people, and would entertain no proposition which did not recognize the independence of the colonies. The gulf between them was evidently impassable, and the conference was soon terminated, for Howe had nothing acceptable to offer. He expressed his regret because of his obligation now to prosecute the war. Franklin assured him that

* It was while the *Eagle* laid near Governor's Island that an attempt was made to destroy her by an "infernal machine," called a "Marine Turtle," invented by a mechanic of Saybrook, Connecticut, named Bushnell. Washington approved of the machine, on examination, and desired General Parsons to select a competent man to attempt the hazardous enterprise. The machine was constructed so as to contain a living man, and to be navigated at will under water. A small magazine of gunpowder, so arranged as to be secured to a ship's bottom, could be carried with it. This magazine was furnished with clock-work, constructed so as to operate a spring and communicate a blow to detonating powder, and ignite the gunpowder of the magazine. The motion of this clock-work was sufficiently slow to allow the submarine operator to escape to a safe distance, after securing the magazine to a ship's bottom. General Parsons selected a daring young man, named Ezra Lee. He entered the water at Whitehall, at midnight on the sixth of September. Washington and a few officers watched anxiously until dawn for a result, but the calm waters of the bay were unruffled, and it was believed that the young man had perished. Just at dawn some barges were seen putting off from Governor's Island toward an object near the *Eagle*, and suddenly to turn and pull for shore. In a few moments a column of water ascended a few yards from the *Eagle*, the cables of the British ships were instantly cut, and they went down the Bay with the ebbing tide, in great confusion. Lee had been under the *Eagle* two hours, trying in vain to penetrate the thick copper on her bottom. He could hear the sentinels above, and when they felt the shock of his "Turtle" striking against the bottom, they expressed a belief that a floating log had passed by. He visited other ships, but their sheathing was too thick to give him success. He came to the surface at dawn, but, attracting the attention of the bargemen at Governor's Island, he descended, and made for Whitehall against a strong current. He came up out of reach of musket shot, was safely landed, and received the congratulations of the commander-in-chief and his officers. Young Lee was afterward employed by Washington in secret service, and was in the battles at Trenton, Brandywine, and Monmouth. He died at Lyme, Connecticut, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1821, aged seventy-two years.

[†] RICHARD, Earl Howe, was born in 1725, and was next in age to his brother, the young Lord Howe, who fell at Ticonderoga in 1758 (see vol. i., page 118). He sailed with Lord Anson to the Pacific as midshipman at the age of fourteen years, and had risen to the rank of admiral at twenty. He was appointed rear-admiral in 1770, and, before coming to America, he was promoted to Vice-admiral of the Blue. After the American war, he was made first Lord of the Admiralty. He commanded the English fleet successfully against the French in 1794. His death occurred in 1799, at the age of seventy-four years. In 1774, Lord Howe and his sister endeavored to draw from Franklin the real intentions of the Americans. The philosopher was invited to spend Christmas at the house of the lady, and it was supposed that in the course of indulgence in wine, chess, and other socialities, he would drop the reserve of the statesman and be incautiously communicative. The arts of the lady were unavailing, and they were no wiser on the question when Franklin left than when he came.

WILLIAM HOWE, brother of the earl, succeeded General Gage in the chief command of the British forces in America, and assumed his duties at Boston in 1775. He commanded at the attack on Breed's Hill, and from that time until the spring of 1778, he mismanaged military affairs in America. He was then succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, and with his brother, the admiral, returned to England. He is represented as a good-natured, indolent man—"the most indolent of mortals," said General Lee, "and never took pains to examine the merits or demerits of the cause in which he was engaged."

Evacuation of the City by the Americans.

Washington's Quarters.

Captain Hale.

Beekman's Green-house.

that Britain had determined upon the absolute submission of the colonies. This conviction increased the zeal of the patriots, and planted the standard of resistance firmer than before.

At a council of war held on the seventh,^a
^a Sept., 1776.

a majority of officers were in favor of retaining the city; but on the twelfth, another council, with only three dissenting voices (Heath, Spencer, and Clinton), resolved on an evacuation. The movement was immediately commenced, under the general superintendence of Colonel Glover. The



BILLOR'S HOUSE

sick were taken to New Jersey, and the public stores were conveyed to Dobbs's Ferry, twenty miles from the city. The main body of the army moved toward Mount Washington and King's Bridge on the thirteenth, accompanied by a large number of Whigs and their families and effects.¹ A rear-guard of four thousand men, under Putnam, was left in the city, with orders to follow, if necessary, and on the sixteenth Washington made his head-quarters at the deserted mansion of Colonel Roger Morris,² on the

the Americans would endeavor to lessen the pain he might feel on their account by taking good care of themselves. Thus ended the conference.* In the third volume of the collected Writings of John Adams may be found an interesting sketch from the pen of that patriot, describing the events of a night passed in bed with Dr. Franklin at New Brunswick, on the night preceding this conference.

¹ Washington made the house of Robert Murray, on Murray Hill (see page 788), his quarters on the fourteenth, and on the fifteenth he was at Mott's tavern, now the property of Mr. Pentz, near One hundred and Forty-third Street and Eighth Avenue. It was at Murray's house that Captain Nathan Hale received his secret instructions for the expedition which cost him his life.†

² This elegant mansion is yet standing and unaltered, upon the high bank of the Harlem River, at One hundred and Sixty-ninth Street, a little below the High Bridge of the Croton Aqueduct. Its situation is one of the most picturesque on the island, commanding a fine view of the Harlem River and village, Long Island Sound, Flushing, and Astoria, with the green fields of Long Island beyond. Below are seen the plains of

* The commissioners immediately afterward issued a proclamation similar in character to the one sent out in July. This proclamation, following the disasters upon Long Island, had great effect, and many timid Americans availed themselves of the supposed advantages of compliance. In the city of New York more than nine hundred persons, by petition to the commissioners, dated sixteenth of October, declared their allegiance to the British government. To counteract this, in a degree, Congress, on the twenty-first, provided an oath of allegiance to the American government.

† Anxious to know the exact condition and intentions of the British on Long Island, Washington called a council of officers, when it was determined to send a spy into their camp. Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a choice regiment called *Congress's Own*, was directed to select a competent man from his corps. Captain Nathan Hale, of Coventry, Connecticut, volunteered for the service, and, bearing instructions from Washington to the commanders of all American armed vessels to convey him whithersoever he might desire to go, he crossed the Sound to Huntington (some say to Oyster Bay), and made his way to the British camp at Brooklyn and vicinity. There he made sketches and notes, and, unsuspected, returned to Huntington with valuable information. There he was recognized and exposed (tradition says by a Tory relative), and was taken immediately to Howe's head-quarters at Beekman's house, at Turtle Bay. He was confined in the green-house of the garden during the night of the twenty-first of September, and the next morning, without even the form of a regular trial, was delivered to Cunningham, the brutal provost marshal, to be executed as a spy. He was treated with great inhumanity by that monster. The services of a clergyman and the use of a Bible were denied him, and even the letters which he had been permitted by Howe to write to his mother and sisters during the night, were destroyed. He was hanged upon an apple-tree in Rutgers' Orchard, near the present intersection of



THE GREEN-HOUSE.

East Broadway and Market Streets. His last words were, "I only regret that I have but one life to give to my country!" His body was buried beneath the gibbet-tree. The name of this youthful patriot martyr appears luminous upon the pages of our country's history, and the grateful citizens of his native town have erected a handsome monument to his memory there.

I made the above sketch of the green-house a few days before it fell, with all the glories of the beautiful garden of the Beekman mansion, at the touch of the street commissioner, in July, 1852. Its locality is now in the center of Fifty-second Street, a little east of First Avenue. It was erected, with the mansion delineated on page 817, in 1764. I am indebted to the Honorable James W. Beekman, the present owner of the grounds, for a copy of a curious document preserved among the family papers. It is a memorandum, kept by the gardener of James Beekman (the original proprietor, during the war, showing the time that several British officers, in succession, made the house their head-quarters. The following is a copy, with the heading by the pen of Beekman: "At the undermentioned time my country seat was occupied by the following generals" [the gardener's report]: "General Howe commenced fifteenth of September, 1776—seven and a half months. Commissary Loring the first of May, 1777—one year and five months. General Clinton the twentieth of October, 1778—three years and six months. General Robleson [Robertson] May the first, 1782—eleven and a half months. Mr. Beekman the sixteenth of April, 1783—two months. General Carleton the sixteenth of June, 1783, to the evacuation, is five months—in the whole, is seven years one and a half months."—For Hale's capture and death, see Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, ii., 48, 53.

Preparation to invade New York.

Revolutionary Fortifications on the north part of the island.

heights of Harlem River, about ten miles from the city. Every muscle and implement was now put in vigorous action, and before the British had taken possession of the city the Americans were quite strongly intrenched.¹



MORRIS'S HOUSE

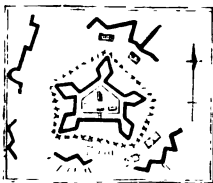
Howe now prepared to invade the island and take possession of the city of New York. Large detachments were sent in boats from Hallet's Point to occupy Buchanan's and Montrossor's (now Ward's and Randall's) Islands, at the mouth of the Harlem River, and early on Sunday morning the fifteenth,^a Sept., 1776. Sir Henry Clinton, with four thousand men, crossed the river in flat bottomed boats from the mouth of Newtown Creek, and landed at Kip's Bay (foot of Thirty-fourth

Harlem, toward which the population of the great city is flowing. Colonel Morris was Washington's companion in arms at the defeat of Braddock, and his successful rival in claims for the hand of Mary Phillippe in 1756. Morris was a Loyalist, and at this time had fled, with his family, to the house of Beverly Robinson in the Highlands. The present owner is the widow of the celebrated Colonel Aaron Burr, better known as Madame Jumel, the name of her first husband.

¹ At Turtle Bay, Horn's Hook, Fort Washington and the heights in the vicinity, on the Hudson and Harlem Rivers, and near King's Bridge, traces of these fortifications may yet be seen.*

* The Americans cast up a redoubt at Turtle Bay, on the East River, between Forty-fourth and Forty-sixth Streets; a breast-work at the Shot Tower, Fifty-fourth Street; another at the foot of Seventy-fourth Street; a third at the foot of Eighty-fifth, near Hell Gate Ferry; and a strong work called Thompson's Battery, upon Horn's Hook (now a beautifully shaded grassy point), at Eighty-ninth Street. This redoubt commanded the mouth of Harlem River and the narrow channel at Hell Gate. They also built a small work upon Snake Hill (now Mount Morris, in Mount Morris Square), near Harlem, and a line of breast-works near the Harlem River, extending from One hundred and Thirty-sixth Street to Bussing's Point, near M'Comb's Dam. Upon each side of "Harlem Cove," at Manhattanville, a battery was constructed (One hundred and Thirty-first and One hundred and Thirty-third Streets), and along the central hills whereon the Convent of the Sacred Heart stands was a line of works extending to One hundred and Fiftieth Street. These were small batteries, without connecting breast-works, and overlooked Harlem River. From near "The Grange" (the country residence of General Hamilton, yet standing), in the vicinity of One hundred and Fifty-first Street, was a line of intrenchments, with three batteries and *abatis* extending to the Hudson, a distance of almost a mile. The batteries of this line were upon three eminences. Almost upon the line of One hundred and Sixty-first and One hundred and Sixty-second Streets, was another line, with three batteries and *abatis*. These formed the "double lines of intrenchments," mentioned in the histories. The quite prominent outlines of a redoubt on the lofty bank of the Harlem River, at the foot of One hundred and Fifty-sixth Street, were pointed out to me by Henry O'Reilly, Esq., who resides near. From this redoubt, down the steep hill to the cove where Colonel Stirling landed (see page 837), the old road is yet (1852) open and passable. From Colonel Morris's (Madame Jumel's) house was a line of shallow intrenchments to the North River, with a single battery upon the eminence above the residence of the late Mr. Audobon the ornithologist, a little north of Trinity Cemetery. Upon the high west bank of the Harlem, yet rough and wooded, were two breast-works. These the British afterward strengthened, and called it *Fort George*. This was between One hundred and Ninety-second and One hundred and Ninety-sixth Streets. On the King's Bridge road below, at Two hundred and Sixth Street, a strong four-gun battery was erected.

Fort Washington, situated between One hundred and Eighty-first and One hundred and Eighty-sixth Streets, upon the highest eminence on the island (between ten and eleven miles from the City Hall), was a strong earth-work of irregular form, covering, with its raveline, several acres. It contained an inner work, a sort of citadel, within which was the magazine. About twenty heavy cannons were mounted upon it, besides several smaller pieces and mortars. Its chief strength consisted in its position. On the promontory below it (Jeffery's Hook), where the Telegraph mast stands (between One hundred and Seventy-sixth and One hundred and Seventy-seventh Streets), was a redoubt, intended as a covering to *chapeaux de frise* constructed in the channel there. The banks of this redoubt, among dwarf cedars upon the rocks, are yet (1852) very prominent. Northward of Fort Washington, on the same lofty bank of the Hudson, between One hundred and Ninety-fifth and One hundred and Ninety-sixth Streets, was a redoubt with two guns, which was afterward strengthened by the British and called *Fort Tryon*. Near the extreme point of this range, at *Spyt den Dyvel Kill* (Spice the Devil Creek), at Two hundred and Seventeenth Street, was a little redoubt of two guns, called *Cock*



FORT WASHINGTON.

Hill Fort; and across the creek, on Tetard's Hill, was a square redoubt, with bastions, called *Fort Independence*. At the point where the Hudson River railway strikes the West Chester shore, was a small battery, and upon a hill commanding King's Bridge from the south side, between Two hundred and Twenty-fifth and Two hundred and Twenty-sixth Streets (just above the present mill), was a redoubt. This was strengthened in 1781 by the British, and called *Fort Prince*, in honor of Prince William (afterward William the Fourth), then in New York. The embankments of *Fort Washington*, and all of the works mentioned in this paragraph, are yet visible. Those of the *Citadel of Fort Washington* (indicated at the foot of the flag-staff, page 826) are well defined. The military works mentioned in this note, with those in the note on page 799, composed the whole of the Revolutionary fortifications upon Manhattan Island, except some breast-works at *M'Gowan's Pass*, between One hundred and Fifth and One hundred and Eighth Streets and the Fifth and Sixth Avenues, now known as Mount St. Vincent. The embankments now seen at *M'Gowan's Pass*, and the square excavation in the rock a few rods northwest of the Roman Catholic school, were constructed in 1812. Very few of the streets mentioned in this note have yet been opened; all of them have been surveyed and located upon the city maps. The streets are generally opened and graded as far as the State Arsenal, Sixty-third Street.

Flight of the Americans on the Landing of the British.

Washington's Mortification.

Evacuation of the City.

Street) under cover of a severe cannonade from ten ships of war, which had sailed up and anchored opposite the present House of Refuge, at the foot of Twenty-third Street.' Another division, consisting chiefly of Hessians, embarked a little above, and landed near the same place. The brigades of Parsons and Fellows, panic-stricken by the cannonade and the martial array, fled in confusion (many without firing a gun) when the advanced guard of only fifty men landed. Washington, at Harlem, heard the cannonade, leaped into the saddle, and approached Kip's Bay in time to meet the frightened fugitives. Their generals were trying in vain to rally them, and the commander-in-chief was equally unsuccessful. Mortified, almost despairing, at this exhibition of cowardice in the face of the enemy, Washington's feelings mastered his judgment, and casting his chapeau to the ground, and drawing his sword, he spurred toward the enemy, and sought death rather than life. One of his aids caught his bridle-rein and drew him from danger, when reason resumed its power.¹ Unopposed, the British landed in full force, and, after skirmishing in the rear of Kip's house with the advance of Glover's brigade, who had reached the scene, they marched almost to the center of the island, and encamped upon the *Incleberg*, an eminence between the present Fifth and Sixth Avenues and Thirty-fifth and Thirty-eighth Streets. The Americans retreated to Bloomingdale, and Washington sent an express to Putnam in the city, ordering him to evacuate it immediately. Howe, with Clinton, Tryon, and a few others, went to the house of Robert Murray, on Murray Hill (see page 789), for refreshments and rest.



BECKMAN'S MANSION.

With smiles and pleasant conversation, and a profusion of cake and wine, the good Whig lady detained the gallant Britons almost two hours; quite long enough for the bulk of Putnam's division of four thousand men to leave the city and escape to the heights of Harlem by the Bloomingdale road, with the loss of only a few soldiers.² General Robertson, with a strong force, marched to take possession of the city, and Howe made his headquarters at the elegant mansion of James Beekman, at Turtle Bay, then deserted by the owner and his family.⁴ Before sunset his troops were encamped in a line extending from Horn's Hook

¹ The ships went up the Hudson, at the same time, as far as Bloomingdale. One of these vessels was the detested *Asia*, of sixty-four guns. Captain Talbot, anxious to be useful, attempted its destruction by a fire-ship. From near Fort Washington he proceeded cautiously, at two o'clock in the morning of the sixteenth, and soon he was alongside the enemy, with his ship in a blaze. Lingering too long, he was badly burned, but escaped to the Jersey shore in safety. The *Asia* managed to extricate herself from the peril. —See Tuckerman's *Life of Commodore Talbot*, p. 24–29.

² Gordon, ii., 111.

³ Putnam, Knox, and other officers in the city were quite ignorant of the island beyond the intrenchments. They were perplexed on learning that the enemy occupied the east and middle roads, for they knew of no other way among the woods and swamps of the island. Fortunately, Major Aaron Burr, then one of Putnam's aids, knew the ground well, and under his direction the troops left Independent Battery, on Bunker Hill (where they were preparing for defense), and passing through the woods west of the present Broadway, they reached a road leading from Greenwich (the property of Sir Peter Warren) to Bloomingdale. They were discovered by a patrol, after passing the camp upon the *Incleberg*, and a detachment of light infantry were sent in pursuit. These overtook the rear of the Americans in a path extending from Bloomingdale to Harlem Lane, near M'Gowan's Pass, and a warm skirmish was the result. This skirmish was at about the intersection of One hundredth Street and Eighth Avenue.

⁴ See note on page 815. This view of Beekman's mansion is from the grounds looking toward the East River. The fine lawns and blooming gardens are now reticulated by city streets, and in a few years, no doubt, this elegant specimen of the houses of "the olden time" will be swept away by the broom of improvement. The carved family arms have been removed from their long resting-place over the elaborately wrought chimney-piece of the drawing-room, and an ancient sun-dial, which marked the hours in the garden for almost a century, has been laid away in security. The elegant coach of the first proprietor, emblazoned with the Beekman arms, is yet there, a rich old relic of the aristocracy of New York a century ago.* There General Riedesel and his family resided during the summer of 1780.

* The family arms consist of an irregular broad line, representing running water (Beekman signifies brook-man) drawn across a shield, and upon each side of it is a full-blown rose. The crest is a helmet, surmounted by spread wings: the legend, "*Mens*

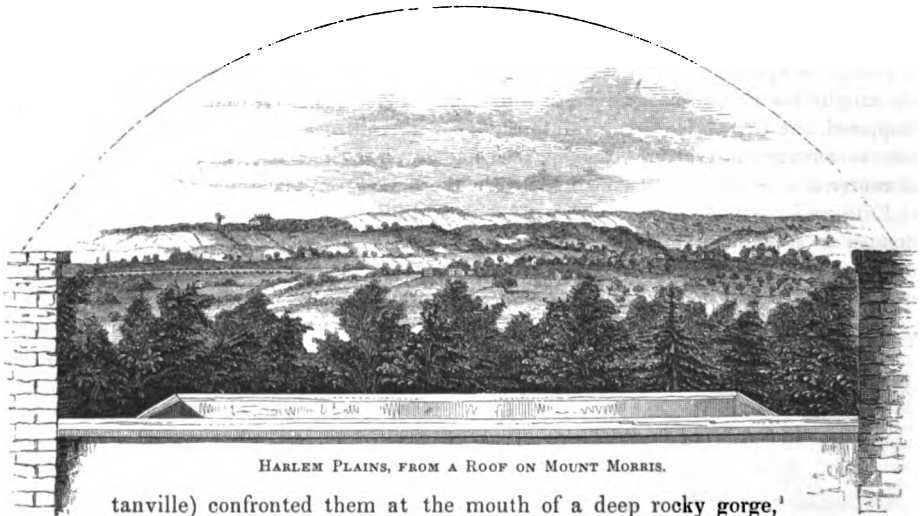
Americans on Harlem Heights.

Battle on Harlem Plains.

Death of Knowlton and Leitch.

across the island to Bloomingdale. Harlem Plains divided the hostile camps. For seven
^a Sept. 15, years, two months, and ten days^a from this time, the city of New York remained
 1776, to in possession of the British troops.

Nov. 25, The wearied patriots from the city, drenched by a sudden shower, slept in the
 1783, open air on the heights of Harlem that night. Early the next morning^b intelligence
^b Sept. 16 came that a British force, under Brigadier Leslie, was making its way by M'Gowan's
 pass to Harlem Plains. The little garrisons at Mount Morris and Harlem Cove (Manhat-



HARLEM PLAINS, FROM A ROOF ON MOUNT MORRIS.

tanville) confronted them at the mouth of a deep rocky gorge,¹ and kept them in partial check until the arrival of re-enforcements. Washington was at Morris's house, and hearing the firing, rode to his outpost, where the Convent of the Sacred Heart now stands. There he met Colonel Knowlton, of the Connecticut Rangers (*Congress's Own*), who had been skirmishing with the advancing foe, and now came for orders. The enemy were about three hundred strong upon the plain, and had a reserve in the woods upon the heights. Knowlton was to hasten with his Rangers, and Major Leitch with three companies of Weedon's Virginia regiment, to gain the rear of the advance, while a feigned attack was to be made in front. Perceiving this, the enemy rushed forward to gain an advantageous position on the plain, when they were attacked by Knowlton and Leitch on the flank. Re-enforcements now came down from the hills, when the enemy changed front and fell upon the Americans. A short but severe conflict ensued. Three bullets passed through the body of Leitch, and he was borne away. A few moments afterward, Knowlton received a bullet in his head, fell, and was borne off by his sorrowing companions.² Yet their men fought bravely, disputing the ground inch by inch as they fell back toward the American camp. The enemy pressed hard upon them, until a part of the Maryland regiments of Colonels Griffiths and Richardson re-enforced the patriots. The British were

¹ This rocky gorge has not yet been touched by the hand of improvement. It remains in all its primal roughness, covered by low shrubbery, shoots from the roots of the ancient forest-trees. It extends on a line with and between the Fifth and Eighth Avenues, from the southern extremity of Harlem Plains.

² Major Leitch died the following day. Knowlton was carried to the redoubt, near the Hudson, at One hundred and Fifty-sixth Street, where he expired before sunset, and was buried within the embankments. His death was a public loss. His bravery at Bunker Hill commanded the highest respect of Washington. In general orders in the morning after the battle on Harlem Plains, the commander-in-chief, alluding to the death of Knowlton, said, "He would have been an honor to any country."

consecia recti." The Beekmans trace their family to Germany as early as 1470. William, the ancestor of the American branch of the family, came to America, with Stuyvesant, in 1647. He was appointed vice-governor on the Delaware in 1658, was afterward sheriff of Esopus, in Ulster county, and burgomaster and alderman in New Amsterdam. There were other Beekmans who settled in the vicinity of Albany.—See Holgate's *American Genealogy*, page 66.

Great Fire in New York.

Departure of the British Army for West Chester.

Landing upon Throck's Neck.

driven back across the plain, when Washington, fearing an ambush, ordered a retreat. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable in numbers; that of the British was eighteen killed and about ninety wounded. This event inspired the desponding Americans, and nerved them for the contest soon to take place upon the main.

The British strengthened McGowan's Pass, placed strong pickets in advance of their lines, and guarded their flanks by armed vessels in the East and North Rivers. General Robertson, in the mean while, had taken possession of the city, and commenced strengthening the intrenchments across the island there. He had scarcely pitched his tents upon the hills in the present Seventh and Tenth Wards, and began to look with complacency upon the city as snug winter quarters for the army, when columns of lurid smoke rolled up from the lower end of the town. It was midnight.^a Soon broad arrows of flame shot up from the darkness, and a terrible conflagration began.¹ It was stayed by the exertions of the troops and sailors from the ships, but not until about five hundred houses were consumed.

Perceiving the Americans to be too strongly intrenched upon Harlem Heights to promise a successful attack upon them, Howe attempted to get in their rear, to cut off their communication with the north and east, and hem them in upon the narrow head of Manhattan Island. Leaving a sufficient force of British and Hessians, under Lord Percy, to guard the city, and others to man his lines toward Harlem, he embarked the remainder of his army upon ninety flat-boats, passed through the narrow and turbulent strait of Hell Gate, and landed upon Throck's Neck,^b a low peninsula jutting into the East River from the main of West Chester county, sixteen miles from the city.² A few days afterward^c

EARL PERCY.²^c Oct. 17

¹ Mr. David Grim, a merchant of New York, who saw the conflagration, has left a record of the event. He says the fire broke out in a low groggery and brothel, a wooden building on the wharf, near Whitehall Slip. It was discovered between one and two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of September. The wind was from the southwest. There were but few inhabitants in the city, and the flames, for a while unchecked, spread rapidly. All the houses between Whitehall and Broad Streets, up to Beaver Street,



RUINS OF TRINITY CHURCH.

were consumed, when the wind veered to the southeast and drove the fire toward Broadway. It consumed all on each side of Beaver Street to the Bowling Green, a little above which it crossed Broadway, and swept all the buildings on both sides, as far as Exchange Street. On the west side it consumed almost every building from Morris Street to Partition (Fulton) Street, devouring Trinity church* in its way, and destroyed all the buildings toward the North River. For a long time the new (St. Paul's) church was in peril, for the fire crept in its rear to Mortlake (Barclay) Street, and extended west of King's (Columbia) College to Murray Street. The exact number of buildings consumed was four hundred and ninety-three. The city then contained about four thousand houses. "The ruins," says Dunlap (who wandered over the scene at the close of the war), "on the southeast side of the town were converted into dwelling places by using the chimneys and parts of walls which were firm, and adding pieces of spars with old canvas from the ships, forming hovels—part hut and part tent." This was called Canvas Town, and there the vilest of the army and Tory refugees congregated. The Tories, and British writers of the day attempted to fix the crime of incendiarism upon the Whigs, but could not. It was well known that the fire had an accidental origin, yet British historians continue to reproduce the libel.

² The officer who went out to Lexington with re-enforcements in April, 1775.—See page 528, vol. i.

³ This is spelled Throck's, Throg's, and Frog's, in different histories. It was originally owned by a man named Throckmorton, who was called Throck for the sake of brevity. On the extreme point of this peninsula, at the entrance to Long Island Sound, stands Fort Schuyler, a strong work completed in 1842.

* Trinity church was erected at the close of the seventeenth century. The first building was small and square. Queen Anne granted to the corporation in 1705 the land extending along the west side of Broadway to Christopher Street, known as the Queen's Farm. The edifice was enlarged in 1737 to one hundred and forty-eight feet in length, including the tower and chancel, and seventy-two feet in breadth. The steeple was one hundred and seventy-five feet in height. This was the edifice consumed by the great fire in 1776. The sketch of the ruins is from a picture made on the spot, and published in Dr. Berrian's *History of Trinity Church*. It was rebuilt in 1788, taken down in 1839, and on the twenty-first of May, 1846, the present edifice was consecrated to Christian worship.

Landing-place of the Hessians.

Howe confronted.

Skirmish near New Rochelle.

General Heath

other troops from Montessor's Island¹ and Flushing landed there; and on the twenty-second, Knyphausen, with the second division of German hirelings, just arrived at New York,² landed upon Myers's Point, now Davenport's Neck, near New Rochelle.³



VIEW AT BAUFFET'S POINT.

When Washington perceived this movement, he sent strong detachments, under General Heath,⁴ to oppose the landing of the British, and occupy lower West Chester.

A redoubt had been thrown up on the hills, near William's Bridge; all the passes to King's Bridge were well guarded, and a detachment was at White Plains making intrenchments there. The causeways to Throck's and Pell's Necks were also guarded, the latter by Colonel Hand and his riflemen; and on the night of the first landing,^a the bridge was removed, and General Howe was left upon an island. He suspected his Tory guides

of treachery, but he soon ascertained the truth and decamped, after being driven back from the causeway by Hand, with the aid of Prescott (the hero of Breed's Hill) and a three-pounder, under Lieutenant Bryant.^b

Wm. Prescott

Howe crossed in his boats to Pell's Point, a little above,^b and marched over Pelham Manor toward New Rochelle. After a hot



HOWE'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

skirmish with Glover's brigade, of Sullivan's division, in which the Americans were repulsed, Howe encamped upon high ground between Hutchins's River and New Rochelle village, where he remained until the twenty-first, when he took post upon the heights of New Rochelle,^c north of the village, on the road to White Plains and Scarsdale. Knyphausen and his division arrived the next day, and encamped upon the land now owned by E. K. Collins, Esq., between

New Rochelle and Mamaroneck.

¹ On the twenty-fourth of September, Colonel Jackson, with Major Henly (aid-de-camp to General Heath), and two hundred and forty men, made a descent upon the British on Montessor's Island, in flat-boats. They were repulsed with a loss of twenty-two men. Among them was Major Henly, who was shot while at the head of his men. He was carried to the camp, and buried by the side of the brave Knowlton.

² These re-enforcements arrived on the eighteenth of October. The fleet consisted of seventy-two sail, having on board four thousand Hessians, six thousand Waldeckers, two companies of chasseurs, two hundred English recruits, and two thousand baggage horses.

³ The main body of the Germans landed upon Bauffet's Point, on the east side of Davenport's Neck, where, it is said, the Huguenot settlers of New Rochelle first touched our shores. Davenport's Neck is a beautiful fertile peninsula, jutting into the Sound near the village of New Rochelle. The view here given is from the high rocky bank at Bauffet's Point, looking southeast upon the wooded islands which here dot the Sound. The shores of Long Island are seen in extreme distance.

⁴ William Heath was a native of Roxbury, Massachusetts, near which some of his descendants still reside. He was appointed a provincial brigadier in 1775. The Continental Congress gave him the same commission, and on the ninth of August, 1776, made him a major general, together with Spencer, Sullivan, and Greene. He commanded near King's Bridge after the Americans left New York, and in the following year he was in chief command in the Eastern department. Burgoyne's captured army were in his custody. In 1779 he commanded on the Hudson, and there was the principal theater of his military life, until the close of the war. General Heath was a useful officer, but circumstances prevented his making much display. He published an interesting volume, entitled "Heath's Memoirs," which is now much sought after by collectors of valuable American books. General Heath died in 1814, the last survivor of the major generals of the Revolution.

^a Heath's Memoirs, page 67. For a sketch of Colonel Prescott, see page 539, vol. i.

^b These heights are now (1852) partly wooded and partly cultivated; then they were covered by the primitive forest, except around the house above delineated, where Howe made his quarters. That house is upon the eastern side of the highway from New Rochelle to White Plains, about a mile from the former

American Army in West Chester.

Skirmishes.

Fort Lee.

Condition of the Army.

Washington viewed this first planting of the British standard upon the main land in proclaimed free America with great anxiety, for clouds were gathering in the horizon of the future. Nominally, he had an army of nineteen thousand men, but in discipline, order, and all the concomitants of true soldiers' they were not one third of that number. The time of service of many of them was drawing to a close, and cold weather was approaching to chill the ardor of half-clad patriots. A powerful enemy, well provided, was crouched as a tiger within cannon-voice, ready to spring upon its prey. Yet Washington's spirit did not quail, and he resolved to confront the foe with his motley troop, as if with a parity of veterans. He called a council of war at his quarters at Morris's house,^a to decide upon the propriety of evacuating Manhattan Island. General Lee, fresh from the field of victory at Charleston, had just arrived and gave his weighty opinion in favor of a total abandonment of the island. The main army was speedily marched toward the Bronx, in West Chester, leaving a garrison, under Colonel Magaw, of Pennsylvania, sufficient to hold Fort Washington and its dependencies. In four divisions, under Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, the American army moved slowly up the western side of the Bronx, and formed a series of intrenched camps upon the hills from the heights of Fordham to White Plains, a distance of about thirteen miles. While presenting a front parallel to that of Howe, frequent skirmishes occurred, in which the Americans were generally the winners.^b General Greene with a small force garrisoned Fort Lee, situated upon the Palisades,^c nearly opposite Fort Washington, and on the twenty-first of October the commander-in-chief left Morris's house and made his head-quarters near White Plains, where, directed by a French engineer, the Americans

WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.^d

village. It was very much dilapidated when I visited it, and was occupied by a colored family. Half a mile beyond this dwelling, on the same side of the road, is the marble monument erected to the memory of Thomas Paine. A sketch of this monument may be found in the Supplement, page 853.

¹ Cotemporary writers give a sad picture of the army at that time. Among many of the subordinate officers, greed usurped the place of patriotism. Officers were elected on condition that they should throw their pay and rations into a joint stock for the benefit of a company; surgeons sold recommendations for furloughs, for able-bodied men, at sixpence each, and a captain was cashiered for stealing blankets from his soldiers. Men went out in squads to plunder from friend or foe, and immorality prevailed throughout the American army. Its appointments, too, were in a wretched condition. The surgeon's department lacked instruments. According to a general return of fifteen regiments, there were not more than sufficient instruments for one battalion.—See Washington's Letter to Congress, Sept. 24, 1776; Gordon, ii., 114.

² On the night of the twenty-first of October, Lord Stirling sent Colonel Haslet, with Delaware and Maryland troops, to surprise some Loyalists then lying at Mamaroneck, under Colonel Rogers, the ranger during the French and Indian wars. These troops were the Queen's Rangers, afterward commanded by Simcoe. Almost eighty men were killed or captured, and the spoils were sixty stand of arms, and provisions and clothing. Rogers escaped. On the twenty-third, Colonel Hand and his riflemen attacked two hundred and forty Hessian chasseurs near East Chester, and routed them; and almost nightly the British pickets were disturbed by the Americans. These events made Howe cautious and slow in his movements.

³ The high perpendicular rocks extending along the western bank of the Hudson from Weehawken north about twenty-three miles, are so called on account of their resemblance to palisades. Congress had ordered Washington, "by every art and whatever expense, to obstruct effectually the navigation of the North River, between Fort Washington and Mount Constitution [whereon Fort Lee stood], as well to prevent the regress of the enemy's frigates lately gone up, as to hinder them from receiving succors."—*Journals*, ii., 385.

⁴ The house occupied by Washington while the army was at White Plains is yet standing. It is a frame building, on the east side of the road, about two miles above the village. This view is from the road, looking northeast. When I last visited it (1851), Miss Jemima Miller, a maiden ninety-three years of age, and her sister, a few years her junior, were living therein, the home of their childhood. A chair and table, used by the chief, is carefully preserved by the family, and a register for the names of the numerous visitors is kept. This house was in the deep solitude of the forests, among the hills, when Washington was there; now the heights and the plain near by smile with cultivation. The present owner of the property is Abraham Miller.

The two Armies at White Plains.

The Battle there.

The Intrenchments.

cast up breast-works, rather as a defense for an intrenched camp in preparation upon the hills of North Castle two miles beyond than as permanent fortifications.¹

Both armies were near White Plains on the morning of the twenty-eighth of October.²

The Americans were chiefly behind their breast-works near the village, and the British were upon the hills below, eastward of the Bronx. Chatterton's Hill, a commanding eminence on the opposite side of the stream, was occupied on the evening of the twenty-seventh by Colonel Haslet, with his Delawares, some Maryland troops and militia, in all about sixteen hundred men. Early the next morning, M'Dougal was ordered to reinforce Haslet with a small corps and two pieces of artillery under the charge of Captain Alexander Hamilton, and to take the general command there. At ten o'clock the British army moved toward the village in two columns, the right commanded by General Clinton, the left by De Heister and Sir William Erskine; in all thirteen thousand strong. Howe was with the second division, and when near the village, he held a council of war on horseback, which resulted in a change in the point of attack. Inclining to the left, the British placed fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery upon the slope southeast of the rail-way station, and, under cover of their fire, constructed a rude bridge over the Bronx, and attempted to cross and ascend the steep wooded heights to dislodge the Americans from their hastily constructed breast-



PLACE WHERE THE BRITISH CROSSED THE BRONX.³

works upon Chatterton's Hill. Hamilton had placed his two guns in battery, on a rocky ledge, and these swept whole platoons from the margin of the hill they were attempting to ascend. The British recoiled, fell back to their artillery, and joined another division, under General Leslie (consisting of the second British brigade, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Rall, a battalion of Hessian infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry), who were then crossing the Bronx a quarter of a mile below. There the assailants joined, and the whole force pushed up the slopes and ravines along the southwestern declivities of Chatterton's Hill. Gaining a gentle slope toward the top, they endeavored to turn M'Dougal's right flank. His advance, under Smallwood and Ritzema, gallantly opposed them while slowly retreating toward the crown of the eminence, until the British cavalry attacked the American militia on the extreme right and dispersed them. M'Dougal with only six hundred men, consisting chiefly of his own brigade and Haslet's corps, sustained an obstinate conflict for an hour. Twice the British light infantry and cavalry were repulsed, when an attack upon his flank by Rall compelled M'Dougal to give way



HOWITZER.

rail-way bridge is seen on the extreme right. Between that and the barn on the left the British ascended. In the field, seen a little to the left of the telegraph posts, toward the center, and the one on the summit beyond, the hottest of the engagement occurred. The latter is on the land of Mr. Cornelius Horton. In a hollow, near a large hickory-tree, on the southwest side of Chatterton's Hill, are the graves of many of the slain.

¹ A square redoubt of earth was erected in the main street of the village, the remains of which may yet be seen a little northeast of Mr. Swinburn's Literary Institution, and where now (1852) lies a shattered howitzer, dug up from the trenches a few years ago. From this redoubt a line of breast-works extended westerly over the south side of Purdy's Hill to the Bronx, and easterly across the hills to Horton's Pond. These were not quite finished when the battle occurred on the twenty-eighth of October.—See *Address* of J. W. Tompkins, 1845, quoted by Bolton, ii., 368.

² This view is from the southeastern side of the Bronx, a little more than half a mile below the rail-way station at White Plains, looking north. The

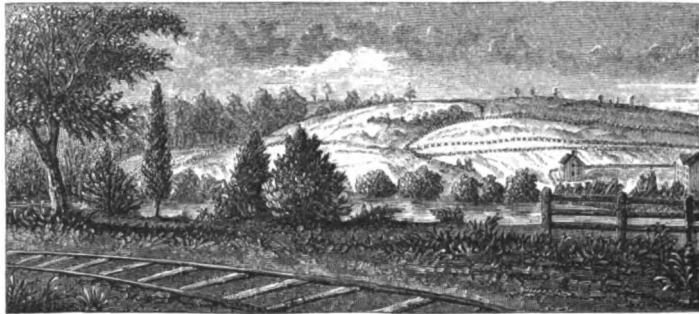
Retreat of the Americans.

The Loss.

Withdrawal to North Castle.

Conflagration.

and retreat to the intrenchments at White Plains. This was done in good order down the southeastern side of Chatterton's Hill, and across the Bronx, near the present rail-way station, under cover of troops, led by Putnam. M'Dougal carried off his wounded and artillery, and left the victors in possession of only the inconsiderable breast-works upon the hill. The militia, who were scattered among the Greenburg hills, soon collected in the

CHATTERTON'S HILL, FROM THE RAIL-WAY STATION.¹

intrenched camp at the village, and there the American army rested, almost undisturbed, until the evening of the thirty-first.^a The British troops rested upon their arms all night after the battle, and the next day, after a skirmish with Glover's brigade, they encamped within long cannon shot of the front of the American lines. Awed by the apparent strength of Washington's intrenchments, Howe dared not attack him, but awaited the arrival of Lord Percy, with four battalions from New York and two from Mamaroneck.² The loss of the Americans, from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-ninth, did not exceed, probably, three hundred men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the British was about the same.

Earl Percy arrived in the evening of the thirtieth, and preparations were made to storm the American works the next morning. A tempest of wind and rain arose at midnight, and continued for twenty hours. All operations were delayed, and on the night of the thirty-first, while the storm clouds were breaking and the British host were slumbering, Washington withdrew, and encamped upon the heights of North Castle, toward the Croton River, where he had erected strong breast-works along the hills which loom up a hundred feet above the waters of the Bronx.³ Howe was afraid to attack him there, and on the night of the fourth of November,^b he retreated toward the junction of the Hudson

¹ This is a view of the southeastern side of Chatterton's Hill, from the rail-way station. They crossed the Bronx at a point seen on the extreme right. On the top of the hill, in the edge of the woods on the left, Hamilton's cannons were placed.

² The intrenchments, which appeared so formidable through Howe's telescope, were exceedingly weak, composed of earth and sods laid upon heaps of cornstalks. They were no protection against cannon-balls, and had Howe attacked these lines first, instead of the really stronger position on Chatterton's Hill, the complete dispersion, if not loss of the American army, would doubtless have been the result. His caution was too faithful in its promptings, and he wasted time and energy, for two or three days, in attempts to gain Washington's rear.

³ A little southeast of the house occupied by Washington (see sketch on page 821), on the brow of a steep hill overlooking an extensive region of country, are yet (1852) prominent remains of some of these breast-works. These are nearest the village of White Plains, and easiest of access for the student or antiquary.

Gordon relates that while the British were at White Plains, the garden of a widow was robbed at night. Her son, a mere boy, asked and obtained leave to catch the thief. With a loaded gun he concealed himself in some bushes, when a British grenadier, a strapping Highlander came, filled a bag with fruit, and placed it on his shoulder. The boy appeared behind him with his gun cocked, and threatened him with instant death if he attempted to lay down the bag. Thus the boy drove him into the American camp. When he laid down his bag, and saw that he had been driven in by a stripling, he was excessively mortified, and could not suppress the exclamation, "A British grenadier made a prisoner by such a damned brat! such a damned brat!"

On the night of the evacuation, the Presbyterian church and other buildings were fired and consumed, but without the knowledge or approval of Washington. Bolton (ii., 366) says the incendiary was Major Osborne, of the Massachusetts line. Gordon (ii., 121) remarks that "Colonel Austin, of the Massachusetts, who commanded the guards and sentries, being heated with liquor, burned the town on White Plains unnecessarily and without any orders."

Retreat to New Jersey.

Fort Washington menaced.

A Surrender refused.

Re-enforced.

and Harlem Rivers, and encamped upon the heights of Fordham, extending his left wing almost to King's Bridge.¹

An attack upon Fort Washington, now environed by a hostile force, though at a distance, was to be the next scene in the drama. Washington called a council of war, and it was unanimously resolved to retreat into New Jersey with the larger portion of the army, leaving all the New England troops on the east side of the Hudson to defend the Highlands. This movement was speedily executed. By the twelfth^a the main army were in New Jersey, some crossing from Tarrytown to Paramus (Sneeden's Landing), and others from Teller's (Croton) Point to the mouth of Tappan Creek (Piermont). The chief, after inspecting places at Peekskill and vicinity, crossed King's Ferry,^b and hastened to form his camp, with his head-quarters at Hackinsack, in the rear of Fort Lee.^c General Heath was left in command in the Highlands, and General Lee, with a dissolving force^d of more than eight thousand men, remained at North Castle, with orders to join the main army in New Jersey if the enemy should aim a blow in that quarter.

On the day of the battle at White Plains, Knyphausen, with six German battalions, marched from New Rochelle, crossed the head of Harlem River, at Dyckman's Bridge,^e took possession of the abandoned works in the vicinity of King's Bridge, and encamped upon the plain^f between there and Fort Washington. The Americans in Fort Independence and redoubts near, fled, on his approach, to Fort Washington, and now the whole country beyond Harlem, between Dobbs's Ferry and Morrisania, west of the Bronx, was in the possession of the royal army. Fort Washington was completely environed by hostile forces. On the seventh, three British ships of war passed up the Hudson unharmed, and on the night of the fourteenth, a large number of flat-boats went up and were moored near King's Bridge. The commander-in-chief would now have ordered the evacuation of Fort Washington, had not Greene urged the necessity of holding it, in connection with Fort Lee, for the defense of the river.

Knyphausen

On the fifteenth^d Howe was informed of the real condition of the garrison and works at Fort Washington, by a deserter from Magaw's battalion, and he immediately sent a messenger with a summons for the commander to surrender, or peril his garrison with the doom of massacre. Magaw, in a brief note, promptly refused compliance, and sent a copy of his answer to Washington at Hackinsack. Confident of success, Howe ordered a cannonade to be opened upon the American outworks from two British redoubts, situated upon the east side of the Harlem River, a little above the High Bridge. The cannonade commenced early on the morning of the sixteenth, to cover the landing of troops which crossed the Harlem there, preparatory to a combined attack at four different points. Expecting this, Magaw made a judicious disposition of his little force.^e Colonel Rawling's

¹ Gordon, ii., 116-121. Stedman, i., 210-216. Marshall, i., 110-114.

² This fortification was situated upon a sort of plateau, about three hundred feet above the river, at the present landing and village of Fort Lee, and opposite the present One hundred and Sixtieth Street, of New York. Some of the mounds are yet visible, covered with low trees. A little above was a redoubt, opposite Jeffery's Hook, to cover the *chevaux-de-frise* in the river. Few traces of this redoubt now remain.

³ The time of service of seven thousand five hundred of these men would expire within a week, and the remainder would be free on the first of December. When the time of dissolution came, some were induced to remain, but the largest portion went home dispirited.

⁴ For this and other localities made memorable by military operations between Fort Washington and the Highlands, the reader may profitably consult the map on the preceding page. It is copied from Stedman, whose orthography of proper names, it will be observed is often incorrect. There is an important error in the map, which was not observed, until it was engraved, namely, the transposition of the names of *Heights of Fordham* and *Valentine's Hill*. The former is in the vicinity of Morrisania; the latter near Wepperham, or Yonkers. Mile Square should be placed about two and a half miles further up the Bronx.

⁵ The garrison consisted of only about twelve hundred men, when Knyphausen first sat down at King's Bridge. Greene sent a re-enforcement from Mercer's Flying Camp, and when the fort was attacked there were about three thousand men within the lines. When Washington heard of the summons to surrender, he hastened from his camp to Fort Lee, and at nine in the evening, while crossing the Hudson, he met

Disposition of the Garrison.

Plan of Attack.

Knyphausen's Assault.

with his Maryland riflemen, was posted in a redoubt (Fort George) upon a hill north of Fort Washington, and a few men were stationed at the outpost called *Cock-hill Fort*. Militia of the Flying Camp, under Colonel Baxter, were placed on the rough wooded hills

east of the fort, along the Harlem River, and others, under Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, manned the lines in the direction of New York.

Cadwalader

Magaw commanded in the fort.

The plan of attack was well arranged. Knyphausen, with five hundred Hessians and Waldeckers, was to

move to the attack on the north simultaneously with a division of English and Hessian troops, under Lord Percy, who were to assail the lines on the south. At the same time, Brigadier Mathews, supported by Cornwallis, was to cross the Harlem River, with the guards, light infantry, and two battalions of grenadiers, and land above Fort Washington, under cover of the guns on the West Chester Hills, just mentioned,¹ while Colonel Stirling, with the 42d regiment, was to cross at a point a little above the High Bridge. These arrange-



VIEW AT FORT WASHINGTON.²

ments were carried out. Knyphausen divided his forces. One division, under Colonel Rall (killed at Trenton seventy days afterward), drove the Americans from *Cock-hill Fort*, while Knyphausen, with the remainder, penetrated the woods near Tubby Hook, and, after clambering over felled trees and other obstructions, attacked Rawlings in *Fort Tryon*. The fort was gallantly defended for some time, and many Hessians were slain. Rawlings was finally forced to yield, and retreated to Fort Washington, under cover of its guns, when Knyphausen planted the Hessian flag upon *Fort Tryon*. In the mean while, Percy had crossed near Harlem, swept over the plain, drove in the American pickets at Harlem Cove (Manhattanville), and attacked Cadwalader at the advanced line of intrenchments.³ Percy's force was eight hundred strong; Cadwalader had only one hundred and fifty men, and one eighteen-pounder. Both parties fought bravely, and Percy, yielding, moved toward the American left, behind a wood, and the combat ceased for a while.

FLAG-STAFF, FORT WASHINGTON.⁴

While Rawlings and Cadwalader were keeping the as-

Greene and Putnam returning from Fort Washington. They assured him that Magaw was confident of a successful defense, and the chief returned with them to Fort Lee.

¹ Mathews landed in the cove or creek at about Two hundredth Street.

² This is a view from the site of the interior works at Fort Washington from the foot of the flag-staff, looking southwest. In the foreground are seen the remains of the embankments. The tall mast seen near the river below is the support for telegraph wires which cross the Hudson there, from the rocky point of Jeffery's Hook. In the distance across the river are the Palisades, and the mast upon their summit denotes the site of the redoubt north of Fort Lee. This little sketch exhibits the relative position of Forts Washington and Lee.

³ Preparatory to this attack, a cannonade was opened upon the American works by two pieces on the high ground north of Motthaven on the Harlem.

⁴ This flag-staff, indicating the center of the fort, is a prominent object to passengers upon the Hudson.

Attack of Stirling and Percy.

Surrender of the Fort.

The Loss.

Mr. Battin.

sailants at bay, Mathews and Stirling landed. The latter pushed up the wooded heights, drove Baxter's troops from their redoubt (Fort George) and rocky defense, and stood victor upon the hills overlooking the open fields around Fort Washington. Stirling, after making a feigned landing, dropped down to an estuary of the river, landed within the American lines, and, rushing up the acclivity by a sinuous road, attacked a redoubt on the summit, and made about two hundred prisoners.¹ Informed of this, and perceiving the peril of being placed between two fires, Cadwalader retreated along the road nearest the Hudson, closely pursued by Percy, and battling all the way. When near the upper border of Trinity Cemetery (One hundred and Fifty-fifth Street), he was attacked on the flank by Colonel Stirling, who was pressing across the island to intercept him.² He continued the retreat, and reached the fort, after losing a few killed, and about thirty made prisoners. On the border of the cemetery, and near the fort, severe skirmishes took place, and many of the Hessian pursuers were slain. The defense was gallant; but pike, ball, and bayonet, used by five thousand men, overpowered the weakened patriots, and at meridian they were nearly all gathered within the ramparts of the fort. General Howe now sent another summons to surrender. Perceiving further resistance to be vain, Magaw complied,³ and at half past one o'clock⁴ the British flag was waving

Nov. 16, 1776, where the Union banner was unfurled defiantly

in the morning. The garrison, amounting to more than two thousand men, were made prisoners of war,⁴ and with these the jails of New York were speedily gorged. It was a terrible disaster for the little Republican army. Of all the gallant men who battled there on that day, not one is known among the living. Probably the last survivor of them all, and the last living relic of the British army in America, was the venerable JOHN BATTIN, who died at his residence in Greenwich Street, in the city of New York, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1852, at the age of one hundred years and four months. His body is entombed in Trinity Cemetery, upon the very ground where he fought for his king seventy-six years before.⁵

Washington, standing upon Fort Lee with his general officers, and the author of "Common Sense," saw some of the slaughter near the doomed fortress, and



John Battin

¹ Stirling's landing-place was at about the foot of One hundred and Fifty-second Street, at the head of the Eighth Avenue, three fourths of a mile below the High Bridge, "within the third line of defense which crossed the island."—Marshall, i., 117. The road up which he passed is still there, and, as mentioned in the note on page 816, the lines of the redoubt on the "wooded promontory" (Stedman, i., 218) are quite visible.

² It was at this stage of affairs that Washington, with Putnam, Greene, and Mercer, crossed the Hudson, ascended the heights, and from Morris's house surveyed the scene of operations. Within fifteen minutes after they had left that mansion, Stirling and his victorious troops approached and took possession of it. It was a narrow escape for the chief commanders.

³ At this moment Captain Gooch came over from Fort Lee with a note from Washington, assuring Magaw that if he could hold out till night the garrison should be brought off. It was too late.

⁴ The number of regulars was about two thousand. There were six or seven hundred militia, volunteers, and stragglers, all of whom were probably included in Howe's report of "two thousand six hundred prisoners." The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, did not exceed one hundred; that of the royal army was almost one thousand. The Hessians as usual, suffered most severely.

Washington was blamed for yielding to the opinions of Greene in endeavoring to hold this fort. Lee, who was opposed to it from the beginning, wrote to Washington, "O! general, why would you be overpersuaded by men of inferior judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair."

⁵ Mr. Battin came to America with the British army in 1776, and was engaged in the battles near Brooklyn, at White Plains, and Fort Washington. After the British went into winter quarters in New York,

Washington's Disappointment.

Wayne's Expedition near Bull's Ferry.

Lee's Attack on Paulus's Hook.

with streaming eyes he beheld the meteor flag of England flashing above its ramparts in the bright November sun. The fort was lost forever, and its name was changed to Knyp-hausen. The chief now turned his thoughts toward the defense of the federal city of Philadelphia, for he penetrated the design of Howe to push thitherward. Fort Lee was abandoned, but before its stores could be removed, Cornwallis had crossed the Hudson with six thousand men, and was rapidly approaching it.¹ The garrison fled to the camp at Hack-

and Cornwallis's division (to which he was attached), returned from Trenton and Princeton, he took lessons in horsemanship in the Middle Dutch church (now the city post-office), then converted into a circus for a riding-school. He then joined the cavalry regiment of Colonel Bird, in which he held the offices of orderly sergeant and cornet. He was in New York during the "hard winter" of 1779-80, and assisted in dragging British cannons over the frozen bay from Fort George to Staten Island. He was always averse to fighting the Americans, yet, as in duty bound, he was faithful to his king. While Prince William Henry, afterward William the Fourth, was here, he was one of his body-guard. Twice he was sent to England by Sir Henry Clinton with dispatches, and being one of the most active men in the corps, he was frequently employed by the commander-in-chief in important services. With hundreds more, he remained in New York when the British army departed in 1783, resolved to make America his future home. He married soon after the war, and at the time of his death had lived with his wife (now aged eighty-three) sixty-five years. For more than fifty years, he walked every morning upon first the old, and then the new, or present Battery, unmindful of inclement weather. He always enjoyed remarkable health. He continued exercise in the street near his dwelling until within a few days of his death, though with increasing feebleness of step. The gay young men of half a century ago (now gray-haired old men) remember his well-conducted house of refreshment, corner of John and Nassau Streets, where they enjoyed oyster suppers and good liquors. The preceding sketch of his person is from a daguerreotype by Insley, made a few months before his departure.

¹ The Americans lost at Fort Lee the whole of the mounted cannons, except two twelve-pounders, a large quantity of baggage, almost three hundred tents, and about a thousand barrels of flour and other stores. The ammunition was saved.*

* Three or four miles below Fort Lee, at the base of the Palisades, is a little village called Bull's Ferry. Just below the village, on Block-house Point, was a block-house, occupied in the summer of 1780 by a British picket, for the protection of some wood cutters, and the neighboring Tories. On Bergen Neck below was a large number of cattle and horses, within reach of the British foragers who might go out from the fort at Paulus's Hook. Washington, then at Hopper's, near Sufferns, sent General Wayne, with some Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, horse and foot, to storm the work on block-house Point, and to drive the cattle within the American lines. Wayne sent the cavalry, under Major Lee, to perform the latter duty, while he and three Pennsylvania regiments marched against the block-house with four pieces of artillery. They made a spirited attack, but their cannons were too light to be effective, and after a skirmish, the Americans were repulsed, with a loss, in killed and wounded, of sixty-four men. After burning some wood-boats near, and capturing the men in charge of them, Wayne returned to camp, with a large number of cattle, driven by the dragoons. This expedition was made the subject of a satirical poem by Major André, called *The Cow-chase* (see page 196), published in *Rivington's paper*. A copy of this celebrated production may be found in the Supplement.

Major Lee made a more successful attack upon the British post at Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City) toward the close of the summer of 1779. The Hook is a sandy peninsula, and at that time was connected with the main by a narrow marshy neck. Upon this peninsula the British erected quite strong military works, and used it as an outpost, while they were in possession of the city of New York. The main works were upon rising ground in the vicinity of the intersection of Grand and Greene Streets. One (A) redoubt was of circular form, and mounted six heavy guns. It had a ditch and *abatis*. The other (B), a little southeast of it, was of oblong form, and had three twelve-pounders and one eighteen. *a a*, were block houses; *b b b b b*, breast-works fronting the bay; *c*, part of the 57th regiment of five hundred men, under Major Sutherland; *d*, pioneers; *e*, carpenters; *f f f*, barracks; *g*, new bridge built by the British. A deep ditch was dug across the isthmus with a barred gate thirty feet within this ditch were *abatis*. This ditch, with the surrounding marshes, made the peninsula an island. After the recapture of Stony Point toward the close of the summer of 1779, while Sir Henry Clinton was encamped upon Harlem Heights, a plan was formed for surprising the garrison at Paulus's Hook. The enterprise was intrusted to Major Henry Lee, then on the west side of the Hudson, back of Hoboken. A feeling of security made the garrison careless, and they were unprepared for a sudden attack when it was made. Preparatory to the attack, troops were stationed near the Hudson to watch the distant enemy, who might cross the river and intercept retreat, for it was not designed to hold the post when captured. Lee marched with three hundred picked men, followed by a strong detachment from Lord Stirling's division, as a reserve. Lee's march toward Bergen excited no surprise, for foraging parties of Americans as large as this were often out in that direction. The reserve halted at the new bridge over the Hackinsack, fourteen miles from the Hook, from which point Lee had taken the road among the hills, nearest the Hudson. At three o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth of August (1779), Lee reached the Harnimus Creek, at the point where the rail-way now crosses it, and within half an hour he crossed the ditch through the loosely-barred gate, and entered the main work undiscovered. The sentinels were either absent or asleep, and the surprise was complete. He captured one hundred and fifty-nine of the garrison, including officers, and then attacked the circular redoubt, into which a large portion of the remainder retreated, with the commander. It was too strong to be effected by small arms, and Lee retreated with his prisoners, with the loss of only two killed and three wounded, and arrived at camp in triumph at about ten o'clock in the morning. This gallant act was greatly applauded in the camp. In Congress, and throughout the country, and made the enemy more cautious. On the twenty second of September following, Congress honored Lee with a vote of thanks,



WORKS AT PAULUS'S HOOK.

Medal awarded to Lee.

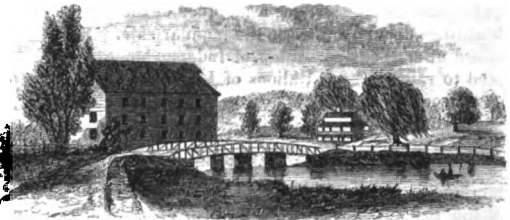
American and British near King's Bridge.

Events near Tippet's Creek.

insack, and now commenced the retreat of Washington across the Jerseys, toward the Delaware, noted on pages 221–22 of this volume.

Before leaving these heights consecrated by valor and patriotism, let us turn toward the distant hills of West Chester, where almost every rood of earth is scarred by the intrencher's mattock, or made memorable by deeds of daring and of suffering, and consider the most important military transactions which occurred within ten leagues of our point of observation. We can not tarry long; to the local historian we must refer for the whole story in detail.

General Knyphausen held Fort Washington and the neighboring works, while the main British army was operating elsewhere in 1777. The fortifications were strengthened, and King's Bridge and vicinity presented a formidable barrier to the invasion of York Island by land. After the fall of Fort Washington, and the departure of both Americans and British to New Jersey, General Heath established a cordon of troops from the heights at Weperham (Yonkers) to Mamaroneck, under the command of Brigadier John Morin Scott. That officer left the army two months later for civil employment, and the Americans retired, so that their left rested upon Byram River. While the strong detach-

VIEW AT KING'S BRIDGE.¹

¹ This view is from the southwest side of the stream, from near the tide-mill. The house beyond, shaded by willows, is the residence of the widow of the late Robert M'Comb.*

and ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him.—See *Journals*, v., 278. On one side is a bust of the hero, with



MEDAL AWARDED TO LEE.



the words HENRICO LEE, LEGIONIS EQUIT. PREFECTO. COMITIA AMERICANA—"The American Congress to Henry Lee, colonel of cavalry." On the reverse, NON OBSTANTIS FLUMINIBUS VALLIS ASTUTIA VIRTUTE BELLICA PARVA MANU HOSTES VICIT VICTOSQ. ARMIS HUMANITATE DEVINXIT IN MEM PUG. AD PAULUS HOOK DIE XIX AUG., 1779—"Notwithstanding rivers and intrenchments, he with a small band conquered the foe by warlike skill and prowess, and firmly bound by his humanity those who had been conquered by his arms. In memory of the

conflict at Paulus's Hook, nineteenth of August, 1779."

* This vicinity was the scene of many stirring events during the Revolution. Near here was a severe skirmish between a detachment of General Heath's troops and some Hessians, on the seventeenth of January, 1777. It was the result of an attempt by the Americans to dislodge the Hessians from Fort Prince. A little west of the bridge, Tippet's brook flows into the Hudson. Following the course of the valley through which this creek passes, on a bright autumn morning in 1850, I reached the vale of Yonkers, and the Van Cortlandt mansion, a beautiful residence in the midst of a broad lawn and profusion of shrubbery. This was the quarters of a Hessian picket-guard in 1777, and here Washington and his staff dined in July, 1781, when the British pickets were driven beyond King's Bridge by Lincoln. North of the mansion is Vault Hill, where many of the Van Cortlandt family lie. Upon this hill those American troops were encamped whom Washington left to deceive Sir Henry Clinton, while he marched with the main army southward.



VAULT.

to assist La Fayette in Virginia (see page 213). On this estate, and a short distance from Vault Hill, is *Indian Field and Bridge*, the site of a severe engagement on the thirty-first of August, 1778, between British light troops and some Stockbridge Indians, under the chief, Nimham. Lieutenant-colonel Emmerick, while patrolling in that direction, was attacked and driven back, when he met Simcoe coming to his relief. Emmerick was sent back to take post so as to cover an attack upon the Americans in flank and rear, but on his way fell into an ambush by the Indians. While fighting, Simcoe and Tarleton advanced, and a hot conflict ensued. The Indians fought bravely, but were at last obliged to give way. A body of American light infantry, under Stewart (distinguished at Stony Point), were engaged in the skirmish, but escaped. Nimham and about forty of his sixty braves perished.—Simcoe's *Journal*, page 63. "The scene of the conflict," says Bolton, "lies on the land of the late Frederick Brown, now (1846) occupied by his widow."



VAN CORTLANDT'S.

ments of the two armies were occupying their relative positions, many skirmishes took place, especially between the Americans and corps of Loyalists, formed under various leaders. The latter traversed Lower West Chester, annoyed the American outposts and patrols, and distressed the inhabitants.¹

In the summer of 1777, Washington, believing the post at New York to be weak, because the main army of the British was in New Jersey and a large detachment was on

¹ One of the earliest, most influential, and efficient of the Loyalist leaders was Oliver Delancey, who, with his son Oliver, and nephew James, performed active service for the king in Lower West Chester. He was a brother of Chief Justice (also lieutenant governor) Delancey, and was a man of large property and great influence. He was a member of the King's Council before the Revolution; and at the beginning of hostilities, leaned rather to the popular side. Deprecating a separation from Britain, he espoused the royal cause after the Declaration of Independence went forth. He was commissioned a brigadier, and authorized to raise three battalions of Loyalists. This he finally effected. His son Oliver was commissioned a captain of horse in 1776; was present at the capture of General Woodhull; became major of the 17th regiment of dragoons; and, after Major André's death, was appointed adjutant general, with the commission of lieutenant colonel. At the close of the war General Delancey went to England, was elected a member of Parliament, and died at Beverly in 1785, at the age of sixty-eight years. His son Oliver accompanied him, and rose gradually to the rank of major general. At the time of his death he was almost at the head of the British army list. James, a nephew of General Delancey, commanded a battalion of horse in his uncle's brigade. Because of his activity in supplying the British army with cattle from the farms of West Chester, his troopers were called *Cow-boys*. Sir William Draper, "the conqueror of Manilla," married General Delancey's daughter. The Confiscation Act of the New York Legislature swept away the largest portion of the Delancey estate in America.*

* Many attempts were made to destroy or disperse the Delancey Loyalists. On the twenty-fifth of January, 1777, some Americans attacked a block-house, erected by Delancey on the site of Mapes's Temperance House, at West Farms. Several of the guard were wounded, but none were killed or made prisoners. In the winter of 1779, Colonel Aaron Burr, with some Americans, attacked this block-house to destroy it. Provided with hand grenades, combustibles, and short ladders, about forty volunteers approached cautiously, at two o'clock in the morning, and cast their missiles into the fort, through the port-holes. Soon the block-house was on fire in several places, and the little garrison surrendered without firing a shot. A few escaped. A corp of Delancey's battalions occupied the house of Colonel Lewis G. Morris, at Morrisania, for a short time. They were attacked there on the fifth of August, 1779, by some of Weedon's and Moylan's horse, a detachment from Glover's brigade, and some militia. Fourteen Loyalists were made prisoners. These attacks becoming frequent, Delancey was compelled to make his head-quarters at the house now owned by Mr. Samuel Archer, in the vicinity of the High Bridge, where he was under the guns of fort No. 8, one of the redoubts mentioned on page 825, cast up by the British to cover the landing of their troops on the morning of the attack upon Fort Washington.

Near the entrance to Mr. Archer's mansion was a building wherein Colonel Hatfield had his quarters in January, 1780, when he was attacked by some levies and volunteers from Horseneck and Greenwich. The assault was made at one o'clock in the morning. Unable to dislodge the enemy, the assailants fired the house. Some escaped after leaping from the windows; the colonel and eleven others were made prisoners.

In May, 1780, Captain Cushing, of the Massachusetts line, guided by Michael Dyckman, surprised Colonel James Delancey's corps near No. 8. He captured over forty of the corps; the colonel was absent. Cushing retreated, followed some distance by a large number of Yagers and others. In January, 1781, Lieutenant-colonel Isaac Hull (General Hull of the war of 1812-14), who was in command of a detachment of troops in advance of the American lines, successfully attacked Colonel Oliver Delancey at Morrisania, with three hundred and fifty men. Hull surrounded the Loyalists, forced a narrow passage to their camp, took more than fifty prisoners, cut away a bridge, burned several huts and a quantity of stores, and retreated to camp, closely pursued. A covering party, under Colonel Hazen, attacked the pursuers, and killed and captured about thirty-five more. Hull lost twenty-six men in killed and wounded.

At sunrise on the fourth of March, 1783, Captain Hunneywell and a body of cavalry, having a covering party of infantry under Major Woodbridge, entered Delancey's camp at Morrisania, dispersed the Loyalists, and killed and wounded several. Others in the neighborhood were collected and pursued Hunneywell, when they fell into an ambush formed by Woodbridge, and were driven back. In this skirmish Abraham Dyckman was killed.

At Jefferd's Neck, in the township of West Farms, Colonel Baremore, a notorious Tory marauder, was captured by Colonel Armand (see page 466) on the night of November 7th, 1779. Baremore was at "the Graham Mansion," which stood on the site of the house of William H. Leggett, Esq., and with five others was made a prisoner. The Graham family were dispossessed of their house, to make room for British officers. When Colonel Fowler, who last occupied it, was about to leave, it was fired, and consumed while that officer and his friends were eating dinner in a grove near by. That night Colonel Fowler was mortally wounded while leading a marauding party in East Chester. On another occasion, Armand marched down from Croton to the vicinity of Yonkers, below Cortlandt's house, made a furious charge, with his cavalry, upon a camp of Yagers, and captured or killed almost the whole party.

The ancestor of the American Delanceys (De Landt) was Etienne, or Stephen, a Huguenot, who came to New York in 1681. He was descended from a noble French family, known in history in the sixteenth century. He married Ann Van Cortlandt, and became active in public affairs. The chief justice and the general were his sons. Another son, James, married a daughter of Caleb Heathcote, lord of the Manor of Scarsdale. James's third son was the father of William Heathcote Delancey, D.D., the present Protestant bishop of the diocese of Western New York.

The seat of General Oliver Delancey was upon the Bronx, opposite the village of West Farms, three miles from the mouth of that stream. There he had extensive mills, which are now the property of Mr. Philip M. Lydig. The old mansion, where British officers were so often entertained, was destroyed by fire several years ago. He owned another residence at Bloomingdale, on York Island, which was burned on the night of the twenty-fifth of November, 1777. It is supposed to have been fired by some daring Whigs, in retaliation for the burning of some houses in the vicinity of Yonkers, by the Tories.

Operations near King's Bridge.

Valentine's Hill and its Associations.

Rhode Island, ordered General Heath to approach King's Bridge, and if circumstances appeared to promise success, to attack the fortifications there. The withdrawal of troops from New Jersey or Rhode Island, if not the possession of New York, were hoped for results. Heath advanced, and summoned Fort Independence, on Tetard's Hill, to surrender. The commandant refused, and while preparing for attack, Heath received intelligence of movements in the East, which made it prudent to withdraw and watch his Highland camp and fortifications. In the succeeding autumn, Sir Henry Clinton captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and Kingston was destroyed. Several months before, a British detachment had destroyed stores at Peekskill (see page 173), and Tryon had desolated Danbury and vicinity.¹ These events, which have already been considered, directed the attention of Washington more to the security of the Highlands than offensive operations against New York.

After the battle at Monmouth,^a and the retreat of the British army to New York, Knyphausen again took command near King's Bridge, with his quarters at Morris's house. The Queen's Rangers, under Simcoe, and other Loyal corps, a troop of light horse under Emmerick, and Delancey's battalions, now became active in patrolling Lower West Chester. To oppose their incursions, General Charles Scott, of Virginia, with quite a strong force, took post on the Greenburg Hills, and extended his left toward New Rochelle. Sometimes he advanced as far as Valentine's Hill,^a and the foraging parties of the enemy were kept in check. Frequent skirmishes occurred, and the most vigilant and wary were the most successful.

When the French army, marching from New England in the summer of 1781, approached the Hudson, Washington was informed that a large detachment of British troops had left New York for a marauding incursion into New Jersey. Washington had long cherished a desire to drive the enemy from New York Island, and now there appeared to be a favorable opportunity to strike the garrison at King's Bridge and vicinity. Arrangements were made to begin the attack on the night of the second of July,^b believing

¹ See page 403, volume i.

^a Valentine's Hill, rising on the west of the beautiful vale of Mile Square (a favorite camp-ground for all parties during the war), affords some of the most charming prospects in West Chester. It is upon the road leading from Yonkers to the Hunt's Bridge Station, on the Harlem rail-way. From its summit the rough hills and cultivated valleys of that region are seen spread out like a panorama, and the eye catches glimpses of the Palisades on the Hudson, and the more distant varieties of feature displayed by Long Island Sound and the villages upon its borders. Southward, stretching away toward King's Bridge, is the beautiful vale, sparkling with Tippet's Brook, famous in the annals of West Chester for deeds of valor in partisan warfare. When I visited this region in 1850, Miss Elizabeth Valentine, aged eighty-three, was yet living there with the present owner of the farm, Elijah Valentine. She well remembers being caressed by Washington, and afterward frightened by the fierce-looking Highlanders and Hessians. The dwelling of the Revolution stood a little northwest of the present mansion.*

* On the summit of Valentine's Hill intrenchments were cast up in the summer of 1776, and here Washington was encamped a few days before the battle at White Plains. Here Sir William Erskine was encamped with a detachment of British troops in January, 1778; and in the autumn, a few weeks before he sailed to attack Savannah, Sir Archibald Campbell was here with the 71st regiment of Highlanders. During the whole war, Colonel James Delancey kept recruiting officers at Mile Square; and in this vicinity Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers, often traversed, and sometimes penetrated to the Croton River. Heath says that on the sixteenth of September, 1782, foragers, with a covering party five or six thousand strong, accompanied by Sir Guy Carleton, and the young prince William Henry, made an incursion as far as Valentine's Hill. After this, the vicinity was abandoned by the military, and then the lawless marauders of that region harassed the people. *Prince Charles's Redoubt* and *Negro Fort* were on the east side of Valentine's Hill.

On the second of July, 1779, a skirmish occurred in Poundridge between a portion of the corps of Sheldon and Tarleton. The British were repulsed, and, while retreating, set fire to the meeting-house and Major Lockwood's dwelling. The chief object of Tarleton was the capture of Lockwood. The Americans lost eighteen in wounded and missing, and twelve horses. On the thirtieth of August, a skirmish occurred near Tarrytown, between some of Sheldon's horse, under Captain Hopkins, and part of Emmerick's corps. The latter were led into an ambuscade, and suffered terribly. Twenty-three of his men were killed, and the remainder were dispersed. Hopkins, while pursuing Emmerick, was in turn surprised by riflemen, and was obliged to retreat toward Sing Sing, across Sleepy Hollow Creek. In Beekman's woods Hopkins wheeled, captured two or three of his pursuers, and retreated in good order to Sing Sing. Near Crompond, Rochambeau encamped with his army in 1781. The spot is still known as *French Hill*. Remains of some of his ovens may be seen at the present time. On the third of February, 1780, a patrol of the enemy, horse and foot, attacked Lieutenant Thompson, who was stationed at *The Four Corners*. He was defeated, with a loss of thirteen killed and seventeen wounded. Thompson, six other officers, and eighty-nine rank and file, were made prisoners.

Rochambeau would arrive by that time. A part of the plan was to cut off Delancey's light troops along the Harlem River. This enterprise was intrusted to the Duke De Lauzun, then approaching, to whose legion Sheldon's dragoons and some Continental troops,

David Waterbury

under Colonel Waterbury, were to be attached. On the night of the first of July, a strong detachment, under General

Lincoln, went down the river from Tappan, in boats with muffled oars, and landed half a mile below the village of Yonkers,¹ upon the land now owned by Thomas W. Ludlow, Esq.² Lincoln marched cautiously over the hills to Tippet's Brook, unobserved by Emmerick, who, with his light horse, was patrolling toward Boar Hill. Also avoiding Pruschanek's corps, stationed upon Cortlandt's Bridge, Lincoln reached the house of Montgomery, near King's Bridge, before dawn, where he was discovered and fired upon by the enemy's pickets. Delancey, at fort No. 8, ever on the alert, heard the firing, and retreated in time for safety, for Lauzun had not approached by West Farms as was intended. Washington had advanced to Valentine's Hill, and when he heard the firing he pressed forward to the aid of Lincoln. The British troops immediately fell back, and withdrew behind their works, near King's Bridge. Lincoln ascertained that the detachment had returned from New Jersey; that the British were re-enforced by some fresh troops; that a large party was on the north end of the island, and that a ship of war was watching at the mouth of the creek, near King's Bridge. In view of these difficulties, Washington withdrew to Dobbs's Ferry, where he was joined by Rochambeau on the sixth, and both armies were soon on their way to Virginia to capture Cornwallis. No other military operations of importance took place in this vicinity until the passage of King's Bridge by American troops in the autumn of 1783, when the British were about to evacuate New York.

Stretching away eastward beyond the Sound, is Long Island, all clustered with historical associations. Almost every bay, creek, and inlet witnessed the whale-boat warfare while

¹ Yonkers is an old settlement on the Hudson, at the mouth of the Nepera or Saw-mill River, about four miles north of King's Bridge. Here was



PHILLIPSE MANOR-HOUSE.

the later residence of the wealthy proprietor of the Phillipse manor, and here is the spacious stone manor-house where, on one of his rent days, the *patroon* feasted his friends and tenantry. Its exterior is plain, but the interior displays rich wainscotings and cornices, and elaborately wrought chimney-pieces. Here, on the third of July, 1730, Mary Phillipse was born; she was the young lady of whom Washington became enamored (see pages 141, 816) in 1756. She is represented as a beautiful and accomplished woman. She was attainted of treason, and the whole Phillipse estate was confiscated. It is believed that

she and her sister (Mrs. Robinson), and the wife of Reverend Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity church, in New York, were the only females who suffered attainder during the war. They were guilty of no crime but attachment to the fortunes of their husbands. The last lord of the manor was Colonel Frederick Phillipse, who died in England in 1785.

Upon Locust Hill, the high eminence eastward of the manor-house, the American troops were encamped in 1781, when Rochambeau was approaching. Near the eastern base of Boar Hill, a short distance from the village, was the parsonage of Reverend Luke Babcock, occupied by his widow. There Colonel Gist was stationed in 1778, and was attacked by a combined force under Simcoe, Emmerick, and Tarleton. After traversing the vale of Yonkers, they approached at separate points to surround the American camp. The vigilant Gist discovered their approach and escaped. Some of his cavalry were dispersed by Tarleton, his huts were burned, and forage was carried off. At about the same time, Simcoe captured Colonel Thomas near White Plains, whose house he surrounded. In the same neighborhood Captain Sackett was captured (December 4th, 1781), and his command left with Lieutenant Mosher. That brave officer, with eighteen men, beat back and repulsed seventy men, under Captain Kip. The captain was badly wounded. In front of Yonkers, a naval engagement occurred in 1777, between the British frigates *Rose* and *Phoenix*, and American gun-boats. The latter had a tender filled with combustibles, in tow, with which they intended to destroy the British vessels. After the exchange of several shots, the gun-boats were compelled to seek shelter in the mouth of the Saw-mill or Nepera River.

² Bolton.



Operations upon Lloyd's Neck.

Simcoe's Fortified Camp at Oyster Bay.

the British occupied the island.¹ In its swamps and broad forests partisan scouts lurked and ambushed, and almost every fertile field was trodden by the depredator's foot. Local historians have made the record in detail; we will only glance at two or three of the most important military operations there, in which Major Benjamin Tallmadge was the chief leader.²

On the fifth of September, 1779, Major Tallmadge proceeded from Shipan Point, near Stamford, Connecticut, with one hundred and thirty of his light dragoons, dismounted, and at ten o'clock at night attacked five hundred Tory marauders, who were quite strongly intrenched upon Lloyd's Neck, on Long Island.³ The surprise was complete, and before morning he landed upon the Connecticut shore with almost the whole garrison as prisoners. He did not lose a man.



In the autumn of 1780, some Rhode Island Tory refugees took possession of the manor-house of General John Smith, at Smith's Point, fortified it and the grounds around it, and began cutting wood for the British army in New York.

¹ The expedition of Colonel Meigs against the enemy at Sag Harbor, and other exploits, will be noticed in the account of the whale-boat warfare, in the Supplement.

² Benjamin Tallmadge was born at Setauket, Long Island, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1754. He graduated at Yale College in 1773, and soon afterward took charge of a high school at Wethersfield. He entered a corps of Connecticut troops as lieutenant, in 1776, and was soon promoted to adjutant. He was one of the rear-guard when the Americans retreated from Brooklyn, and was in several of the principal battles in the Northern States during the war. His field of active exertions was chiefly in the vicinity of Long Island Sound. He had the custody of Major André from his arrest until his execution, and after that was actively employed against the enemy on Long Island. He was for a long time one of Washington's most esteemed secret correspondents. He retired from the army with the rank of colonel. He married the daughter of General William Floyd, of Mastic, in 1784. In 1800 he was elected a member of Congress from Connecticut, and served his constituents, in that capacity, for sixteen years. He died on the seventh of March, 1835, at the age of eighty-one years.

³ Lloyd's Neck is an elevated promontory between Oyster Bay and Huntington harbor. It was a strong position, and the fort covered the operation of wood-cutters for miles around. There the *Board of Associated Loyalists* established their head-quarters after their organization in December, 1780. This board was for the purpose of embodying such Loyalists as did not desire to enter military life as a profession, but were anxious to do service for the king. Governor William Franklin was president of the board, and in the course of 1781, they collected quite a little navy of small vessels in the Sound, and made Oyster Bay the place of general rendezvous.* Their chief operations were against the Whig inhabitants of Long Island and the neighboring shore, by which a spirit of retaliation was aroused that forgot all the claims of common humanity. The manifest mischief to the royal cause which this association was working, caused its dissolution at the close of 1781. In July of that year, Count Barras, then at Newport, detached three frigates, with two hundred and fifty land troops, to attack this post, then garrisoned by about eight hundred refugee Tories. The enterprise proved unsuccessful, and, after capturing some British marines in Huntington Harbor, returned to New York. The stockade on Lloyd's Neck was called *Fort Franklin*.

* Oyster Bay was an important point during the British occupation of the island. Sheltered from the Sound by a large island, it afforded a secure place for small vessels, and the fertile country around supplied ample forage. It was the head-quarters of Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe with the Queen's Rangers (three hundred and sixty in number), who made the village of Oyster Bay his cantonment during the winter of 1778-'9. He arrived there on the nineteenth of November, 1778, and immediately commenced fortifying his camp. He constructed a strong redoubt upon an eminence toward the west end of the town, now (1851) the property of the Rev. Marmaduke Earle. The ditch and embankments are yet very prominent. This work was capacious enough for seventy men, and completely commanded the bay. These preparations were made chiefly because General Parsons was encamped on the Connecticut shore with about two thousand militia, and controlled a large number of whale-boats. Oyster Bay was made the central point of operations in this quarter. According to Simcoe's account, great vigilance was necessary during the winter, to prevent a surprise. For a sketch and explanation of Simcoe's camp at Oyster Bay, see the next page. Simcoe made his quarters at the house of Samuel Townsend, who was a member of the Provincial Assembly of New York in 1776, and there Major André and other young officers of the army often visited. His daughter, Miss Sarah



TOWNSEND'S.

Townsend, was then about sixteen years of age, and very attractive in person and manner. She was the toast of the young officers, and on Valentine's day, 1779, Simcoe presented her with a poetical address in laudation of her charms. This production may be found in Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents of Long Island*, i., 215. Miss Townsend died in December, 1842, at the age of eighty years. The dwelling now belongs to her grand-niece, Mrs. Sarah T. Thorne.

Capture of Fort George.

Destruction of Stores at Corum.

Capture of Fort Slongo.

Badge of Military Merit.

At the solicitation of General Smith, and with the approval of Washington, Major Tallmadge proceeded to dislodge them. They had named their fortress Fort George, and appeared too strongly intrenched to be in fear.¹ Tallmadge crossed the Sound from Fairfield with eighty dismounted dragoons, and landed in the evening at *Old Man's*, now Woodville.² On account ^{Nov. 21, 1780.} of a storm, he remained there until the next night, when, accompanied by Heathcote Muirson, he marched toward Fort George. At the mills, about two miles from the fort, he procured a faithful guide,³ and at dawn he and his gallant soldiers burst through the stockade on the southwestern side, rushed across the parade, and, shouting "Washington and Glory!" they furiously assailed the redoubt upon three sides. The garrison surrendered without resistance. At that moment a volley was fired from the upper windows of the mansion. The incensed Americans burst open the doors, and would have killed every inmate, had not Major Tallmadge interfered.

Having secured his prisoners (three hundred in number), demolished the fort, and burned vessels lying at the wharf, laden with a great amount of stores, Tallmadge set out on his return at sunrise. On his way, leaving his corps in command of Captain Edgar, he proceeded with ten or twelve men to Corum, and there, after overpowering the guard, they destroyed three hundred tons of hay collected for the British army in New York. He arrived at Fairfield with his prisoners early in the evening, without losing a man. This brilliant exploit drew from Washington a very complimentary letter, and from Congress a gratifying resolution.⁴

At Treadwell's Neck, near Smithtown, a party of Tory wood-cutters (one hundred and fifty in number) erected a military work, which they called Fort Slongo. This Major Tallmadge determined to assail. On the evening of the ninth of October, 1781, he embarked one hundred and fifty of his dismounted dragoons, under Major Trescott, at the mouth of the Saugatuck River. They landed at four o'clock the next morning, and at dawn assailed the fort. Some resistance was made, when the garrison yielded, and Trescott was victorious without losing a man. He destroyed the block-house and two iron four-pounders, made twenty-one prisoners, and carried off a brass three pounder, the colors of the fort, seventy stand of arms, and a quantity of ammunition.⁵

Samuel Trescott

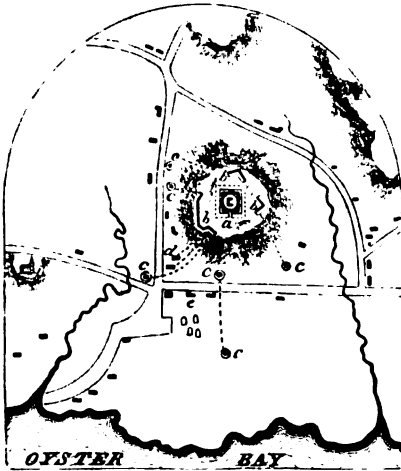
EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE PLAN OF OYSTER BAY ENCAMPMENT.—a, redoubt; b b b, fleches; c c c c c, quarters separately fortified; d, quarters of the Hussars; e, Townsend's house, Simcoe's quarters.

¹ This fort was upon Smith's Point, a beautiful and fertile promontory projecting into South Bay, at Mattit. It commands a fine view of the bay, and the village of Bellport. The property now belongs to the sons of General Smith. The fort consisted of a triangular inclosure of several acres of ground, at two angles of which was a strong barricaded house, and at the third was a strong redoubt, ninety-six feet square, with bastions, a deep ditch, and abatis. Between the houses and the fort were stockades twelve feet in height. It was embraured for six guns; two only were mounted. This fort was intended as a depository of stores for the Tories of Suffolk county.—Onderdonk, ii., 96; Thompson, 289.

² This guide was William Booth, who resided near the mills. Mrs. Smith was also there, having been driven from her home. When Tallmadge informed her that he might be compelled to destroy her house, she at once said, "Do it and welcome, if you can drive out those Tories." The position of the house is seen in the diagram, at the top of the triangle. The dotted lines indicate the line of march in the attack. When I visited the spot in 1851, the lines of the fort might be distinctly traced northwestward of the mansion of the present occupant.

³ In this enterprise as well as at Fort George, Sergeant Elijah Churchill, of the 2d regiment of dragoons, behaved so gallantly, that Washington rewarded him with the badge of military merit.*

* Washington established honorary badges of distinction in August, 1781. They were to be conferred upon non-commissioned



British occupation of New York City.

Residences of several of the Officers.

Prisons and Hospitals.

Every where eastward of Hempstead minor events of a similar character, but all having influence in the progress of the Revolution, were almost daily transpiring.

Let us now follow the British army into the city, and take a brief survey of the closing events of the war.

When the British felt themselves firmly seated on Manhattan Island after the fall of Fort Washington, they leisurely prepared for permanent occupation. General Robertson immediately strengthened the intrenchments across the island from Corlaer's Hook, erected barracks along the line of Chambers Street from Broadway to Chatham, and speedily placed the army in comfortable winter quarters. Nearly all of the Whig families whose means permitted them had left the city, and their deserted houses were taken possession of by the officers of the army and refugee Loyalists.¹ The dissenting churches were generally devoted to military purposes,² and the spacious sugar-houses, then three in number, were made prisons for the American captives, when the cells of the City Hall and the provost prison were full.³ Looking with contempt upon the rebels in field and council, the British felt no anxiety for their safety, and every pleasure that could be procured was freely indulged in by the army. A theatre was established, tennis courts and other kinds of amusements were prepared, and for seven years the city remained a prey to the licentiousness of strong and idle detachments of a well-provided army.

This was the head-quarters of British power in America during that time, and here the most important schemes for operations against the patriots, military and otherwise, were planned and put in motion. The municipal government was overthrown, martial law prevailed, and the business of the city degenerated almost into the narrow operations of suttlng.



MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH.

¹ Sir Henry Clinton occupied No. 1 Broadway, and Sir William Howe the dwelling adjoining it. Toward the close of the war, Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) also occupied No. 1. General Robertson resided first in William, near John Street, and afterward in Hanover Square. Knyphausen, when in the city, occupied Verplanck's house in Wall Street, near the Bank of New York, where also Colonel Birch, of the dragoons, resided. Admiral Digby and other naval officers, and also Prince William Henry (afterward William the Fourth of England), when here, occupied the city mansion of Gerardus Beekman, on the northwest corner of Sloat Lane and Hanover Square. Admiral Rodney occupied a house, now 256 Pearl Street, and Cornwallis's residence was three doors below it. Carleton's country residence was the mansion at Richmond Hill, corner of Varick and Charlton Streets, long the property of Colonel Aaron Burr. Admiral Walton occupied his own house (yet standing in Pearl Street, number 326, opposite the publishing house of HARPER AND BROTHERS), and there he dispensed generous hospitality.

² The Middle Dutch church (now the city post-office), on Nassau, Liberty, and Cedar Streets, was converted into a riding-school, where the British cavalry were taught lessons in horsemanship. The French Protestant church (Du St. Esprit), built by the Huguenots in 1704, near the corner of Pine and Nassau Streets, and the North Dutch church, corner of William and Fulton Streets, were converted first into prisons and then into hospitals. The quaint old church edifice which stood on the corner of William and Frankfort Streets until 1851 (when it was demolished, and a large hotel was placed upon its site), was a hospital for the Hessians,



FRENCH CHURCH



HESSIAN HOSPITAL.

and all around the borders of the swamp close by, many of the poor Germans were buried.

³ These, and the events connected with them, will be noticed under the head of "Prisons and Prison-Ships," in the Supplement.

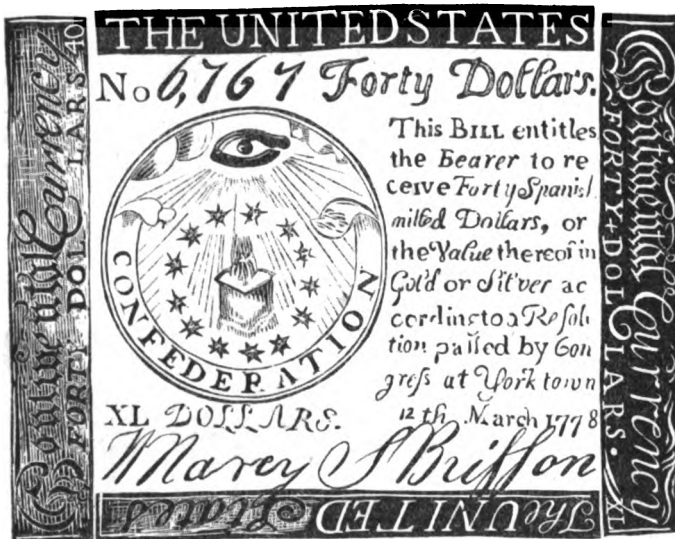
ed officers and soldiers who had served three years with bravery, fidelity, and good conduct, and upon every one who should perform any singularly meritorious action. The badge entitled the recipient "to pass and repass all guards and military posts as fully and as any commissioned officer whatever." A board of officers for making such awards was established, and upon their recommendation the commander-in-chief presented the badge. The board, in Churchill's case, consisted of Brigadier-General Greston, president; Colonel Charles Stewart, Lieutenant-colonel Sprout, Major Nicholas Fish (father of ex-governor Fish, of New York), and Major Trescott. The MS. proceedings of the minutes of the board on this occasion are in the possession of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City.

Counterfeit Continental Bills.

Expedition to Staten Island.

Second great Fire in New York.

Here many petty depredating expeditions were planned; and from Whitehall many a vessel departed with armed troops to distress the inhabitants of neighboring provinces,¹ or with



COUNTERFEIT CONTINENTAL BILL.

secret emissaries to discover the weakness of patriot camps, to encourage disaffection in the Republican ranks, and, by the circulation of spurious paper money² and lying proclamations, to disgust the people and win their allegiance to the crown. A record of the stirring incidents of the armed occupation of New York would fill a volume.³ It tempts the pen by many allurements, but I must leave the pleasure of such a task to the local historian, and hasten to a considera-

¹ We have already noticed most of these expeditions. Staten Island was held by the British during their occupancy of New York, and several schemes were planned to expel them. In the summer of 1777, the British force on the island amounted to between two and three thousand men, nearly one half of whom were Loyalists. General Sullivan, with Colonel Ogden of New Jersey, and a part of the brigades of Smallwood and Deborre (see page 381), crossed from Elizabethtown before daylight on the twenty-second of August. Two of the Tory parties, commanded by Colonels Lawrence and Barton, stationed near the present Factoryville, were surprised, and

eleven officers and one hundred and thirty privates were made prisoners. Wanting a sufficient number of boats to convey the captives, a party of British attacked Sullivan's rear-guard, and made many of them prisoners. The whole loss of the Americans was three officers and ten privates killed, fifteen wounded, and nine officers and one hundred and twenty-seven privates made prisoners. General Campbell, who commanded the British on the island, reported two hundred and fifty-nine prisoners. It was during the cold month of January, 1780 ("the hard winter"), that Lord Stirling went on an expedition against the British on Staten Island. It was a re-enforcement of troops after this attack (see page 311, volume i.) that crossed the bay of New York, with heavy cannons, upon the ice.

² Among other schemes for annoying the Americans, and casting discredit upon Congress, the British resorted to the issue of "cart loads" of counterfeit Continental bills, so as to depreciate the currency. This fact is alluded to on page 318, volume i. It was no secret at the time, as appears by an advertisement* in Gaine's *New York Mercury*, April 14th, 1777. For two or three years these bills were circulated extensively, and doubtless had great effect in depreciating the Continental money. Francis, in his *History of the Bank of England*, ii., 79-80, says, that Premier Pitt, the younger, resorted to a similar trick, by causing a large number of French assignats to be forged at Birmingham, to depreciate the currency of the French Republic. Napoleon also caused forged notes of the Austrian Bank to be distributed throughout the Austrian Tyrol.

³ A second great conflagration in the city, during the British occupation, occurred on Saturday night, the seventh of August, 1778. It commenced at Cruger's Wharf, Coenties Slip, and before it was subdued three hundred houses were consumed. The next day was excessively hot, and at noon, while the smoke of the smouldering fire was yet rising from the ruins, a heavy thunder-storm burst over the city. At about one o'clock, while raging at its height, the city was shaken as if by an earthquake, and suddenly a column of dense smoke arose in the east and spread over the town. Tiles were shaken from the roofs of houses,

* "ADVERTISEMENT.—Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeited Congress notes, for the price of the paper per ream. They are so neatly and exactly executed, that there is no risk in getting them off, it being almost impossible to discover that they are not genuine. This has been proven by bills to a very large amount which have already been successfully circulated. Inquire of Q. E. D., at the Coffee-house, from 11 A. M. to 4 P. M., during the present month."

Treaties for Peace. The Continental Army. Congress at Princeton. Mutiny. Washington's Circular Letter.

tion of the final evacuation of the city by the British army, and the parting of Washington with his officers.

After protracted negotiations for a year and a half, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris^a between American and English commissioners. A provisional treaty had been signed about nine months previously,^b and in the mean while preparations for a final adjustment of the dispute had been made. On account of the pecuniary embarrassments of Congress, the arrearages of pay due to the soldiers, and the prospect of a dissolution of the army without a liquidation of those claims, general gloom and discontent prevailed. We have seen its alarming manifestation at Newburgh in the spring of 1783 (see page 106), and, though suppressed, it was never entirely subdued. It required all the personal influence and sagacity of Washington to keep the remnant of the Continental army in organization until the final evacuation of the British in the autumn of that year, and when that event took place the Republican troops were a mere handful.¹

In August, Washington was called to attend upon Congress, then sitting at Princeton.² He left General Knox in command of the little army at Newburgh and vicinity, and, with Mrs. Washington and a portion of his military family, he made his residence at Rocky Hill, near the Millstone River, about four miles from Princeton, where he remained until November, when he joined Knox and the remnant of the Continental army at West Point, preparatory to entering the city of New York.⁴



WASHINGTON'S QUARTERS.³

and crockery was broken in some houses at Franklin Square. The shock was occasioned by the explosion of the magazine of a powder vessel lying in the East River, which was struck by lightning. The vessel had just arrived from England, and the event was regarded as a special interposition of Providence in behalf of the Americans.—See Dunlap, ii., 164.

¹ The number of soldiers furnished for the Continental army by each state, during the war, was as follows: New Hampshire, 12,497; Massachusetts, 67,907; Rhode Island, 5,908; Connecticut, 31,939; New York, 17,781; New Jersey, 10,726; Pennsylvania, 25,678; Delaware, 2,386; Maryland, 13,912; Virginia, 26,678; North Carolina, 7,263; South Carolina, 6,417; Georgia, 2,679. Total, 231,791.

² The cause of the assembling of Congress at Princeton was the violent spirit manifested by some of the Continental troops of the Pennsylvania line. These had marched in a body (June 21), three hundred in number, surrounded the State House, where Congress was in session, and, after placing guards at the door, demanded action for redress of grievances, within the space of twenty minutes, at the peril of having an enraged soldiery let in upon them. Congress was firm; declared that body had been grossly insulted, and resolved to adjourn to Princeton, where the members assembled on the twenty-sixth. As soon as Washington was informed of this mutiny, he sent General Robert Howe, with fifteen hundred men, to quell it. He soon quieted the disturbance. Some who were found guilty on trial were pardoned by Congress.

³ This is a view of the southwest front of the mansion. The room occupied by Washington is in the second story, opening out upon the piazza. It is about eighteen feet square, and in one corner is a Franklin stove like that delineated on page 328, volume i. The situation of the house, upon an eminence an eighth of a mile eastward of the Millstone River, is very pleasant. It is now quite dilapidated; the piazza is unsafe to stand upon. The occupant, when I visited it in 1850, was Mr. James Striker Van Pelt.

⁴ A great portion of the officers and soldiers had been permitted during the summer to visit their homes on furlough, and on the eighteenth of October Congress virtually disbanded the Continental army, by discharging them from further service. Only a small force was retained, under a definite enlistment, until a peace establishment should be organized. These were now at West Point, under the command of General Knox. The proclamation of discharge, by Congress, was followed by Washington's farewell address to his companions in arms. He had already issued a circular letter (Newburgh, eighth of June, 1783) to the governors of all the states on the subject of disbanding the army. It was designed to be laid before the several State Legislatures. It is a document of great value, because of the soundness of its doctrines, and the weight and wisdom of its counsels. Four great points of policy constitute the chief theme of his communication, namely, *an indissoluble union of the states; a sacred regard for public justice; the organization of a proper peace establishment; and a friendly intercourse among the people of the several states, by which local prejudice might be effaced.* "These," he remarks, "are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported." No doubt this address had great influence upon the minds of the whole people, and made them yearn for that more efficient union which the Federal Constitution soon afterward secured.

British prepare to Evacuate New York. Washington's Farewell Address to the Army. The Evacuation. Clinton and Knox.

On the seventh of August,¹ Sir Guy Carleton, then in chief command of the British army, received instructions to evacuate the city of New York. This event was delayed in order to make arrangements for the benefit of the Loyalists in the city and state,² and it was not until late in October when Carleton notified Washington of his



Guy Carleton

Guy Carleton

determination to leave our shores. On the second of November, Washington issued his "*Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States*" from Rocky Hill, and on the fourteenth of the same month he conferred with Governor Clinton,³ and made arrangements to enter and take possession of the city. Clinton issued an appropriate proclamation on the fifteenth, and summoned the officers of the civil government to meet him in council at East Chester. A day or two afterward, Washington, Clinton, and Carleton held a conference at Dobbs's Ferry (see page 195), and the twenty-fifth was fixed upon as the time for the exodus of the British troops. Both parties adopted measures for the preservation of order on the occasion. On the morning of that day—a cold, frosty, but clear and brilliant morning—the American troops, under General Knox,⁴ who had come down from West Point and encamped at Harlem, marched to the Bowery Lane, and halted at the present junction of Third Avenue and the Bowery. There they remained until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British left their posts in that vicinity and marched to Whitehall.⁵ The

¹ The Loyalists, fearful of meeting with unpleasant treatment from the irritated Americans, prepared to leave the country in great numbers, and flee to the British province of Nova Scotia. The delay in question was in consequence of a want of a sufficient number of transports to convey these people and their effects. A further notice of the Loyalists will be found in the Supplement.

² This, like his letter to the governors, was an able performance. After affectionately thanking his companions in arms for their devotedness to him through the war, and for their faithfulness in duty, he gave them sound and wise counsel respecting the future, recommending them, in a special manner, to support the principles of the Federal government, and the indissolubility of the union.

³ GEORGE CLINTON was born in Ulster county, New York, in 1739. He chose the profession of the law for his avocation. In 1768, he was elected to a seat in the Colonial Legislature, and was a member of the Continental Congress in 1775. He was appointed a brigadier in the army of the United States in 1776, and during the whole war was active in military affairs in New York. In April, 1777, he was elected governor and lieutenant governor, under the new Republican Constitution of the state, and was continued in the former office eighteen years. He was president of the convention assembled at Poughkeepsie to consider the Federal Constitution in 1788. He was again chosen governor of the state in 1801, and three years afterward he was elected Vice-president of the United States. He occupied that elevated position at the time of his death, which occurred at Washington City in 1812.

⁴ HENRY KNOX was born in Boston in 1750. He was educated at a common school, and at the age of twenty years commenced the business of bookseller in his native town. He was engaged in that vocation when the Revolutionary storm arose, and his sympathies were all with the patriots. He was a volunteer in the battle of Bunker Hill, and for this and subsequent services Congress commissioned him a brigadier, and gave him the command of the artillery department of the army, which he retained during the whole war. He was always under the immediate command of Washington, and was with him in all his battles. After the capture of Cornwallis, Congress commissioned him a major general. In 1785, he succeeded Lincoln in the office of Secretary of War, which position he held for eleven years, when he retired into private life. He died at Thomaston, Maine, in 1806, at the age of about fifty-six years. To General Knox is conceded the honor of suggesting that noble organization, the Society of the Cincinnati.

⁵ The British claimed the right of possession until noon of the day of evacuation. In support of this claim, Cunningham, the infamous provost marshal exercised his authority. Dr. Alexander Anderson, of New York, related to me an incident which fell under his own observation. He was then a lad ten years

Entrance of the Americans.

Parting of Washington with his Officers.

Rejoicings in New York.

American troops followed,¹ and before three o'clock General Knox took formal possession of Fort George amid the acclamations of thousands of emancipated freemen, and the roar of artillery upon the Battery.

FRAUNCE'S TAVERN.²

Washington repaired to his quarters at the spacious tavern of Samuel Fraunce, and there during the afternoon, Governor Clinton gave a public dinner to the officers of the army, and in the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated. Rockets shot up from many



Knox

private dwellings, and bonfires blazed at every corner. On Monday following,^a Governor Clinton gave an elegant entertainment to Luzerne (the French ambassador), General Washington, the principal officers of the State of New York and of the army, and more than a hundred other gentlemen.

La Luzerne

^a Dec. 1, 1783.

On Thursday^b the principal officers of the army yet remaining in service assembled at Fraunce's, to take a final leave of their beloved chief. The scene is described as one of great tenderness. Washington entered the room where they were all waiting, and taking a glass of wine in his hand, he said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he continued, "I can not come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." Knox, who stood nearest to him, turned and grasped his hand, and, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each, the commander-in-chief kissed him. This he did to each of his officers, while tears and sobs stifled utterance.^c Washington soon left the room, and passing through corps of light infantry,

^b Dec. 4

of age, and lived in Murray, near Greenwich Street. A man who kept a boarding-house opposite ran up the American flag on the morning of the twenty-fifth. Cunningham was informed of the fact, and immediately ordered him to take it down. The man refused, and Cunningham attempted to tear it down. At that moment the wife of the proprietor, a lusty woman of forty, came out with a stout broomstick, and beat Cunningham over the head so vigorously, that he was obliged to decamp and leave the "star-spangled banner" waving. Dr. Anderson remembers seeing the white powder fly from the provost marshal's wig.

¹ The troops entered the city from the Bowery, through Chatham Street, in the following order: 1. A corps of light dragoons. 2. Advanced guard of light infantry. 3. A corps of artillery. 4. A battalion of light infantry. 5. A battalion of Massachusetts troops. 6. Rear-guard.

Washington with his staff, and Governor Clinton and the state officers, soon afterward made a public entry, as follows: 1. The general and governor, with their suite, on horseback, escorted by a body of West Chester light horse, commanded by Captain Delavan. 2. The lieutenant governor and the members of the council for the temporary government of the Southern District of the state, four abreast. 3. Major-general Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast. 4. Citizens on horseback, eight abreast. 5. The speaker of the Assembly and citizens on foot, eight abreast.

The British army and the refugees who remained were all embarked in boats by three o'clock in the afternoon, and at sunset they were assembled upon Staten and Long Islands, preparatory to their final embarkation.* Before they left, the British flag was nailed to the flag-staff in Fort George, the cleets were knocked off, and the pole was greased so as to prevent ascent. New cleets were soon procured, a sailor-boy ascended as he nailed them on, and, taking down the British flag, placed the stripes and the stars there, while the cannons pealed a salute of thirteen guns.

² See note 1, page 796.

³ Gordon, iii., 377; Marshall, ii., 57. Only one of the participators in this interesting scene is now liv-

* The British left these two islands a few days afterward, and then the evacuation of the sea-board was complete. Western and northern frontier posts (Oswegatchie, Oswego, Niagara, Presque Isle, Sandusky, Detroit, Mackinaw, and others of less note) continued in the possession of British garrisons for some time afterward.

Washington's Departure for, and Journey to Annapolis.

His account current of Expenses.

Lady Washington.

he walked in silence to Whitehall, followed by a vast procession, and at two o'clock entered a barge to proceed to Paulus's Hook on his way to lay his commission at the feet of Congress, at Annapolis.¹ When he entered his barge, he turned to the people, took off his hat, and waved a silent adieu to the tearful multitude.

Washington remained a few days in Philadelphia, where he delivered in his accounts to the proper officers,² and then hastened, with his wife, to Annapolis, where he arrived on the evening of the ninth with ladies, among whom was Mrs. Washington.³ The members of Congress were seated



George Washington

teenth.⁴ The next day he informed Congress of his desire to resign his commission as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. That body resolved that it should be done at a public audience the following Tuesday,⁵ at meridian. The day was fine, and around the State House (see page 402) a great concourse was assembled. The little gallery of the Senate Chamber (see page 842) was filled

ing. That honored man is Major Robert Burnet, whose portrait may be found on page 118. Major Burnet commanded the rear-guard on the entrance of the American army into the city.

¹ Congress had adjourned to meet at Annapolis, in Maryland, on the twenty-sixth of November. A quorum was not present until Saturday, the thirteenth of December, when only nine states were represented.

² The account current of his expenditures for the public service during the war, rendered by Washington, was in his own handwriting. The total amount was about seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars.* The disbursements were for reconnoitering and traveling, secret intelligence service, and miscellaneous expenses. It will be remembered that Washington refused to receive any compensation for his own services.

³ Martha Dandridge was born in New Kent county, Virginia, in May, 1732. In 1749 she was married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, of New Kent, and settled with her husband on the bank of the Pamunky River, where she bore four children. Her husband died when she had arrived at the age of about twenty-five, leaving her in the possession of a large fortune. In 1758 she became acquainted with Colonel Washington, whose greatness was just budding, and whose fame had spread beyond Virginia. He became her suitor, and they were married. The exact period of their marriage has not been found on record; it is supposed to be in 1759. They removed to Mount Vernon soon after that event, and there was their home during the remainder of their lives. During the war for independence, she occasionally visited her husband in camp. Almost at the very hour of his great victory at Yorktown, a cloud came over her, for then her only surviving child expired. While Washington was President of the United States, Mrs. Washington presided with dignity in the mansion of the chief magistrate. The quiet of private life had more charms for her than the brilliancy of public greetings, and she joyfully sought the banks of the Potomac when her husband's second presidential term was ended. A little more than two years afterward, she was called to mourn his death.†



Mrs. Washington

* The pecuniary cost of the war, exclusive of the vast losses by the ravages of plantations, burning of houses and towns, plunder by Indians and the British soldiery, &c., &c., was not less than one hundred and seventy millions of dollars. Of this sum, Congress disbursed about two thirds; the remainder was spent by the individual states. It had been raised "by taxes under the disguise of a depreciating currency; by taxes directly imposed; by borrowing; and by running in debt."—See Hildreth's *History of the United States*, iii., 445.

† We have already noted (see page 425) the principal events in the public life of General Washington, until his appointment

Addresses to Washington.

Resignation of his Commission.

Thomas Mifflin.

and covered; the spectators were all uncovered.



Thos Mifflin

Washington entered, and was led to a chair by the venerable Secretary Thomson, when General Mifflin,¹ the president of Congress, arose and informed him that "the United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." The chief arose, and with great dignity and much feeling delivered a brief speech, and then handed his commission to the president. Mifflin received it, and made an eloquent reply.² When the whole business was closed, Washington and his lady set out for Mount Vernon, accompanied by the governor of Maryland and his suite, as far as South River. All the way from New York to Annapolis, and from thence to Mount Vernon, his progress was a triumphal march. He was escorted from place to place by mounted citizens and volunteer military corps, and was every where greeted with the most emphatic demonstrations of love and respect.³ For more than eight years he had served his country faithfully and efficiently. Now

In a little more than two years after the death of the illustrious chief, Mrs. Washington was stricken down by bilious fever, and was laid beside him in the family tomb at Mount Vernon. In marble sarcophagi their remains now lie together at that Mecca of many patriot pilgrims.

¹ Thomas Mifflin was born in Philadelphia in 1744. His ancestors were Quakers, and he was trained in all the strictness of the sect. He was educated for a merchant, and made a voyage to Europe while yet a lad. He entered public life in 1772, as representative of Philadelphia in the Colonial Assembly. He was a member of the first Continental Congress. He entered the military service; was with Washington at Cambridge, and in the spring of 1776 was commissioned a brigadier in the Continental army. He was made major general in February, 1777, and he continued in service during the war. In 1783 he was a representative in Congress, and in the autumn of that year was appointed its president. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1785, and in 1787 was in the convention which framed the Federal Constitution. He was elected the first governor of Pennsylvania under the provisions of that instrument, which office he filled nine years consecutively. By his personal exertions, he greatly assisted in quelling the "Whisky Insurrection" in 1794. Governor Mifflin retired from office in December, 1799, and on the twentieth of the following month he expired at Lancaster, at the age of fifty-six years.

² Washington spoke as follows: "MR. PRESIDENT,—The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination

³ Addresses were presented to him by the Legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; the American Philosophical Society, and the University of Pennsylvania; the citizens of towns in their corporate capacity, religious societies, and various incorporated associations.—*Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington*, viii., 502.

to the chief command of the Continental army. Throughout the preceding pages his public career during the war has been exhibited, and we will now only glance at his noble course subsequent to his resignation of office at Annapolis, and his retirement to Mount Vernon. Although a private citizen, he watched the progress of public affairs, during the critical period immediately succeeding the war, with great anxiety; and he was among the first to make efforts toward the organization of our government upon its present basis. He was elected the first chief magistrate under the Federal Constitution, and performed the duties of that office for eight consecutive years. He retired from the presidency in 1797. On the fourteenth of December, 1799, he expired at Mount Vernon, at the age of almost sixty-eight years. Washington was not a brilliant man. In the distinctive fields of oratory, military command, or civil government, he has had many superiors. His surpassing greatness consisted in the harmonious combination and solidity of all the powers of mind and body which constitute a man in highest perfection. It was this combination and solidity which made his career a brilliant one—it is the contemplation of his character from this point of view which makes the world bow with reverence before the amazing dignity of his name and deeds.

II.

H H H

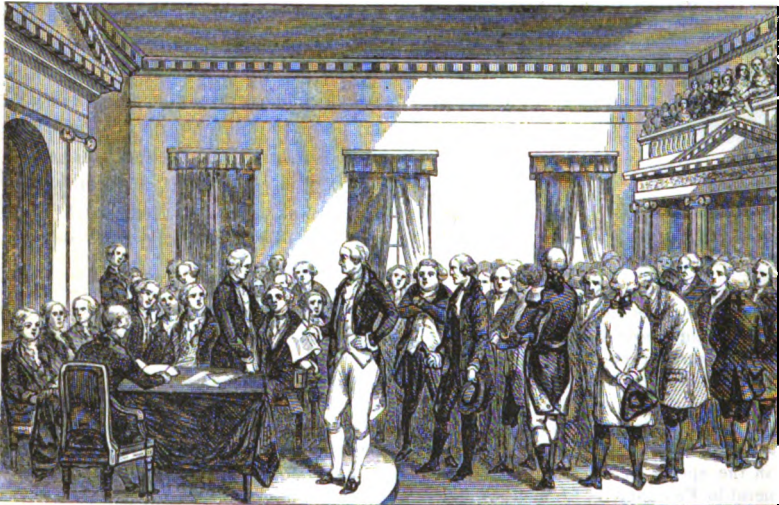
Addresses of Washington and Mifflin.

Conclusion.

that it was acknowledged free and independent, he crowned the glory of his patriotic devotion by resigning into the hands of his country's representatives the instrument of his power, and as a plain untitled citizen he sat down in peace in the midst of his family, on the banks of the Potomac.

Here, reader-companion, at the earthly dwelling-place of the PATER PATRIA, we will part company for a season. We have had a long, and, I trust, a pleasant and instructive journey, to the consecrated places of our Revolutionary History. Should time deal gently with us, we may again go out with staff and scrip together upon the great highway of our country's progress, to note the march of events there. Until then, adieu!

of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous



WASHINGTON RESIGNING HIS COMMISSION.

contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to

recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress. I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

President Mifflin replied: "SIR,—The United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and while it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, until these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; in which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens. But the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world can not give."

SUPPLEMENT.

I.

NAVAL OPERATIONS.

WITH an exposed coast many hundred miles in extent, and not a single armed vessel upon the waters, the American colonists boldly defied Great Britain, whose navy was then, as now, the right arm of its puissance. Although a few sons of wealthy planters and merchants had been schooled in the royal navy, and many American seamen had become somewhat expert in naval warfare, while opposing the French during twenty years antecedent to the Revolution, yet when the storm burst forth, and the wise men of the continent gathered together in council, they saw no efficient material for organizing a marine force, and so they directed all their earliest efforts toward the establishment and support of an army.

The battle at Lexington was the signal for British depredations along the New England coasts, and soon private vessels, manned with patriot volunteers, and armed as circumstances would allow, were seen in opposition. When intelligence of the affair at Lexington reached Machias, in Maine, where a British armed schooner (the *Margareta*) was engaged with two sloops in procuring lumber, a party of young men attempted her capture, while the officers were at church, on shore. They seized one of the sloops, chased the schooner out of the harbor, and after a severe conflict, compelled her to surrender. About twenty on each side were lost in this first naval engagement of the Revolution. The commander of the sloop was Jeremiah O'Brien.* He soon afterward captured two small English cruisers, made the crews prisoners, and took them to Watertown, where the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was in session. That body now turned attention to a coast marine, to intercept English transports bringing supplies for the British troops, and gave O'Brien a captain's commission, and employment in that service. In retaliation for his exploits, and others of a similar character, Admiral Graves sent an expedition to burn Falmouth (now Portland), in Maine.† This event led to the establishment of a Board of Admiralty by the government of Massachusetts, on the tenth of November, 1775.

Early in the autumn of 1775, the attention of the Continental Congress was directed to the subject of a navy. Before any definite action had been taken, Washington fitted out five or six armed vessels at Boston, and these were cruising on the New England coast as privateers.‡ On the thirtieth of October, Congress resolved that "a swift-sailing vessel, to carry ten carriage guns, and a proportionate number of swivels, with

eighty men," should be fitted out for a cruise of three months eastward, for the purpose of intercepting British transports. Another with fourteen guns, and a proportionate number of swivels and men, was ordered, and Silas Deane, John Langdon, and Christopher Gadsden, were appointed a committee to direct naval affairs. On the thirtieth of the same month, it was resolved to fit out two more vessels, one of twenty, and the other of thirty-six guns, and Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, Richard Henry Lee, and John Adams, were added to the naval committee. On the thirteenth of December Congress ordered the construction of thirteen additional vessels of war,* and the "Marine Committee," as it was termed, was increased so as to consist of one member from each colony, to be appointed by ballot.† This committee possessed very little executive power. Naval subjects were generally referred to it, when the committee examined them and reported thereon to Congress, where the administrative power was held. The committee appointed all officers below the rank of third lieutenant, and had the general control, under the immediate sanction of Congress, of all the naval operations. Want of professional skill made their duties very vexatious, and often inefficient. Congress finally resolved to select three persons well skilled in maritime affairs to execute the business of the navy, under the direction of the "Marine Committee,"‡ and these composed the "Continental Navy Board, or Board of Assistants to the Marine Committee," which remained in active operation until October, 1779, when a "Board of Admiralty" was established.§ This board consisted of "three commissioners not members of Congress, and two members of Congress; any three to form a board for the dispatch of business, to be subject, in all cases, to the control of Congress."¶ The board was allowed a secretary, and was delegated with powers sufficient for all practical purposes. Its head-quarters was at Philadelphia, the seat of the Federal government. An "Eastern Board" was also es-

* These were ordered to be built as follows: In Pennsylvania, the *Washington*, thirty-two guns; *Randolph*, thirty-two; *Effingham*, twenty-eight; *Delaware*, twenty-four, built at Philadelphia. In New Hampshire, *Raleigh*, thirty-two, built at Portsmouth. In Massachusetts, *Hancock*, thirty-two; *Boston* twenty-four, built at Boston. In Rhode Island, *Warren*, thirty-two; *Providence*, twenty-eight, built at Providence. In Maryland, *Virginia*, twenty-eight, built at Annapolis. In Connecticut, *Trumbull*, twenty-eight, built at New London. In New York, *Congress*, twenty-eight; *Montgomery*, twenty-four, built at Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson. During the war, Congress authorized the purchase, or the building and fitting out of between thirty and forty vessels, three of them of seventy-four guns.

† The following gentlemen composed the first general naval committee. Messrs. Bartlett, Hancock, Hopkins, Deane, Lewis, Crane, R. Morris, Read, Chase, R. H. Lee, Hewes, Gadsden, and Houstoun.—*Journals*, i, 373.

‡ John Nixon, John Wharton, and Francis Hopkinson were appointed, and each allowed a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year.

§ *Journals of Congress*, v, 377. The three commissioners were each allowed a yearly salary of fourteen thousand dollars, Continental money, equivalent, at that time, to about seven hundred dollars hard money. The nominal amount of this salary was to be varied according to the state of the paper currency. Their secretary was John Brown, whose name appears at-

* The honor of this enterprise belongs to Joseph Wheaton, a native of New York, then residing at Machias. He was an energetic young man of twenty years. He proposed the expedition, but modestly named O'Brien for commander. He was active in the whole affair, and in person seized the colors of the *Margareta*. † See page 506, volume i.

‡ Washington established the following rule for the division of prizes: A captain commander, six shares; first lieutenant, five; second lieutenant, four; surgeon, four; master, three; steward, two; mate, one and a half; gunner, one and a half; boatswain, one and a half; gunner's mate, one and a half; sergeant, one and a half; private, one. This method of distribution was confirmed by Congress on the twenty-fifth of November, 1775. On the ninth of December, Congress, by resolution, fixed the pay of naval officers as follows: midshipman, twelve dollars a month; armorer, fifteen dollars; sail-maker, twelve dollars; yeoman, nine dollars; quarter-master, nine dollars; quartermaster, eight dollars; cook, twelve dollars; coxswain, nine dollars. On the fifteenth of November, 1776, Congress fixed the pay of the officers of the navy as follows: of ships of ten to twenty guns, captain, forty-eight dollars a month; lieutenant, twenty-four dollars; master, twenty-four dollars; surgeon, twenty-one dollars sixty-six cents; midshipman, twelve dollars; gunner, thirteen dollars; seamen, eight dollars. Of ships of twenty guns and upwards, captain, sixty dollars a month; lieutenant, thirty dollars; master, thirty dollars; surgeon, twenty-five dollars; midshipman, twelve dollars; gunner, fifteen dollars; chaplain, twenty dollars; seamen, eight dollars. Commanders were allowed four and five dollars a week for subsistence; and lieutenants, surgeons, captains of marines, and chaplains, four dollars a week for subsistence when ashore.

John Brown

tached to all commissions issued during the active existence of the board. On the fourth of May, 1780, the board reported a device for an admiralty seal (see next page) as follows: thirteen bars, mutually supporting each other, alternate red and white, in a blue field, and surrounding an anchor proper. The motto, *Ship under sail*. The motto, *Sustentare et sustentari*—"Sustaining and Sustained." The legend, *U. S. A. Sign. Naval*. Twenty months earlier than this a committee was appointed to "prepare a seal for the Treasury and Navy." I have never seen an impression of the former, if it was ever made. The sketch of the admiralty seal given on the next page I made from an impression attached to a commission issued in 1781, and now in possession of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington City.

tablished, with an organization similar to the other, which was styled "The Board of the Middle District."

Another change in the administration of naval affairs appears to have occurred in 1781, when General James Reed was invested by Congress with full power to conduct the business of the "Middle Department;" and General Alexander M'Dougal was elected "Secretary of Marine." In August following, a general "Agent of Marine" was appointed, to act under the immediate direction of Congress, and in this capacity the name of Robert Morris is often found. Indeed, that distinguished financier appears to have had a general supervision of naval affairs, either directly or indirectly, during the whole war. Many privateers were fitted out by him on his own account, and his interest as well as his patriotism made him an efficient "Agent of Marine."

In November, 1776, Congress determined the relative rank of naval and military officers, as follows: *admiral*, as a *general*; *vice-admiral*, as *lieutenant general*; *rear-admiral*, as *major general*; *commodore*, as *brigadier general*; *captain* of a ship of forty guns and upward, as a *colonel*; *captain* of a ship of ten to twenty guns, as *major*; *lieutenant*, as *captain*.^a Congress also decided that the relative rank of naval commanders with each other should not be determined by the date of nomination or appointment previous to October, 1776, when such relative rank was fixed by that body for twenty-six officers then in the service. After that date the rank was determined by the date of the commission.

The avowed object of Congress in fitting out armed vessels was to intercept British transports having supplies for the

Congress, as well as provincial cruisers and privateers. In February,^a Commodore Esek Hopkins, with a small ^a 1777.



Esek Hopkins



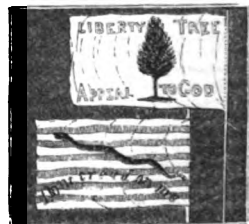
ADMIRALTY SEAL.

royal army in America. In this service they were very efficient, and a larger portion of ammunition, good arms, and military stores were thus obtained by the patriots during the first three years of the war. The chief theater of operations in 1776 was in the waters of the New England coast, yet some important movements were made southward by the vessels of

squadron,^a left the Delaware to operate against the fleet of Lord Dunmore, then on the Virginia coast. At the same time, Captain Barry, a skillful ship-master of Baltimore, sailed in the same direction with the *Lexington*.^f Hopkins proceeded further south, and made a descent upon the island of New Providence (one of the Bahamas), for the purpose of seizing a large quantity of ammunition and stores deposited there. He landed three hundred marines, under Captain Nichols, who took possession of the town (now Nassau), and made the governor (Brown)^g and a few others prisoners.^b March 2. The governor had sent away the powder, but one hundred cannons and a large quantity of stores were the spoils of victory.

On leaving the Bahamas,^c Hopkins sailed for the New England coast, and, while off the east end of Long Island, fell in with two small British vessels, and cap-

^a The squadron consisted of the *Alfred*, twenty-eight guns, Commodore Hopkins; the *Columbus*, twenty-eight guns, Captain Abraham Whipple, the commander of the expedition to destroy the Gaspee in 1775 (see page 61); *Andrea Doria*, fourteen guns, Captain Nicholas Biddle; *Sebastian Cabot*, sixteen guns, Captain John B. Hopkins; *Providence*, twelve guns, Captain Hazard; and the *Falcon*, *Scorpion*, and *Cruiser*, which were to join them at Cape Fear. Commodore Hopkins held the rank of commander-in-chief in the navy, a relative position to that of Washington in the army. His pay was one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month, and he was frequently addressed as admiral. The first ensign ever shown by a regular American man-of-war was raised on board the *Alfred*, in the Delaware, in December, 1776, by the hands of John Paul Jones, then Hopkins's first lieutenant. This flag, according to a portrait of Hopkins's published in London in 1776, was a plain ground, with a pine-tree in the center. At the top were the words *Liberty Tree*, and at the bottom, *Appeal to God*. The Union flag with thirteen stripes, adopted by the army on the first of January, 1776, was also displayed. This had a representation of a rattlesnake, with the words *Don't tread on me*.



FIRST NAVAL FLAG.

^f On the seventeenth of April, Barry captured the *Edward*, an armed tender of the British ship *Leerpool*, after a severe engagement. In October following, the *Lexington* was commanded by Captain Hallock, and when returning from the West Indies, she was captured by the *Pease*, and a prize crew placed on board of her. The Americans arose upon and overpowered this crew, and took the *Lexington* into Baltimore.

^g Governor Brown was afterward exchanged for Lord Stirling.

^a The following is a list of the naval commanders appointed by Congress during the war, with the date of their respective commissions, according to the *Journals of Congress*:

1776, December 22. Esek Hopkins, Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, Nicholas Biddle, John B. Hopkins. — 1776, April 17. William Manly, Isaac Connors. — June 6. Thomas Thompson, Samuel Tompkins, Christopher Miller, John Barry, Thomas Read, Charles Alexander, James Nicholson. — June 16. Hector McNeil, Thomas Grenall. — August 13. Elisha Hinman. — August 29. John Hodge, John Manley. — October 10. Lambert Wickes, William Hallock, Hoysted Hacker, Isaiah Robinson, John Paul Jones, James Josiah, Joseph Olney, James Robinson, John Young, Elisha Warner, Lieutenant-commandant J. Baldwin, Lieutenant-commandant Thomas Albroton. — 1777, February 5. Henry Johnson. — March 16. Daniel Waters, Samuel Tucker. — 1777, May 1. William Burke. — June 16. Peter Landais. — September 25. Seth Harding. — 1779, September 17. Silas Talbot, Samuel Nicholson, John Nicholson, Henry Skinner, Benjamin Dunn, Samuel Chew.

The following lieutenants were commissioned: 1776, December 22. John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold. — Stansbury, Hoysted Hacker, Jonathan Fletcher, Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warren, Thomas Weaver. — M'Dougal, John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs, Daniel Vaughan. — 1776, June 6. Israel Turner, Joseph Doble, Mark Deane. — July 23. Peter Shores, John Wheelwright, Josiah Shackford. — August 17. William Barnes, Thomas Vaughan. — August 23. Jonathan Maltby, David Phipps. — Wilson, John Nicholson. — 1777, February 6. Elisha Bowen. — August 6. John Rodeg. — August 13. William Mulleton. — 1781, July 30. Richard Dale, Alexander Murray. — Plunkett, Joshua Barney, Isaac Buck, John Stevens, Aquila Johns.

^a See Goldsborough's *Naval Chronicle*, I., 8.

tured them.^a On the sixth of April he fell in with the *Glasgow*, twenty-nine pounders, Captain Tyringham Howe, with one hundred and fifty men. With the aid of the *Cabot* and the *Columbus*, the *Alfred* compelled the *Glasgow* to fly toward Newport, leaving her a prize for the Americans. With this and his other prizes, Hopkins went into New London, having lost twenty-three men in killed and wounded. The commodore was censured by Congress for having departed from his instructions "to annoy the enemy's ships upon the coasts of the Southern States," and, after taking his little fleet into Narraganset Bay, he was dismissed from the service.^b No naval commander-in-chief was subsequently appointed. Other officers in this cruise appear to have been censured. Whipple was tried for not aiding the *Alfred*, but was acquitted. Hazard, for some cause not recorded, was cashiered, and his vessel was placed under the command of Captain John Paul Jones.

Captain Jones cruised between Boston and the Delaware, and sometimes as far south as the Bermudas, and was always successful. While off the coast of the Carolinas, in September, 1776, the *Providence* was chased by the frigate *Solebay*, twenty-eight guns, but, by skillful maneuvering, escaped. She also escaped from the *Milford*, thirty-two guns, and, proceeding eastward, captured twelve fishing vessels off Canaan. With fifteen prizes, Jones returned to Newport. In the mean while, Whipple with the *Columbus*, and Biddle with the little *Doria*, fourteen guns, were successfully engaged upon the New England and Nova Scotia coasts. It is said that the prizes of the *Doria* were so numerous, that when she entered the Delaware she bore only five of her original crew, the remainder being distributed among the captured vessels. The success of Biddle was rewarded by an appointment to the command of the *Randolph*, thirty-two guns, a new vessel.

The colony vessels of New England were exceedingly active. Between the time when the British evacuated Boston, in March, and midsummer, thirty English vessels, filled with supplies, were captured by them. The *Defense*, Captain Harding, a little Connecticut vessel of fourteen guns, was one of the most successful. On the night of the seventeenth of June, that vessel, with the armed schooner *Lee* and three small privateers, battled more than an hour with two British transports in Nantucket Roads, near Boston, and were victorious. The transports, with two hundred soldiers and a large quantity of stores, were taken into Boston. The next day the *Defense* captured another transport, with one hundred men. These prizes, with those of the *Doria*, deprived the British army of about five hundred soldiers.

In November, Captain Jones took command of the *Alfred*, and, with the *Providence*, sailed from Newport for Nova Scotia. When a few days out, he captured the *Mallish*, loaded with supplies for the army forming in Canada, under Burgoyne. This was a valuable prize, and was conducted safely into Boston, after a long chase by the *Milford*.

Early in the summer of 1776, several cruisers were sent toward the West Indies. Among these was the *Reprisal*, Captain Wickes, which, after taking several prizes on the way, encountered the English sloop *Shark*, sixteen guns, near Martinique. After fighting more than an hour, the *Shark* was repulsed, and the *Reprisal* returned to the Delaware, whence she soon sailed for the coast of France. Being the first American armed ship which had appeared in the European waters, she attracted much attention. Doctor Franklin, who was appointed a commissioner to the French court, was a passenger. The *Reprisal*, after landing Franklin, captured several prizes in the Bay of Biscay; among others, the royal English packet sailing from Falmouth to Lisbon. These prizes were sold, and the government proceeds were used by the American commissioners for purchasing other vessels in French ports. The following summer, Wickes, with a little squadron, consisting of the *Reprisal*, *Lexington*, and cutter *Dolphin*, sailed entirely around Ireland, sweeping the channel in its whole breadth, and capturing and destroying a great number of merchant vessels. This cruise produced a great impression on the public mind in England, and compelled France either to unmask and show its decided friendship for the rebellious colonies, or pronounce a disclaimer. Policy dictated the latter course, and the American vessels were ordered to leave the French coast. When returning home in September,^d the *Lexington* was captured by the *Alert*. The *Reprisal* was wrecked on the

coast of Newfoundland, and Captain Wickes, with all of his gallant crew, except the cook, perished.

Doctor Franklin carried with him to France a number of blank commissions, for army and navy officers, signed by John Hancock, president of Congress. These he and the other commissioners filled as occasion required. Under one of these commissions, Captain Conyngham sailed from Dunkirk (in the north of France) in the brig *Surprise*, on the first of May, 1777. On the fourth he took a brig called the *Joseph*, and on the seventh he captured the packet *Prince of Orange*. With these he returned to Dunkirk on the tenth. In consequence of the urgent remonstrances of the English ambassador, these prizes were released, and Conyngham and his crew imprisoned. The French government was unwilling to offend the American commissioners, and allowed them to fit out another vessel at Dunkirk, called the *Revenge*, in which Conyngham and his crew sailed a day or two before the arrival of two British vessels to convey them to England to be tried for piracy. The *Revenge* sought the British transports with Hessian soldiers, but was unsuccessful. She made many prizes of merchantmen, and thus placed quite large sums of money in the hands of the commissioners. General alarm prevailed. Insurance arose as high as twenty-five per cent, and so loth were British merchants to ship goods in English bottoms, that at one time forty French vessels were together loading in the Thames.*

While these events were occurring on the coast of Europe, no less activity was observed in the American waters. On the sixth of July, 1776, the *Sackam*, ten guns, Captain Robinson, conquered an English letter of marque, after a severe contest, in which both vessels lost an unusual number of men. For this gallant act Robinson was placed in command of the *Doria*, and a few days afterward sailed for St. Eustatia, where the Dutch governor saluted her. For this indiscretion the governor was removed from office. On leaving that island, the *Doria* fell in with and captured the *Race-horse*, an English twelve-gun ship, which lost in the action a greater portion of its officers and crew, killed or wounded. This was the last cruise of the *Doria*. She was burned in the Delaware in 1777, to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. On the twelfth of October following, the *Ranger*, eighteen guns, Captain Hudson, took a British brig among the West Indies, after a conflict of two hours. This event, the naval operations upon Lake Champlain, and those of Captain Manly, on the New England coast, already detailed, closed the marine warfare of 1776, and with honor to the Americans. According to *Almon's Remembrancer*, three hundred and forty-two British vessels fell into the hands of the Americans during that year. Forty-four of them were recaptured, and four were burned. The Americans lost quite a number of vessels, chiefly merchantmen.

Early in January, 1777, the *Randolph*, thirty-two guns, Captain Biddle, sailed on her first cruise. She ran into Charleston harbor, and when three days out, after leaving, she captured four Jamaica-men, one



NICHOLAS BIDDLE.

of twenty guns. Elated with this success, the Carolinians immediately fitted out four small vessels, with an aggregate of sixty-four guns, and placed them under the general command of Biddle. This little squadron appears not to have accomplished much, and in March the following year the *Randolph* blew up, while in action with the British ship *Yarmouth*, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening.†

* Letter of Silas Deane to Robert Morris.

† The ships were quite close together at the time. Many fragments of the

Biddle and all of his crew perished, except four men, who clung to a piece of the wreck.*

In March, 1777, the American ship *Cabot*, Captain Olney, was captured on the coast of Nova Scotia. On the nineteenth of April following, this loss was compensated by the capture of two British transports, south of Long Island, by the *Trumbull*, twenty-eight guns, Captain Saltonstall. These contained valuable stores. Soon after this, the *Hancock*, thirty-two guns, Captain John Manley, and the *Boston*, twenty-four guns, Captain Hector M'Neil, encountered the *Rainbow*, forty-four guns, Sir

John Manley
Hector M'Neil

George Collier. While Manley was preparing for an attack, M'Neil deserted him. Knowing the disparity in strength, Manley attempted to escape, but was chased and captured by the enemy. Manley was tried for the loss of his vessel, but honorably acquitted; M'Neil was dismissed from the service.

On the second of September, 1777, the *Raleigh* frigate, Captain Thompson, and the *Alfred*, Captain Hinman, captured a snow[†] called *Nancy*, and from her commander ascertained that a large fleet of West India men, convoyed by the British ship-of-war *Druid*, twenty guns, were in the neighborhood. Thompson learned the signals of the fleet, and started in search of them. He saw them the following day, ran among them in disguise, got a weatherly position of the *Druid*, and then demanded a surrender. It was refused, and within twenty minutes the *Raleigh* gave her twelve broadsides. A heavy squall came on, the fleet was dispersed, the belligerents separated, and the *Druid*, much shattered, escaped to England. In this gallant affair the *Raleigh* lost only three men. The *Alfred*, being rather a slow sailer, did not arrive in time to participate in the engagement. They joined a few hours afterward, and sailed for France. Several minor enterprises were successfully carried out after this, and the year 1777 closed with a loss to the British of four hundred and sixty-seven merchantmen, notwithstanding they had seventy sail of war vessels on the American coast.

The treaty between France and the United States was ratified on the sixth of February, 1778, and speedily French war vessels were cruising among the West Indies and along the American coast. These gave great relief to the colonists, and infused new courage into the Continental armies. Congress, at the same time, fitted out some frigates and smaller vessels, among which was the *Alliance*, thirty-two guns (built at Salisbury, Massachusetts), which became the favorite of the patriots. Early in January the *Providence*, Captain Rathburne, sailed for the Bahamas. With twenty-five men and some American prisoners, the captain went ashore upon New Providence, seized the Fort at Nassau, and took possession of the town and six vessels lying in port. He held it two days, and then, after spiking the cannons, and removing a large quantity of ammunition and stores to his vessel, he burned two of his prizes, and departed without losing a man.

Randolph fell upon the *Yarmouth*, and an American flag, furled and uninjured, was blown in upon her fore-castle.

* Nicholas Biddle was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1750. He went to sea at thirteen years of age, and after many perilous voyages, entered the British service as a midshipman. He afterward went on a voyage, under the Honorable Captain Phipps, toward the North Pole, in company with Nelson, who was also a volunteer. The commodore made them both cowards. He returned to America two years later (1775), and espousing the cause of the colonists, entered into the naval service of Pennsylvania, in a small vessel called the *Camden*. He afterward took command of the *Andrea Doria*, and subsequently of the *Randolph*, in which he perished. He was severely wounded in the thigh, and was sitting in a chair, with his surgeon, when the ship blew up. He was twenty-seven years of age when he perished.

† A "snow" is a vessel equipped with two masts resembling the main and fore-mast of a ship, and a third small mast, abaft the main-mast, carrying a try-sail. These vessels were much used in the merchant service at the time of the Revolution.

‡ The principal vessels were the *Alliance*, thirty-two guns; *Congress*, thirty-two; and *Queen of France*, twenty-eight. Also the sloop *Ranger*, *Gates*, and *Saratoga*.

In February^b the *Raleigh* and *Alfred* left L'Orient, and on the ninth of March they were chased by the British ships *Ariadne* and *Ceres*. A sharp engagement ensued between them and the *Alfred*, which resulted in her capture, with the captain and crew. The *Raleigh* did not assist the *Alfred*, and escaped. Captain Thompson was censured by Congress for not aiding Captain Hinman,* was suspended from command, and after a trial was dismissed from the service. On the thirtieth day of March, the *Virginia*, twenty-eight guns, Captain James Nicholson, sailed down the Chesapeake on her first cruise, and during the first night her unskilful pilot ran her across a sand-bar, which deprived her of her rudder. At dawn two English armed ships appeared very near, when Nicholson, perceiving his peril, escaped, with his papers, to the shore. The *Virginia* fell into the power of the enemy, yet so prudent was the course of Nicholson considered, that he was not censured for the loss of the vessel.

Early in May, 1778, John Paul Jones appeared, for the first time, in European waters, in command of the *Ranger*, eighteen guns; a vessel quite too inferior for such an able officer. Jones made several important prizes in the British channels, and undertook the bold enterprise of capturing the *Drake*, an English ship-of-war lying in the harbor of Carrickfergus, Ireland. Failing in this, he sailed to the English coast, entered the port of Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the cannons, and, setting fire to a ship in the midst of a hundred other vessels, departed. The people of Whitehaven extinguished the flames and saved the shipping. From that day, even to the present, the name of Paul Jones has been there associated with ideas of piracy and devastation. His exploit spread terror along the English coast, and produced a great sensation throughout the kingdom. Emboldened by his success, Jones proceeded to the coast of Scotland, cruised up and down between the Solway and Clyde, and attempted the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, at his residence on St. Mary's, near the mouth of the Dee. The earl was absent, and the men engaged in the enterprise carried off plate to the value of about five hundred dollars. When this, among other booty, was sold in the port of Brest, Jones purchased it, and returned it to Lady Selkirk, with a letter expressing his regret at the occurrence.† On the twenty-fourth of April^c 1778.

* Captain Hinman was one of the bravest of the naval heroes of the Revolution. His remains rest beneath a beautiful marble monument, nineteen feet in height, at Stonington, Connecticut, constructed in 1863, by Fisher & Bird, of New York. The following elaborate inscription upon the monument contains all the most important events in his public life, and serves the purpose of a biographical sketch:

"In memory of Captain *Ethias Hinman*, United States Navy, a patriot of the Revolution; born March 9, 1734—Died August 29, 1807, aged seventy-three years. At the age of fourteen he went to sea, was a captain at nineteen, and for many years sailed to Europe, and the East and West Indies. On the commencement of the Revolution, he abandoned a lucrative business, and devoted his whole service to his country. He was one of the first appointments by Congress to the navy, and served with honor throughout the whole war—successively commanding the *Morgue de La Fayette*, twenty guns, the *Deane*, thirty guns, the sloop-of-war *Providence*, and the *Alfred*, thirty-two guns. Captain Hinman, in command of the *Alfred*, sailed in company with the *Raleigh*, thirty guns, Captain Thompson. On the ninth of March, 1778, they were chased by two British ships of the line, the *Ariadne* and *Ceres*; and the *Alfred*, after fighting bravely, and being deserted by the *Raleigh*, through the cowardice of her captain, was compelled to surrender. He was taken to England and imprisoned—escaped through the assistance of friends—was taken to London, where he saw hand-bills offering five hundred pounds for his head, describing person, &c. He finally escaped to France. On his return, Captain Thompson was court-martialed and dismissed the service, respecting the loss of the *Alfred*, and Captain Hinman was honorably acquitted. In 1794, when the *Constitution* (old Iron-side) was launched, President Adams tendered the command of her to Captain Hinman, but from his advanced age, he declined. He died full of years, leaving his character, as a man, of unimpeachable integrity and sterling worth; a rich legacy to his descendants.

"This monument is placed here by his two grandsons, *James Ingersoll Day*, and *Thomas Day*."

Captain Buckley, of New London, who died in 1840, at the age of ninety-five years, was Hinman's first lieutenant in command of the *Alfred*.

† The editor of the *Pictorial History of the Reign of George the Third*, i



MONUMENT.

Jones again appeared off Carrickfergus, when the *Drake* went out to give him battle. The conflict lasted one hour and four minutes, when the *Drake*, dreadfully shattered, and forty of her men killed or wounded, struck and surrendered. With the *Drake*, and her surviving crew and other captives, Jones sailed up the North Channel, went around Ireland, made several prizes, and arrived at Brest on the eighth of May. We shall meet him again in the British waters presently.

The French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, arrived upon the coast of Virginia in July,^a and under theegis of its power the American cruisers became bolder, and caused greater circumspection on the part of the enemy. On the twenty-fifth of September, Captain Barry* (formerly of the



John Barry

Lexington) sailed from Boston in command of the *Raleigh*, with a brig and sloop under convoy. On the following day, two British vessels (the *Experiment*, fifty guns, Captain Wallace, and the *Unters*, twenty-eight guns) gave chase, and at noon an action commenced with the latter, which lasted seven hours. Barry was conscious of the superiority of his foe, and when night fell he resolved to escape to an island with his crew, and burn his vessel. One large party had landed, and the boat returned for others, when it was ascertained that a subordinate officer had treacherously surrendered the vessel. Barry and a considerable portion of his crew escaped to the main, after losing twenty-five men killed and wounded. The *Unters* lost ten men killed and many wounded. This was the closing combat of importance by the regular marines in 1778.

On the eleventh of January, 1770, the frigate *Alliance*, commanded by Landais, a Frenchman, sailed for France, bearing La Fayette as passenger. Landais was personally unpopular, and being a Frenchman, it was difficult to get Americans to serve under him. The crew of an English vessel wrecked on the coast of Massachusetts were impressed into the service, a measure which resulted in imminent peril to the vessel and passengers. The Englishmen, seventy-five in number, planned a revolt, the details of which contemplated the most horrid

massacre. An American seaman, who had lived long in Ireland, was mistaken by the conspirators for a native of that country, and was solicited to participate in the mutiny. He revealed the secret to Landais and La Fayette. The passengers, and American and French seamen, were immediately armed, and at the moment when the conspirators were to strike the horrid blow they found themselves prisoners. Between thirty and forty were put in irons and taken to Brest, where the *Alliance* arrived on the sixth of February. All the culprits were afterward generously exchanged as prisoners of war.

In March, 1779, one of the most closely contested actions of the war occurred between the *Hampden*, twenty-two guns, a Massachusetts ship, and an English Indiaman, in which the former was much damaged, and lost twenty-one men. A month afterward,^b a little squadron, under the general command of Captain J. B. Hopkins, sailed on a cruise from Boston. They first captured a British privateer of fourteen guns, and received intelligence that a number of transports, with supplies, were on their way to Georgia. The Americans crowded sail, overtook them at sunset off Cape Henry, and captured seven of them. A few days afterward they took three brigs, all laden with stores. Among the prisoners last taken were twenty-four British officers, on their way to join their regiments at the South. Early in July, Captain Whipple, then in command of the *Providence*, went on a cruise with the *Ranger* and *Queen of France*, the latter commanded by Captain Rathburne. They soon fell in with a large fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by a ship-of-the-line, and made many of them prizes. In a pecuniary view, this was one of the most successful enterprises of the war. The estimated value of eight of the prizes taken into Boston was over a million of dollars.

While these events were occurring in the Western hemisphere, an important expedition was fitted out under the joint auspices of the King of France and the American commissioners, and placed under the command of John Paul Jones. The squadron consisted of five vessels, namely, the *Duc de Duras*, *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Cerf*, and *Vengeance*. The commissions of the officers were given by Dr. Franklin for a limited period, and the vessels, though all French, except the *Alliance*, were to be considered as American ships, and to be governed by the rules of the American Navy during the cruise. Before the expedition sailed from L'Orient, the name of the *Duras*, Jones's flag-ship, was changed to *Bonhomme Richard*, in compliment to Dr. Franklin. His crew of three hundred and seventy-five men was a medley of representatives of almost every nation of Europe, and even Malays. The squadron sailed on the nineteenth of June,^c became scattered, took a few prizes, and returned to L'Orient. It sailed a second time on the fourteenth of August, with two strong French privateers, and on the eighteenth captured a valuable prize. Its destination was the coast of Scotland, and on its way several little prizes were made. A brilliant course appeared before the squadron, when a cloud appeared. Captain Landais, of the *Alliance*, became insubordinate, and refused to obey Commodore Jones. A storm again separated the vessels. The power of the expedition was thus weakened, yet Jones did not quail before accumulating difficulties. He boldly attempted, with his own ship, and the *Pallas* and *Vengeance*, to strike a twenty gun-ship and two or three men-of-war cutters, lying at Leith. A storm arose, drove the Americans into the North Sea, and defeated the enterprise. Again Jones drew near land, cruised along the eastern coast of Scotland, and by the middle of September had captured thirteen vessels. His exploits excited the greatest consternation, and many inhabitants along the coast buried their plate. On the twenty-third, the whole squadron, except the *Cerf* and the two privateers, were together, a few leagues above the mouth of the Humber. While preparing to capture a brig with an armed pilot-boat, Jones saw the Baltic fleet of about forty merchantmen, stretching out on a bowline from behind Flamborough Head, under convoy of the *Serapis*, forty-four guns, Captain Pearson, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, twenty-two guns, Captain Piercy. Jones immediately signaled for a general chase, and great confusion was soon observed among the English ships, while the armed vessels maneuvered with an evident determination to defend the merchantmen. Again Jones's orders were disobeyed by Landais, who on this occasion played the part of both mutineer and coward, for the moment he perceived the strength of the English vessels he sought safety by ordering the *Alliance* to a

397, says of Jones: "He carried off all the plate and other valuable articles;" but ungenerously, and with the evident intention of misrepresenting the character of Jones, omits mentioning the fact of the honorable return of the silver.

* John Barry was born in Ireland in 1745. He was placed on board a merchantman at an early age, and at fourteen he emigrated to America, where he pursued his vocation. He entered the naval service of Congress in 1775, and was employed in fitting for sea the first fleet that sailed from Philadelphia. He continued active in the service during the whole war, and down to the year of his death, when he was in command of the frigate *United States*. He died at Philadelphia, on the thirteenth of September, 1803, at the age of fifty-eight years.

distance. Night fell upon the scene, while the *Richard* and *Pallas*, the *Serapis* and *Scarborough*, were maneuvering for advantage. A little after seven in the evening, the *Richard* came within musket shot of the *Serapis*, when one of the most desperate sea-fights ever recorded commenced. Jones knew the superiority of the *Serapis*, and aimed to lay his vessels athwart her hawse. In the attempt the bowsprit of the *Serapis* ran between the poop and mizen-mast of the *Richard*. Jones instantly lashed the two vessels together, and the wind soon brought them so close, fore and aft, that the muzzles of their respective cannons touched the sides of each other. In this position the action continued from half past eight till half past ten in the evening, each party fighting with the utmost desperation. Jones was nobly seconded by his first lieutenant, Richard Dale, then a young man only twenty-two years of age.*



Richd. Dale

The conflict waxed warmer and warmer; they fought hand to hand with pike, pistol, and cutlass, and blood flowed freely. Already the *Richard* had been pierced by several eighteen-pound balls between wind and water, and was filling, and her ten twelve-pounders were completely silenced. Only three nine-pounders kept up a cannonade, but the marines in the round-top sent volleys of bullets, with deadly aim, down upon the struggling Englishmen. Ignited combustibles were scattered over the *Serapis*, and at one time she was on fire in a dozen places. At half past nine, just as the moon arose in the cloudless sky, some cartridges were ignited, and all of the officers and men of the *Serapis*, abaft the main-mast, were blown up. Three times both ships were on fire, and their destruction appeared inevitable. The scene was one of appalling grandeur, while it exhibited men in the character of darkest furies.

* Richard Dale was born on the sixth of November, 1756, in Norfolk county, Virginia. He went to sea at twelve years of age, and continued in the merchant service until 1776, when he became lieutenant of a Virginia cruiser. He was afterward a midshipman with Captain Berry, in the *Lorington*. He was with Captain Wickes in his cruise among the British islands in 1777. He afterward suffered a long imprisonment in England, which terminated temporarily by his escape, with others, in February, 1778. He was recaptured, and suffered another year's imprisonment, when he again escaped in the full uniform of a British officer. How he obtained it remains a secret. He hastened to L'Orient, joined Paul Jones, and in September, 1778, gallantly fought with him in the action with the *Serapis*. With Jones, he received the thanks of Congress for this service. In 1781, Dale sailed as lieutenant of the *Thetis*, under Captain Nicholson. He was severely wounded in an engagement, and made prisoner. He was soon exchanged, returned to Philadelphia, and in the spring of 1782 took command of a large merchant ship. From that time until 1794, he carried on a lucrative business in the East India trade. Washington selected him as one of the six captains of the navy in 1794, fourth in rank. He was commissioned a commodore in 1801, and commanded a squadron which did good service in the Mediterranean. In 1808 he left the navy, and passed the remainder of his days in private life in Philadelphia. He died on the twenty-fourth of February, 1836, at the age of seventy years.

While the conflict was at its height the *Alliance* approached, and, sailing around the struggling combatants, delivered several broadsides in such a way as to damage both vessels equally.* By one of them the *Richard* had eleven men killed, and an officer mortally wounded. At length Captain Pearson, who had nailed his flag to his mast, perceiving his inability longer to endure the fight, struck his colors with his own hand, and gave up the *Serapis* to Lieutenant Dale, who was the first to board her.† Ten minutes afterward, the *Countess of Scarborough*, which had been fighting with the *Pallas*, Captain Cotlineau, surrendered. The *Richard* was a perfect wreck, and fast sinking. Her sick and wounded were conveyed to the *Serapis*, and sixteen hours afterward she went down in the deep waters off Bridlington Bay. Jones, with the remains of his squadron and prizes, sailed for Holland, and anchored off the Texel on the third of October.‡ The loss of life was very heavy on both sides. Jones estimated the value of his prizes made during this cruise at two hundred thousand dollars.

Sir Joseph Yorke, British minister at the Hague, applied to the States General for an order for delivering up the *Serapis* and *Scarborough*, with Jones and his men. Their High Mightinesses refused to interfere, for they felt a secret friendship for the struggling Americans. By a diplomatic trick Holland avoided serious trouble with Britain, and Commodore Jones, instead of being conveyed as a pirate to England, was soon upon the ocean as commander of the *Alliance*.§ His action with the *Serapis* gave him great eclat in Europe and America, and no subsequent event dimmed his fame. Louis the Sixteenth gave him a gold-mounted sword, bearing upon its blade the words *Vindicti maris Ludovicus XVI, remunerator strenuo vindicti*—"Louis XVI, rewarder of the valiant assertor of the freedom of the Sea"—surrounded by the blended emblems of America and France.¶ Louis also created him a Knight of the Order of Merit; Catharine of Russia conferred on him the ribbon of St. Anne; and from Denmark he received marks of distinction and a pension. The Congress of the United States voted him special thanks; and, eight years afterward, ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to "the Chevalier John Paul Jones," of which the following engraving is a true representation.} c Oct. 16, 1787.

* The opinion generally prevailed that Landais fired into the *Richard* for the double purpose of killing Jones and compelling his vessel to surrender, in order that Landais might retake her, together with the *Serapis*, and get all the eclat of the victory. Such were the charges brought against him, and he was suspended from service. After the exhibition of many vagaries, which proved him half insane, he returned to America in the *Alliance*, and was soon afterward dismissed the service.

† It is related that when Captain Pearson delivered his sword to Commodore Jones, he remarked, "I can not, sir, but feel much mortification at the idea of surrendering my sword to a man who has fought me with a rope round his neck." Jones received the sword, and immediately returning it, said, "You have fought gallantly, sir, and I hope your king will give you a better ship." Pearson was afterward knighted. On hearing of it, Jones remarked, "He deserves it, and if I fall in with him again, I will make a lord of him."

‡ This sword is now (1848) in possession of Commodore John Montgomerie Dale, a son of Commodore Richard Dale, Jones's valued friend and compeer in arms.

§ *Journal*, ii, 138. The engraving opposite is the size of the original, copied from a fac simile in the possession of the New York Historical Society. On one side is a portrait of Jones in relief (said to be an excellent likeness), with the words *Joanni Paulo Jones, Classis Præfecto, Cavære Americæ*—"The American Congress to John Paul Jones, commander of the fleet." Upon the other side is a representation of a naval battle, with the words *Hostium navibus capta aut fugatis, ad oram Scotiæ, xxii. Sept. MDCCCLXXVIII.*—"The ships of the enemy having been captured on the coast of Scotland, twenty-third September, 1778." The present possessor of this national tribute to one of the bravest of men is unknown. This medal was made in Paris, under the direction of Mr. Jefferson, then American minister there.

John Paul was born on the sixth of July, 1747, at Arbigland, on the Frith of Solway, Scotland. At the age of twelve years he was apprenticed to a ship-master in the Virginia trade. He was on board of a slave for some time, and by the death of master and mate he became commander. On the death of his mother in 1773, he went to Virginia to settle, and there added Jones

to his name. When the war broke out, he was commissioned senior Sevrans in the navy, and was active until the close of hostilities. In November, 1783, he sailed for France, empowered to negotiate for the recovery of prize



GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO PAUL JONES.

On the seventh of September, 1780, Commodore Jones sailed for America in command of the *Ariel*, twenty guns. A gale dismasted her, and after refitting at L'Orient, he sailed again on the eighteenth of December. He had a slight encounter with an English ship during a night while on his way, and arrived at Philadelphia on the eighteenth of February, 1781, after an absence of more than three years. He was appointed to the command of the *America*, seventy-four guns, a vessel which a Sept. 3, 1781, Congress presented to the French king before she was ready for sea.

In the spring of 1779, the Massachusetts state cruiser, the *Hazard*, fourteen guns, Captain J. F. Williams, had a severe action with the *Actee*, eighteen guns, and was victorious. Forty-one men were killed in the combat, which lasted half an hour. Williams was promoted to the *Protector*, twenty guns, and in June he fought the heavy letter of marque, *Duff*, which, after resistance for an hour, blew up. The *Protector* had a successful cruise, and Captain Williams's reputation was greatly increased. He was immediately engaged in the expedition against the British at Penobscot, mentioned on page 26, in which the naval force was commanded by Captain Saltonstall.* The result was disastrous. Among the vessels blown up was the *Providence*, which had gained such a good name under her first commander, Captain Whipple.

It was in the autumn of this year that Silas Talbot, who had been long engaged in the Republican cause, on land and water, was commissioned a captain in the United States Navy. Six months previous to this, he armed, at Providence, his former prize, the *Pigot* (see page 96) and a sloop called the *Argo*, ten guns, to cruise off the New England coast. He soon captured the *Lively*, twelve guns, and two letters of marque, which he carried into Boston. He also captured the *King George*, a vessel which was particularly hated by the New Englanders. Great was the joy when he took her into New London harbor. His next prize was the *Dragon*, with which he fought desperately four and a half hours.^b It was this victory which caused Congress to give him the commission of a naval captain. He performed many daring exploits with the *Argo* during the autumn, and the fruits of his services were three hundred prisoners, five valuable merchantmen, and six British privateers. The following year Talbot was in command of a private ship, because Congress had not the means to retain the *Argo*. He was captured one morning at dawn, when he found himself in the midst of a fleet of English men-of-war. He was ill treated by the victors, and for

money in different parts of Europe. He returned to America in 1787, and in 1788 he was appointed rear-admiral in the Russian Navy. He was afterward in command against the Turks. He retired to Paris with a pension in 1790, where he resided most of the time until his death, which occurred on the eighteenth of July, 1792. A commission, appointing him the agent of the American government to treat with Algiers, arrived after he was dead. His place of sepulchre is now unknown.

* The squadron consisted of the United States ship *Warren*, thirty-two guns, Saltonstall's flag-ship; *Diligent*, fourteen guns, Captain Brown; the *Providence*, twelve guns, Captain Hacker; three vessels belonging to Massachusetts, thirteen privateers, and many transports.

many months endured the miseries of the *Jersey* prison-ship and the provost jail at New York. He was finally taken to England, where he was exchanged in December, 1781.*



Silas Talbot

The first naval operation of moment, in 1780, was the demonstration made by Admiral Arbuthnot against Charleston, in connection with Sir Henry Clinton. The events of that demonstration have been already detailed. Among other results

* Captain Talbot was a lineal descendant of a brave knight (Richard de Talbot) in the reign of William the Conqueror, and inherited the martial genius of that illustrious ancestor. Little is known of his early life. He was a young man when the war of the Revolution broke out, and he entered into the contest ardently. On land and water he was equally useful, and in each capacity we have met him several times before. After the war, he purchased the forfeited estate of Sir William Johnson, near the Mohawk, and went into private life. In 1794, when a new organization of the navy took place, Captain Talbot was selected to the command of one of the principal ships. He superintended the construction of the frigate *Constitution*, which gained such laurels almost twenty years later. In 1799, she was his flag-ship while on a cruise in the West Indies, and Commodore Hull was his lieutenant. This cruise was an important one in many respects. Talbot remained in active service until September, 1801, when he resigned his commission. He passed the remainder of his days in the city of New York, where he married Miss Pintard, his third wife. He died in New York city on the thirtieth of June, 1813, and was buried under Trinity church, where no monument marks his resting place.—See *Life of Commodore Talbot*, by Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq. I am indebted to Mr. Tuckerman for the privilege of copying the portrait of Talbot from a daguerrotype of an original painting by West in the possession of the patriot's descendants in Kentucky.

was the almost demolition of the little American fleet under Whipple, then lying in the harbor. At about this time, the British government resolved not to exchange any more prisoners taken from privateersmen. This had a powerful effect upon the nautical enterprise of the Americans, for soon a large number of their best seamen were prisoners, and the number of officers fit to manage vessels was very limited. In view of these facts, and the efficient aid promised and actually given by French fleets,* Congress paid but little attention to its marine, while, at the same time, the British Parliament authorized the ministry to employ no less than eighty-five thousand men in the navy. Yet the Americans were not wholly inactive.

In June, the *Trumbull*, twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain James Nicholson, the senior officer in the navy, encountered the English letter of marque *Wall*, thirty-four guns, Captain Coulthard, and engaged in a well-contested battle for two hours and a half. The vessels were not more than one hundred yards apart, and continually poured broadsides into each other. The *Trumbull* was completely disabled, yet her antagonist withdrew without attempting to capture her. The *Trumbull* lost thirty-nine killed and wounded. In October following, the United States sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, sixteen guns, Captain Young, fell in with and captured a ship and two brigs. One of these was called the *Charming Molly*. Captain Young ran along side of her, when Lieutenant Barney,†

other vessels, all of which were retaken, while on their way to the Delaware, by the *Intrepid*, seventy-four guns, Captain Molloy. The *Saratoga*, it is supposed, soon foundered at sea, for she and her crew were never heard of afterward.

At the close of 1780, Captain John Barry was appointed to the command of the *Alliance*, and sailed from Boston in February, 1781, with Colonel John Laurens as passenger for France. On the way he captured the privateer *Alert*, and after landing Mr. Laurens at L'Orient, he sailed on a cruise, with the *Marquis De La Fayette*, forty guns, in company, bound to America with stores. After capturing a few vessels, and parting company with its consort, the *Alliance* had a severe action with an English sloop-of-war, sixteen guns, and a brig of fourteen guns.^b Captain Barry was wounded and carried below, and at the moment when the *Alliance* felt obliged to strike, a light breeze gave her an advantage, and, pouring a broadside into her antagonists, she compelled both the English vessels to haul down their colors. The prizes were the *Atalanta*, one hundred and thirty men, and the *Trepassy*, eighty men.

On the twenty-second of June, 1781, the *Confederacy*, Captain Harding, was captured by a large English vessel, while convoying some merchantmen from the West Indies. At about the same time, the *Trumbull*, Captain Nicholson,* with



James Nicholson

at the head of fifty men, gallantly boarded her and made prisoners of her numerous crew. Barney was left in command of his prize. The *Saratoga* soon afterward captured a few

a convoy of twenty-eight sail, left the Delaware, and was soon afterward captured by the *Iris* and *General Monk*, at the close of a severe night battle, fought with a large part of the crew (English prisoners) insubordinate. The whole action was carried on by about forty men. On the sixth of September, a private cruiser, called the *Congress*, twenty guns, while eastward of Charleston, captured the British sloop-of-war *Savage*, sixteen guns, after a combat of an hour. The *Savage* was recaptured by an English frigate, and taken into Charleston. These were the principal naval operations in 1781, not already mentioned elsewhere.

Early in 1782, the *Desne*, thirty-two guns, Captain Samuel Nicholson, went on a successful cruise, and among her many prizes were three sloops of war, with an aggregate of forty-four guns. During this year, Captain Barry, with the *Alliance*, was actively employed, but does not appear to have had any memorable engagements resulting in prizes. There were now only two frigates left in the American marine, the *Alliance* and the *Hague*. The command of the latter was given to Captain John Manley. That gallant officer, who may be considered as the pioneer in the naval warfare of the colonists, cruised among the West Indies, and, in the autumn of 1782, closed the regular maritime operations of the United States by a successful escape, after a long chase, from a vastly superior force. The government vessels had very little employment after this, for the news of peace came early in 1783.

A record of maritime operations under the auspices of the several colonies, and on private account during the war, would fill a volume.‡ In the foregoing rapid sketch of the naval warfare of the colonists, I have given only an outline of those of the government cruisers, sufficient, however, for the reader to form a general estimate of the value of the service of our little marine during the struggle. The naval operations upon Lake

* It was in July of this year (1780) that a French fleet of twelve vessels and thirty-two transports, bearing an army of six thousand men, under Rochambeau, arrived at Newport. This event is recorded on page 87.

† Joshua Barney was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on the sixth of July, 1769. He went to sea when a small boy, and at the age of fourteen years was second mate of a vessel, and at sixteen was commander. After many adventures abroad, he arrived in the Chesapeake in October, 1775. The following June he was appointed a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and was the first to unfurl the American flag in Maryland. He was a very active officer during the whole war. He brought the first news of peace with Great Britain, on the twelfth of March, 1783. Continuing in service, he was one of the six commanders appointed under the act of 1793, but he declined the honor. He went to France with Monroe, and was the bearer of the American flag to the National Convention. He entered the French service in command of two line frigates. He resigned his French commission in 1806, and returned home. He again entered the naval service of the United States in 1813, and distinguished himself during the war that ensued. He died of a bilious fever at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the first of December, 1818, at the age of fifty-nine years.

* James Nicholson was born on the eastern shore of Maryland in 1737. He was in the naval engagement at the siege of Havana in 1762. He entered the naval service of his country in a Maryland vessel in 1775; in 1776 he was appointed a captain by Congress, and, on the dismissal of Hopkins, he became the senior officer in the navy. After his capture by the *Iris* and *Monk*, he was taken to England, and was not exchanged until the close of the war. He never wanted to see again, but settled in New York, where he held a civil appointment under the general government. He died September 2, 1804, leaving three daughters, one of whom married the late Albert Gallatin.

† The *Erie* was formerly the United States ship *Hancock*, thirty-two guns, captured by the *Rainbow*, and now in the British service under another name. The *Hancock* was one of the heaviest ships built by order of Congress, while the *Trumbull* was one of the smallest.

‡ It is asserted by good authority that the number of vessels captured by American cruisers during the war was eight hundred and three, and that the value of merchandise obtained amounted to over eleven millions of dollars. The British vessels in the West India trade suffered terribly from our privateers. Clarke, in his *Naval History* (i., 61), says, that of a fleet of sixty vessels from Ireland for the West India, thirty-five were captured by American privateers. Our cruisers almost destroyed the British trade with Africa. At the beginning of the war, two hundred ships were employed in that trade; at the close of 1777 only forty vessels were thus employed.

Champlain in 1776, have been narrated in the first volume. I will close the sketch by an account of a brilliant exploit of the *Hyder Ally*, fitted out by the State of Pennsylvania. She was armed with sixteen six-pounders, provided with a crew of one hundred and ten men, and put in command of Lieutenant Joshua Barney.* The chief duty assigned to the *Hyder Ally*, was the expulsion of privateers from the Delaware. On the

eight of April, the *Hyder Ally* and a large convoy of merchantmen, were anchored off Cape May, when two ships and a brig approached. The merchantmen fled up the Delaware, covered in their retreat by the *Hyder Ally*. An action speedily ensued between the *Hyder Ally* and one of the vessels, which proved to be the sloop-of-war *General Monk*, eighteen guns (an American cruiser formerly), Captain Rogers. In attempting to luff athwart the hawse of the enemy, the *Hyder Ally* ran foul, and in this position, within pistol shot, the two vessels fought desperately for half an hour, when the *Monk* struck her colors. Cooper, in his *Naval History* (I., 237), says, "This action has been justly deemed one of the most brilliant that ever occurred under the American flag. It was fought in the presence of a vastly superior force that was not engaged, and the ship taken was in every essential respect superior to her conqueror." Both vessels arrived at Philadelphia a few hours after the action, bearing their respective dead. The old name was restored to the prize, and Barney made a cruise in her to the West Indies.

Cooper (I., 247) gives the following list of the United States cruisers in service during the war, with the fate of each:

Alliance, thirty-two guns, sold after the peace and converted into an Indianan. A portion of her wreck is still visible near Philadelphia. *Deane* (Hague), thirty-two guns, taken by a British squadron near the Capes of the Chesapeake, before getting to sea, 1778. *Confederacy*, thirty-two guns, taken by a ship-of-the-line off the Capes of Virginia, June 22, 1781. *Hancock*, thirty-two guns, taken in 1777 by the *Rainbow*, forty guns, and *Victor*, sixteen guns. *Flora*, thirty-two guns, retaken her prize. *Randolph*, thirty-two guns, blown up in action with the *Yarmouth*, sixty-four guns, in 1778. *Raleigh*, thirty-two guns, taken by the *Experiment*, fifty guns, and *Unicorn*, twenty-two guns, 1778. *Washington*, thirty-two guns, destroyed in the Delaware by the British army, 1778, without getting to sea. *Warren*, thirty-two guns, burned in the Penobscot in 1779, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. *Queen of France*, twenty-eight guns, and *Providence*, twenty-eight guns, captured at Charleston, 1780. *Trumbull*, twenty-eight guns, taken by the *Iris*, thirty-two guns, and *General Monk*, eighteen guns, 1781. *Essex*, twenty-eight guns, burned by the enemy in the Delaware, 1778, without getting to sea. *Congress*, twenty-eight guns, and *Montgomery*, twenty-four guns, destroyed in the Hudson, 1777, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, without getting to sea. *Afred*, twenty-four guns, captured by the *Arcton* and *Ceres* in 1778. *Columbus*, twenty guns. *Delaware*, twenty-four guns, captured by the British army in the Delaware in 1777. *Boston*, twenty-four guns, captured at Charleston in 1780. *Hampden*, fourteen guns. *Reprisal*, sixteen guns, foundered at sea, 1778. *Lexington*, fourteen guns, taken by the British cutter *Alert*, in the channel, 1778. *Andrea Doria*, fourteen guns, burned in the Delaware, 1777, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. *Cabot*, sixteen guns, driven ashore by the *Milford*, thirty-two guns, in 1777, and abandoned. *Ranger*, eighteen guns, captured at Charleston by the British army, 1780. *Saratoga*, sixteen guns, lost at sea in 1780; never heard of. *Diligent*, fourteen guns, burned in the Penobscot, 1778. *Gates*, fourteen guns. *Hornet*, ten guns. *Surprise*, ten guns, seized by the French government in 1777. *Revengé*, ten guns, sold in 1780. *Providence*, twelve guns, taken in the Penobscot in 1779. *Sackem*, ten guns; *Wasp*, eight guns; *Independence*, ten guns; *Dolphin*, ten guns, supposed to have been destroyed in the Delaware by the enemy, or by the Americans to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. To these must be added the following: *Bonhomme Richard*, forty guns, sunk after her action with the *Serapis*, forty-four guns, in 1779. *Pallas*, thirty-two guns; *Vengeance*, twelve guns; *Cerf*, eighteen guns, left

the service when the cruise with the *Richard* was ended. *Ariel*, twenty guns, borrowed by the American commissioners from the King of France, and supposed to have been returned. There were several more small cruisers, mounting from four to ten guns; and it is believed that, like the privateers, the most of them fell into the hands of more powerful and numerous foes. The *Duc de Lauzun*, the *Luzerne*, and the *Washington*, may not be classed among the cruisers. Mr. Cooper says, in conclusion: "It remains only to say that the navy of the Revolution, like its army, was disbanded at the termination of the struggle, literally leaving nothing behind it but the recollections of its services and sufferings."

WHALE-BOAT WARFARE.

Cupidity is often more powerful in its influence than patriotism. Every where these influences were antagonistic when the war of the Revolution broke out. Non-importation agreements and the derangements of commerce made the country barren of many luxuries. When the British were firmly seated in New York, and upon Long and Staten Islands, they tempted the Americans with the gains to be derived from bartering soil products for the finery of European looms and work-shops. A brisk business was soon established upon this basis of exchange, and "London trading" as the operation was called, assumed a dangerous form, for it became a vehicle for the supply of the British army and navy here with the necessaries of life. From almost every inlet from New London to Shrewsbury, light boats, freighted with provisions, darted across to the islands, or to British vessels anchored in the channels. These boats, similar to those used by whalers, were about thirty feet in length, sharp and light, equipped with from four to twenty oars, and well calculated for speed and silence. The trade became so profitable, that honest supplies did not meet the demand, and many of these whale-boatmen became marauders. They plundered from friend and foe, and both parties had their representatives among them. Like the *Cowboys* and *Skinnars*, they frequently coalesced. Property was seized under legal sanction, confiscated, and the proceeds were divided among them. So expert and successful were these boatmen, that the same vessels were finally used for purposes purely military, and the Bay of New York, and Long Island Sound, were the scenes of many stirring adventures connected with their warfare. Sometimes they were employed by competent authority; at other times they were privateers on a small scale.

The first small-boat expedition of consequence was the one mentioned on page 328, volume I., when Lord Stirling and some associates went in four boats and captured the British transport *Blue Mountain Valley*, lying off Sandy Hook.^b Jan. 23. For this exploit they received the thanks of Congress. 1776. On the arrival of the British the following summer, Captains Adam Hyler and ——— Marriner, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, annoyed them so much, that an armed force was sent to destroy their boats. New boats were immediately built, and then these bold men commenced a regular system of hostility. They cruised between Egg Harbor and Staten Island, and every Tory fisherman was compelled to pay them enormous tribute. Hyler captured several small British vessels, and often made unwelcome visits to Tories on Long Island. He carried off a Heesian major one night from Gowanus; surprised and took a sergeant's guard from Canarsie, and also carried off Colonel Lott and his negroes from Flatlands, with, as they supposed, two bags of guineas. The colonel was taken to New Brunswick, where Hyler, on opening the bags, discovered the contents to be half pennies, belonging to the church at Flatlands. Hyler afterward, with two armed boats, captured a British corvette in Cony Island Bay. They went softly along side in the night, boarded her, and secured every man without firing a shot. Placing their prisoners in their boats, they set fire to the vessel, in which, unknown to Captain Hyler, were forty thousand dollars in gold. After Lippincott, the refugee, had murdered Huddy (see page 366) in 1782, Hyler resolved to seize him. With his men, equipped like a man-of-war press gang, he landed at Whitehall at nine in the evening, and proceeded to Lippincott's house in Broad Street. The Tory was absent, and Hyler's purpose was defeated. Leaving Whitehall, he boarded a sloop laden with forty hogheads of rum, off the Battery, secured the crew, landed her cargo at Elizabethtown, and then burned her. In some of these exploits Marriner accompanied Hyler, and their names became a terror to

* Barney never held a commission of captain from Congress during the war, but such was his commission from Pennsylvania when he took command of the *Hyder Ally*.

† This vessel was formerly the American ship *George Washington*, captured by Admiral Arbuthnot, and placed in the king's service under a new name. She carried twenty nine-pounders, and had a crew of one hundred and thirty-six men.

the Tories. Marriner was a prisoner for some time under Major Sherbrook, on Long Island, and for the unkindness of that officer, Marriner, after his exchange, seized him one fine summer's night, and took him to New Brunswick. Marriner also seized Simon Cortelyou, at his house below Fort Hamilton (see page 804), and took him, with a silver tankard and other valuables, to New Brunswick. Cortelyou was released, but the silver was never returned. These operations kept the Loyalists in continual fear, and so numerous and bold became the Connecticut whale-boatmen, that no vessels were considered safe in the Sound unless well armed.

The capture of General Prescott, on Rhode Island, by Colonel Barton (see page 75), belongs to the same kind of exploits; and the expeditions of Tallmadge, mentioned on pages 333, 834, might properly be classed in the same category. A few weeks previous to the capture of Prescott, General Parsons, then stationed near New Haven, sent a detachment, under Colonel Meigs, to destroy British stores collected at Sag Harbor, a port on the south fork of Eastern Long Island, between Great Peconic and Gardiner's Bays. Meigs crossed the Sound from Guilford, with one hundred and seventy men in whale-boats, on the fourth of May, 1777, having two armed sloops in company. They arrived at Southold at six o'clock in the evening, and carried their boats almost eight miles that night. They laid concealed in the forest the next day, and at evening proceeded to the eastern portion of Peconic Bay, where they re-embarked. When within four miles of Sag Harbor, Meigs concealed his boats in the woods, and with one hundred and thirty men marched to attack the British guard ^a May 6, at two o'clock in the morning.^a The alarm soon ^{1777.} spread, and a schooner, armed with twelve cannons, opened a fire upon the patriots. It was returned with spirit, and, at the same time, the vessels in the harbor were set on fire. The Americans killed or captured the whole British force, destroyed all the shipping (twelve brigs and sloops), a hundred tons of hay, a quantity of rum, and other stores and merchandise. Colonel Meigs, with ninety prisoners, arrived at Guilford at two o'clock the next day, without the loss of a man. ^b July 28, For this brilliant exploit Congress thanked him,^b and ^{1777.} gave him an elegant sword.

Retaliation followed the enterprises of Meigs, and the people, on island and main, suffered much. At length nine Tories crossed the Sound in a whale-boat, from Lloyd's Neck, on a dark night in May, to the Fairfield county coast, where General Silliman was stationed at his own house. One of the Tories was a carpenter who had been employed by the general, and knew the premises well. Leaving one to guard the boat, eight proceeded to arrest the general. They forced an entrance into his house at midnight, seized him and his son, and hurrying them to the boat, crossed the Sound and placed them in the hands of Simcoe; at Oyster Bay. From thence they

James Simcoe

were taken to New York, and afterward to Flatbush, on Long Island, where they remained until exchanged six months afterward.

The Americans possessed no British prisoner of equal rank with Silliman to offer in exchange, but they soon procured one.* At Fort Neck (South Oyster Bay), on the south side of

* The following tariff for the exchange of prisoners was agreed upon by Major-general Phillips and a committee of American officers, prisoners of war at New York in December, 1779: A *sergeant*, was reckoned equal to two *privates*; a *second sergeant* or *ensign*, four; *first lieutenant*, six; *captain*, sixteen; *major*, twenty-eight; *lieutenant colonel*, seventy-two; *colonel*, one hundred; *brigadier general*, two hundred; *major general*, three hundred and seventy-two; *lieutenant general*, a thousand and forty-four; *adjutant* and *quarter-master*, six; *surgeon*, six; *surgeon's mate*, four; *surgeons of hospitals*, sixteen; *deacons* and *assistants*, six. All others of the staff according to the rank they held in the line. Another arrangement was concluded, based upon one made in Flanders between General Conway and the Marquis De Barral, by which the money price of ransom was agreed to, as well as their relative importance, *privates* being one. According to that, a commander-in-chief was rated at twenty thousand *forins* (about eight thousand dollars), and equal to five thousand men. A major general was rated

Long Island, lived the Honorable Thomas Jones, a Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and a Loyalist in high repute. He was selected as the victim. On the evening of the fourth of November, 1779, twenty-five volunteers, under Captains Hawley, Lockwood, and Jones, crossed the Sound from Newfield (now Bridgeport) to Stony Brook, near Smithtown, and marched directly toward the house of Judge Jones. They



JONES'S MANSION.*

remained concealed in the woods one day, and the following night, at nine in the evening, were before the stately mansion. The judge was entertaining an evening party, and the young people were engaged in dancing when the assailants knocked at the door. Their summons received no reply, and Captain Hawley broke open the door, seized Judge Jones and a young man named Hewlett, whom they found standing in the passage, and hurried them off before an alarm could be given. They laid concealed in the woods the next day, and the following evening prisoners and captors arrived safely at Fairfield, except six of the patriots, who, loitering behind, were captured by pursuers. Judge Jones was kindly entertained at the house of General Silliman, by his lady, until removed to Middletown. The following May (1780) he was exchanged for General Silliman, and Mr. Hewlett for the general's son.

During 1780 and 1781 the whale-boat warfare was pursued along the shores of Long Island Sound with much violence, and as both parties were engaged in plundering and smuggling, the peaceful inhabitants suffered terribly. Murders became frequent, and the Tories were stimulated to the commission of acts of violence by the Board of Associated Loyalists, at Lloyd's Neck. When that association was dissolved and its influence had passed away, sanguinary scenes were less frequent, and in 1782 only occasionally an unprincipled freebooter was found engaged in the business of a marauder. Many stirring adventures, as well as tales of woe connected with this warfare, are recorded, but we can not afford space for their rehearsal here. The curious reader will find full details in Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents of Long Island*, volume 1, pages 170-324 inclusive.

at one thousand *forins* (about four hundred dollars), and equal to three hundred and seventy-five men. Other officers in proportion.

* This fine old mansion was the residence of D. R. Floyd Jones, Esq., when I visited it in 1861, and made the above sketch. It is a frame building, and stands about three-fourths of a mile from the water. Judge Jones called it *Tryon Hall*, in honor of Sir William Tryon. Over a door, opposite the main entrance, hang a pair of noble antlers, presented to the judge by Sir William Johnson. They doubtless once belonged to a buck in the Mohawk Valley. The large landed estate has remained in entail until the death of the late Thomas Floyd Jones, Esq., in August, 1861. It having been in possession of the family more than a century and a half. The original owner built a substantial brick house there in 1696, where it remained until 1837, when it was removed. Many tales are recited of that haunted house; among others, that after the death of the original owner, strange noises were heard there, and that a small circular window, seen in the gable, could never be closed. Shingles, boards, and even bricks and mortar placed in it, were instantly removed by an invisible power, equal to that of the rapping spirits of our day! The sketch here given is from one done in pencil by William S. Mount, the eminent painter, when quite a lad. It is in the possession of H. F. Jones, Esq., whose residence is a little eastward of "Tryon Hall." The place is called Fort Neck, because remains of old Indian forts have always been visible there. Many arrow and spear heads have been found in the neighborhood.



ANCIENT HOUSE.

† The names of the six captives were George Lyman, James Ambler, John Wall, Charles German, Ebenezer Chickester, and Henry Chickester. Mr. Ambler died in Huntington, Vermont, in June, 1838; Wall died in Jackson, Michigan, on the twenty-sixth of March, 1849; and Henry Chickester died at Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1850.

II.

DIPLOMACY.

THE Diplomacy of the United States during the war for Independence is an interesting and instructive study, not because of any very brilliant achievements by diplomatic art, but because of the solid judgment and almost prophetic forecast displayed by those in the National Council who conceived and arranged the complicated plan, and those who were intrusted with its execution. It must be remembered that the American statesmen who represented the revolted colonies had no beaten track to follow, no traditional canons to guide them. Their position was a new one, hitherto unknown in the history of nations; and when the American representatives approached those of the hoary dynasties of Europe, the fresh, free, vigorous principles of genuine Republicanism, unmingled with the conventionalities and maxims of courts, were brought into contact with the opinions and stately traditions of buried centuries. The task of the American diplomatist was consequently a difficult, though simple one, and he was compelled to be a political inventor with scarcely an available model for a design.

It is known that the Congress of 1774 did not contemplate a separation from the parent state, and had no foreign relations to care for; but when, before the opening of the second Congress in May, 1775, hostilities had actually commenced in New England, and the alternative offered was slavery or war, the representatives of the people organized an army, appointed a commander-in-chief, and soon began to reflect upon the influence of the opinions of foreign nations. These thoughts at length found public expression, when, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1775, Congress appointed Benjamin Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Thomas Johnson (the member who nominated Washington for commander-in-chief), John Dickinson, and John Jay, a committee for the purpose of carrying on foreign correspondence,

through friends of America in Europe, and endeavor to ascertain the views of foreign governments respecting American affairs. This committee, though changed in persons, conducted all the foreign correspondence of the United States until 1781, when a "Department of Foreign Affairs" was established. On the seventeenth of April, 1777, Congress changed the name of the "Committee of Secret Correspondence" to "Committee of Foreign Affairs," and, at the same time, appointed



* Thomas Paine was born at Thetford, England, in 1737. He was taught the business of a stay-maker, but his active mind could not brook simple corporeal employment, and he took part in public affairs. He became acquainted with Doctor Franklin in England, and, by the advice of that statesman, he came to America in 1774. Here he commenced the use of his pen in favor of the in-

dependence of the colonies, and his "Crisis" and "Common Sense" produced a powerful impression. He was appointed the first secretary of the "Committee of Foreign Affairs." This office he resigned in January, 1779, but continued the labor of his pen in the cause of liberty. In 1790 Paine visited England, where he produced his "Rights of Man." He went to France, and taking part in the Revolution then progressing, he obtained a seat in the National Assembly. He offended the Jacobins, was imprisoned, and came near being guillotined. It was at this period that he wrote the most considerable portion of his "Age of Reason." He returned to America in 1802. He died at a house in Grove Street, New York, on the eighth of June, 1809, at the age of seventy-two years. He was buried on his farm, at New Rochelle, which the State of New York presented to him for his Revolutionary services. William Cobbett had his remains taken up and carried to England. In November, 1839, the beautiful marble monument delineated in the engraving was erected to his memory, over his grave near New Rochelle, by his friends in political and religious principles. Upon it is the simple inscription, *Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense.* The likeness of Paine here given is from a medallion in wax, in my possession, made from life, when Paine was in Paris in 1798. It is pronounced by those who knew the original well to be a faithful likeness of the man.

Thomas Paine, the author of the influential papers called "The Crisis," secretary to the committee, with a salary of seventy dollars a month. It was a position of great trust and responsibility, and Paine appears to have conducted the business satisfactorily until he engaged in a quarrel with Silas Deane, and imprudently revealed state secrets. In March, 1776, Congress appointed Silas Deane, of Connecticut, a commercial and political agent of the United States to the French court, with instructions to make the wants of the Americans officially known to the Count De Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to assure his government of the strong desire of the United States, struggling to be free, to cultivate friendly relations. Deane was also instructed to elicit the views of the French court respecting an alliance with the colonies, should they declare themselves independent of Great Britain. Arthur Lee, who had been for some time in London, in secret correspondence with members of Congress, and especially with the Secret Committee, was approached by Carron De Beaumarchais, a special agent of the French government, almost simultaneously with the appointment of Deane. Beaumarchais informed Lee that the king desired to send two hundred thousand Louis d'ors, in arms, ammunition, and specie, in a secret manner to the Americans. It was agreed that the remittance should be made by way of Cape François, in the fictitious name of Hortales, and all the arrangements generally which Deane and his associates afterward carried out were planned as early as April, 1776. To give the transaction a mercantile complexion, a small quantity of tobacco was to be sent back in return. After Beaumarchais returned to Paris, he and Lee corresponded, partly in cipher, the former as *Roderique Hortales & Co.*, and the latter in the name of *Mary Johnson*. This arrangement was submitted to the king on the second of May. The king was pleased, and immediately directed the royal treasurer to hold a million of livres subject to the particular order of Vergennes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. All the writing in the matter was done by a son of Vergennes, a lad of fifteen, and the whole transaction was kept a profound secret. Deane arrived in Paris in July, and his interview with Vergennes was mutually satisfactory. The French court had perceived a good opportunity to damage England, and had resolved to improve it. It did not desire war with her, and so Bourbon duplicity was employed to its fullest extent. The appointment of Deane appears to have been known in London before his arrival in Europe, and Lord Stormont, the British minister in Paris, watched his movements with the keen eye of suspicion. Other spies were there, and Vergennes took the earliest opportunity to caution Deane concerning them, and advised him to be exceedingly circumspect in all his words and actions.

In August, Deane ratified the unofficial arrangements of Lee with the French government by which, under the mask of commercial business, it was to supply the Americans with all they needed *without any expectation of payment therefor*. Beaumarchais immediately addressed a letter to the Secret Committee of Congress, in the name of *Roderique Hortales & Co.*, which, disguised in commercial phrases, expressed the sentiments of the French court. He informed them that his house had been established for the sole purpose of furnishing the Americans with every thing needful—"even gold for the payment of troops." In another letter, he intimated that the King of Spain was friendly to the Americans, and it was upon this hint that Congress soon afterward appointed a commissioner to the Spanish court. In all these expressions of good-will,



dependence of the colonies, and his "Crisis" and "Common Sense" produced a powerful impression. He was appointed the first secretary of the "Committee of Foreign Affairs." This office he resigned in January, 1779, but continued the labor of his pen in the cause of liberty. In 1790 Paine visited England, where he produced his "Rights of Man." He went to France, and taking part in the Revolution then progressing, he obtained a seat in the National Assembly. He offended the Jacobins, was imprisoned, and came near being guillotined. It was at this period that he wrote the most considerable portion of his "Age of Reason." He returned to America in 1802. He died at a house in Grove Street, New York, on the eighth of June, 1809, at the age of seventy-two years. He was buried on his farm, at New Rochelle, which the State of New York presented to him for his Revolutionary services. William Cobbett had his remains taken up and carried to England. In November, 1839, the beautiful marble monument delineated in the engraving was erected to his memory, over his grave near New Rochelle, by his friends in political and religious principles. Upon it is the simple inscription, *Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense.* The likeness of Paine here given is from a medallion in wax, in my possession, made from life, when Paine was in Paris in 1798. It is pronounced by those who knew the original well to be a faithful likeness of the man.

and the promises of aid, Beaumarchais was the mouth-piece of the French court, and to him, its secret agent, the one million of livres, or about one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars, was given from the French treasury, to be sent to the Americans as "gratuitous assistance from the free generosity of the king." The sequel was vexatious.

When the resolution declaring the colonies independent was fairly before Congress, the attention of that body was turned to the subject of foreign alliances. Opinions were more various upon this topic than that of independence, many regarding it with favor, others with doubt, and some with the most decided aversion. "A virgin state should possess the

a March, 1777. "and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others." This was his opinion from the beginning, and those of like views thought it more dignified to carry on the war to a close and establish independence without foreign aid, and then let the commercial advantages which alliances with the new state must offer to the European governments, make them the suitors. Others feared that alliances would entangle the states in European politics, and make them parties, perhaps, to European wars. But John Adams and a majority of Congress viewed the matter differently, and counseled the adoption of measures for securing as early as possible the friendship, material aid, and, if practicable, a political alliance with France, Spain, and Holland, in particular. Acting upon this opinion of the majority, Congress, on the twelfth of June, 1776, appointed John Dickenson, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Benjamin Harrison, and Robert Morris a committee "to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers." Richard Henry Lee and James Wilson were added to that committee in August, and on the seventeenth of September, Congress adopted a plan, and appointed Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee commission-

ceived, and copies of their papers were sent to D'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at Paris. About a fortnight c Jan. 12, afterward, c Mr.

1777. Gerard, secretary to the Council of State, read to the commissioners a paper signed by the king himself, in which, while he expressed great sympathy for the Americans, he refused *openly* to give them material aid or acknowledge their independence. He secretly made them a donation from the royal exchequer of about three hundred and seventy thousand dollars, and permitted the commissioners to purchase such public supplies as they pleased, on private account. All this was done under the advice of Vergennes, and of Turgot, the controller-general of France. Caution marked their movements, for they were unwilling to cast down the gauntlet to England until assured of the real strength of the revolted colonies, and the utter improbability of their reconciliation with the mother country.

Disasters befell the arms of the United States during the autumn of 1776, and Congress looked anxiously toward Europe for aid in the struggle. Commissioners to foreign courts were appointed.^d William Lee was sent to Prussia

and Austria; Ralph Izard to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany;

and Arthur Lee (when Dr. Franklin declined the office) to Spain. The commissioners at the French court were in-

structed to offer France the aid of the United States in the conquest of the West Indies, and like aid was offered to Spain in the subjugation of Portugal. Nothing of importance was effected, and France alone aided the

United States during 1777,[†] through the agency of Beaumarchais, in the name of *Roderique Hortales & Co.*, while at the same time, the king was giving the British ambassador assurances that government had no agency in the matter.

^a Charles Gravier, Count De Vergennes, was born at Dijon, France, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1717. His first diplomatic service was that of attaché to Charigny, while on missions to Lisbon and Frankfurt. In 1750 he was appointed minister to the Electoral court of Trier. In 1756 he was sent to Constantinople for the express purpose of exciting a war between the Porte and Russia. He was afterward minister to Sweden, and when Louis XVI. ascended the throne in 1774, he was called to the cabinet as minister for foreign affairs, and the king's confidential adviser. He remained in that office until his death, which occurred on the thirteenth of February, 1787.

[†] Arthur Lee went to Berlin during the summer of 1777, and unofficially made overtures to the Prussian government. The court would not listen, because a promise had been made to Great Britain not to interfere in the quarrel. While there, Lee had his papers stolen from his room. The theft was traced to the British minister, who, perceiving the police on the alert, caused them to be returned to Lee's apartment unopened. The king was so incensed, that when the British ambassador called to make an explanation, he refused him audience.

[‡] Louis was born on the twenty-third of March, 1754, and in 1770 married



VERGENNES.*

Ra. Izard.

Franklin
Silas Deane
Arthur Lee

SIGNATURES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.†

ers to proceed to France to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and attempt to gain a recognition of the Independence of the United States. They were instructed to ask for twenty or thirty thousand muskets and bayonets, and a large supply of ammunition and field-pieces, to be sent under a French convoy, not as gratuitous aid, but to be paid for by the United States, the latter agreeing not to assist Great Britain in the event of a war ensuing between France and that country as a consequence of such material aid. They were to insist, also, that in the event of war, France should make no demonstrations against English territory on the continent of America, and that the trade of any other colony of Great Britain which might fall into the hands of the French, should be entirely free to the United States. A few weeks afterward, the commissioners received instructions to procure from the court of France, either by purchase or loan, eight line-of-battle ships, of sixty-four and seventy-four guns, well manned and equipped.

Deane was already in Paris, and Lee was in London. The commissioners met on the twenty-second of December,^b and on the twenty-eighth they had their first audience with the Count De Vergennes. They were politely re-

^a *Journals of Congress*, ii., 198.

[†] These I copied from a manuscript letter from the commissioners to John Paul Jones, dated at "Passy, near Paris (the residence of Dr. Franklin), December 17, 1777"



LOUIS XVI.‡

At the close of 1777 the future of the struggling colonies grew brighter in both hemispheres. The surrender of Burgoyne with his whole army, to the unaided Americans, gave the world assurance of innate strength in the new-born nation, and the character of the *rebellion* assumed the more dignified aspect of a successful *revolution*. The assurances that a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies would speedily take place, industriously circulated in diplomatic circles by English emissaries, were now regarded as fictitious, for not only the voice of the American Congress, but the known acts of the people, emphatically declared their intention to maintain their independence.* The commissioners embraced this propitious moment to press with earnestness their suit with France and Spain. They were successful, and on the

seventeenth of December,^a Mr. Gerard informed them that the king had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to form an honorable alliance with them. Treaties to this effect were signed on the sixth of February following,^b on the part of France by

Conrad Alexandre Gerard, and of the United States by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee.[†] The terms of these treaties were honorable to both parties, and the United States then assumed that dignified relation to foreign powers which they have ever maintained.

At the beginning of his mission, Dr. Franklin was put in communication with the French government, on the subject of supplies, through Dr. Dubourg. That gen-

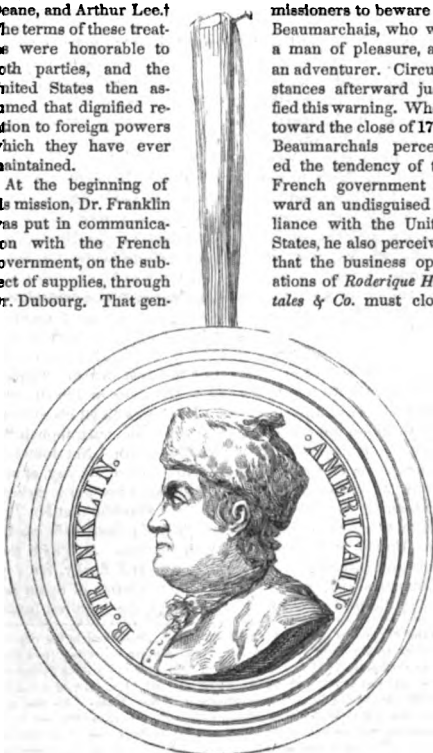
tleman warned the commissioners to beware of Beaumarchais, who was a man of pleasure, and an adventurer. Circumstances afterward justified this warning. When, toward the close of 1778, Beaumarchais perceived the tendency of the French government toward an undisguised alliance with the United States, he also perceived that the business operations of *Roderique Hortales & Co.* must close.

He had power to fill his own purse to repletion, and he used it. He sent an agent to America to demand from Congress full payment for all supplies shipped to the Secret Committee by *Hortales & Co.*, in the *Amphitrúe*, *Mercury*, and *Seine*. The amount claimed was about seven hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The agent brought a letter from Silas Deane, intimating that the claim was just.^c Congress was perplexed. Their commissioners had given the Secret Committee frequent assurances that no return would be required for those supplies. Their treasury was scantily supplied, and the Continental bills were rapidly depreciating. At length Congress paid the agent of Beaumarchais twenty thousand dollars, and promised the remainder at a future day.^c Franklin and Lee heard of this unjust claim in time to address a letter to the Secret Committee, and send it with the treaties of alliance and commerce. They advised Congress to allow further settlements to be made by the commissioners themselves. Nothing was done in the matter for several months, when the commissioners asked the French government for information on the subject. The king coolly denied all knowledge of the house of *Roderique Hortales & Co.*, and that any government aid to the Americans had been allowed. He asserted that Beaumarchais had been allowed to take supplies from the public arsenals, but on condition that they were to be replaced. These falsehoods were intended for the ears of the British ministry, to conceal falsehoods previously uttered with all the gravity of royal faith! Congress dare not attempt either an explanation or defense, for fear of offending his "most Christian majesty;" and, rather than compromise French honor, the Secret Committee made drafts on the commissioners at Paris, in favor of Beaumarchais, for almost four hundred thousand dollars. These were ultimately paid. According to Beaumarchais's account, a balance was yet due him, and he continued to press the payment until 1794, when it was discovered, for the first time, that he had received from the now decapitated king the million of livres given for the Americans in 1776. This sum, with the interest, was properly charged to him, and the balance was paid from the treasury of the United States. And yet his heirs were dissatisfied, and afterward actually applied to Congress for more money.

The treaties between France and the United States were not promulgated until March,^d in order that the former might recall its fishermen, withdraw its commerce, notify its colonies, and prepare for war. This accomplished, the French ambassador in London informed the British ministry of the fact, and at about the same time Doctor Franklin and his associates were openly presented at court by Vergennes. Mr. Gerard, who had been an active participant in the negotiations, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States, and in April sailed in the *Languedoc*, D'Estail's flag-ship, in company with Mr. Deane.

Facey in 1777, when Dr. Franklin resided there. It is about half the size of the original. A portrait of Franklin may be found among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in the frontispiece to the second volume of this work.

* Congress became dissatisfied with Deane, and he was recalled in the summer of 1778. His statements were not satisfactory, and because he was censured, he published an address, in which he boasted of having, without funds, procured large supplies of military stores abroad for the use of the United States, and otherwise lauded his own services. Paine, the secretary for foreign affairs, replied to Deane, under the head of "Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affairs." Paine imprudently revealed some of the secrets of the earlier transactions of Arthur Lee and Beaumarchais, which, in the opinion of the French minister, compromised the honor of his king. That minister demanded of Congress a disavowal of the statements of Paine. To quarrel with France then would, perhaps, have been fatal to the independence of the United States. Paine was dismissed from office (or, rather, he resigned, to avoid the disgrace of dismissal), and Congress, by a formal resolution in January, 1779, declared that the supplies sent by the French were not *presentes*, and that the king "did not preface his alliance with any supplies



DR. FRANKLIN.

Maria Antoinette, of Austria. On the death of his grandfather, he ascended the throne of France in 1774, at the age of twenty years. The Count De Vergennes was made his minister for foreign affairs; Turgot of the finances; Malherbes became a counselor of state; Sartine directed marine affairs; and the old Count Maurepas was made his prime minister. At the close of our war with Great Britain, a revolutionary spirit was in powerful, though suppressed, operation in France. It broke out in 1789, when the Bastille was destroyed, and the authority of the king defied. Soon the reign of terror began, and during that bloody era, the king and queen, and a vast number of nobles, were beheaded. Louis was amiable in private life, and, no doubt, was sincerely desirous of securing the welfare of his people. He was a weak man, and entirely unfitted to brave the storm which swept over his unhappy country.

* On the twenty-second of November, 1777, Congress instructed its representatives abroad to declare that no reconciliation with Great Britain, inconsistent with the independence of the colonies, should take place.

† The King of Spain refused to enter into any alliance. The extraordinary letter of Louis to him on this occasion, is printed on page 87, volume I., of this work. The reader is invited to peruse it in connection with our present record of the movements of the French government in the path of consummate duplicity.

‡ This is from an excellent medallion likeness, made in the red clay of



a 1778. They arrived at Philadelphia early in July.^a On the thirteenth, a committee of Congress was appointed to receive the French envoy. There being no traditional rules of etiquette suitable for the occasion, the ceremonials which took place on the sixth of August were entirely new.^a On the twenty-first of October following, Dr. Franklin was appointed by Congress minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles (as the French government was styled)—the first appointment of the kind by the United States.

War between France and England was the immediate consequence of the promulgation of the treaties, and the United States confidently expected the co-operation of Spain with her French ally and friend. But Charles the Third affected indignation, because Louis had made so favorable a treaty, and refused to join in any political or commercial alliance unless the United States would relinquish all right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and, indeed, to the whole country west of the Alleghany Mountains. Doubtless the true cause of his coldness toward the United States was his fear that a successful revolution in North America might produce those similar results, in his own provinces in South America and Mexico, which have since taken place. Charles, however, offered his mediation between England and France. Great Britain affected to listen favorably to the proposition, and, in the mean while, an agent was sent from London to confer with Dr. Franklin upon terms of reconciliation between the parent state and the colonies. A dissolution of the tie which bound the United States and France was the paramount object to be gained by Great Britain, and the French government observed the movement with much uneasiness. The subject was brought before Congress, and formed the staple of debate for a long time. No satisfactory result was accomplished, and finally the British government haughtily rejected the proposition of the United States formally to acknowledge their independence as a basis for reconciliation and peace. The offer of Charles of Spain to mediate was also rejected, and in June, 1778, Spain joined France and declared war against Great Britain. This event gave the Americans much joy.

whatever sent to America." This declaration gave entire vitality to the claims of Beaumarchais, and out of tenderness for the honor of the king, which was wrapped up in duplicity and falsehood, and for fear of offending an ally of doubtful integrity, Congress stooped to deception, and paid a licentious adventurer, employed by the French court, more than half a million of dollars for his own private benefit.

^a The following interesting account of the ceremonials on the occasion is from Lyman's *Diplomacy of the United States*, I, 87: "In pursuance of the ceremonial established by Congress, the Honorable Richard Henry Lee, Esq., one of the delegates from Virginia, and the Honorable Samuel Adams, Esq., one of the delegates from Massachusetts Bay, in a coach and six provided by Congress, waited upon the minister at his house. In a few minutes the minister and the two delegates entered the coach, Mr. Lee placing himself at the minister's left hand on the back seat, Mr. Adams occupying the front seat; the minister's chariot being behind, received his secretary. The carriage being arrived at the State House in this city, the two members of Congress, placing themselves at the minister's left hand, a little before one o'clock, introduced him to his chair in the Congress Chamber, the president and Congress sitting. The minister being seated, he gave his credentials into the hands of his secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the president. The secretary of Congress then read and translated them; which being done, Mr. Lee announced the minister to the president and Congress; at this time the president, the Congress, and the minister rose together; he bowed to the president and the Congress—they bowed to him; whereupon the whole seated themselves. In a moment the minister rose and made a speech to Congress, they sitting. The speech being finished, the minister sat down, and giving a copy of his speech to his secretary, he presented it to the president. The president and the Congress then rose, and the president pronounced their answer to the speech, the minister standing. The answer being ended, the whole were again seated, and the president giving a copy of the answer to the secretary of Congress, he presented it to the minister. The president, the Congress, and the minister then again rose together: the minister bowed to the president, who returned the salute, and then to the Congress, who also bowed in return; and the minister having bowed to the president, and received his bow, he withdrew, and was attended home in the same manner in which he had been conducted to the audience. Within the bar of the House the Congress formed a semicircle on each side of the president and the minister: the president sitting at one extremity of the circle at a table upon a platform elevated two steps—the minister sitting at the opposite extremity of the circle, in an arm-chair upon the same level with the Congress. The door of the Congress Chamber being thrown open below the bar, about two hundred gentlemen were admitted to the audience, among whom were the Vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the Supreme Executive Council, the Speaker and members of the House of Assembly, several foreigners of distinction, and officers of the army. The audience being over, the Congress and the minister at a proper hour repaired to an entertainment given by the Congress to the minister, at which were present, by invitation, several foreigners of distinction and gentlemen of public character. The entertainment was conducted with a decorum suited to the occasion, and gave perfect satisfaction to the whole company."

On the twenty-sixth of September, 1778, Congress appointed



JOHN JAY.

John Jay^a full minister to the court of Madrid, to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, and to obtain loans or subsidies. At the same time, John Adams, a rival candidate for the Spanish mission, was appointed minister to the court of Great Britain, to negotiate a treaty of peace. Mr. Jay sailed toward the coast of the year, but, being driven to the West Indies by a storm, he did not reach Cadiz until March

following. Spain not having acknowledged the independence of the United States, at first refused to receive him as an American minister, and he was for some time engaged with Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish premier, in informal negotiations. In the mean while, M. Gerard was succeeded by the Chevalier De Luzerne,^b who came invested with more ample powers, as well as limited authority from Spain to negotiate with the United States concerning territories and boundaries in America. The Spanish court coveted possession of all the territory west of the Alleghenies, and the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi. Luzerne was instructed to procure a definite expression from Congress on this subject. The matter was laid before Congress, and on the seventeenth of September, 1780, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Madison, Sullivan, and Duane, presented an able document containing reasons for the claim of the Americans to all the territory west of the Alleghenies which, by the treaty of 1763, was conceded to Great Britain. Copies of this paper were sent to the courts of France and Spain, and formed the basis of negotiations. Mr. Jay, with all his ability, could make no impression upon the Spanish court, though indefatigable in his endeavors to negotiate a loan. Not doubting his success on that point, Congress drew upon Mr. Jay, at six months, for considerable sums. Spain kept her purse-strings closed, and it was only by the aid of Dr. Franklin that Mr. Jay was able to meet the drafts at maturity, and preserve the credit of the United States from injury in Europe. At length the Spanish monarch promised small loans; and, finally, Mr. Jay was informed that if he would yield to the terms of Spain respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, the required funds

^a John Jay, a descendant of a Huguenot family, was born in the city of New York, on the twelfth of December, 1748. He entered King's (now Columbia) College in 1760, and graduated in 1764 with the highest collegiate honors. He was admitted to the bar in 1768, and in 1774 he married a daughter of William Livingston, afterward governor of New Jersey. He was appointed one of the committee of fifty patriots in New York in 1774, and from that time he was an active and zealous friend to the cause of freedom in America. He was a member of the first Continental Congress, where his pen did good service in drawing up state papers of great moment. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress of New York, and one of the most active men in the Committee of Safety. He prepared the draft of the Constitution of New York in 1777, and was appointed the first chief justice under it. In 1779 he went on a mission to Spain, and was one of the parties in the concluding arrangements for peace between the United States and Great Britain. He returned to America in July, 1784, when he was elected secretary for foreign affairs. He held that office until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, of which he was a warm friend. On the organization of the new government, Washington nominated him for chief justice of the United States. He held this office until 1794, when he was appointed minister to Great Britain. He returned in 1795, and found himself governor elect of the State of New York.

He was governor until 1801, when he retired from public life to his paternal estate at Bedford, in West Chester county, where he died on the seventeenth of May, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The signature here given, together with the post-mark, I copied from his frank to a letter written in Philadelphia in 1775.

(A-100)

Free J. Jay

would be furnished. He promptly refused acquiescence, but subsequently, under instructions from Congress, given in February, 1781, he consented to yield the free navigation of the Mississippi, as high as the thirty-first degree of latitude. This was so much short of what Spain asked, that the negotiations remained at this point until 1782, when Mr. Jay was called to Paris.

In September, 1778, a plan for a commercial treaty between Holland and the United States was unofficially proposed to William Lee, by Van Berkel, *penionary* of Amsterdam. It was submitted to Congress, approved, and, soon after the appointment of Jay and Adams, Henry Laurens* was commissioned minister plenipotentiary to the States General of Holland, to negotiate a commercial treaty. He did not sail for Europe until in the summer of 1780. The vessel that bore him was captured by a British frigate near Newfoundland. Mr. Laurens



Henry Laurens

cast his papers overboard, but they were recovered by a seaman, and, with the bearer, were taken to London. After an examination before the Privy Council, Mr. Laurens was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, where he was kept in close confinement more than a year.† He was finally

* Henry Laurens, a descendant of a Huguenot family, was born in Charleston in 1734. At a proper age he entered into mercantile business, and on closing it with his partner in 1770, he retired with a large fortune. He went to England in 1771, and there he warmly espoused the patriot cause. He returned to Charleston in 1774, and presided over the first Provincial Congress, held in that city in January, 1775. He was elected president of the Council of Safety, an office equivalent to that of governor. He was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and on the first of November, 1777, was appointed president of that body. He resigned the chair in 1778, and the next year was appointed minister to Holland. On his way the vessel was captured; he was sent to London, and was imprisoned more than a year in the Tower. He was cruelly deprived of pen and ink, and the converse of friends. Twice he was approached with offers of pardon and liberty, if he would serve the ministry. Each offer was indignantly rejected by him. He was at length liberated, and Lord Shelburne desired him to proceed to Versailles and assist in the negotiations then making for peace. He joined the commissioners, and signed the provisional treaty. His confinement in the Tower injured his health, and, after his return to Charleston, it gradually failed, until the eighth of December, 1780, when he expired, near the close of his sixty-ninth year. His will concluded with the following request, which was complied with: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son as an indispensable duty, that, as soon as he conveniently can after my decease, he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow cloth, and burned until it be entirely consumed, and then, collecting my bones, deposit them wherever he may think proper."

† At this time his son, Colonel John Laurens, who was afterward killed on the Combahee (see page 778, volume ii.), was at the court of France, a special minister sent by Congress to solicit a loan of money and supplies. He arrived there in the Alliance early in the spring of 1781. He immediately entered upon the duties of his mission with all the ardor of his nature, and soon became impatient of the delays which he experienced on the part of the French ministry. In earnestly pressing his suit with Vergennes one day, that adroit diplomatist reminded him that perhaps he had forgotten that he was not delivering the orders of his commander-in-chief, but addressing the

released, and went to France to assist in the negotiations for peace. Among his papers was the plan for a treaty with Holland; also several letters which disclosed the friendship of the States General for the Americans. The British ministry were irritated, and the subsequent refusal of Holland to disclaim the act of Van Berkel caused Great Britain to declare war against that republic. In the mean while, Mr. Adams, whose mission to London was fruitless of immediate results, had been appointed a commissioner to negotiate for loans with the States General.* In December he was made full minister, a 1780, with power to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. In April following he presented to the States General an argumentative memorial on the subject of a commercial treaty; and in August following, at the instance of the French court, Congress instructed him to propose a triple alliance between France, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the United States, limited in its duration to the existing war with Great Britain. Holland moved as slowly as Spain, and at the beginning of 1782 no reply had been given. Holland had not acknowledged the independence of the United States, and Mr. Adams had not been officially received as a minister. He became impatient, and on the ninth of January he demanded a categorical answer to his memorial and the proposition for a triple alliance. His views were supported by the merchants and manufacturers, and on the twenty-second of April the independence of the United States was formally acknowledged by the States General, by the reception of Mr. Adams as ambassador. A treaty of amity and commerce was not concluded until October following.

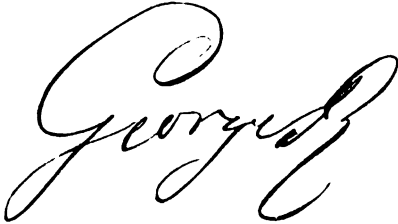
While the attempts at negotiation with Spain and Holland were in progress, the coalition known as the Armed Neutrality (see note on page 674, volume ii.) was formed. Congress approved of the position taken by the Empress of Russia, and toward the close of 1780, Francis Dana was appointed minister to the court of St. Petersburg, with instructions to concede, on behalf of the United States, the principles of the coalition, and to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. In the mean while, Catharine had offered to mediate between Great Britain and her Continental foes in arms. Great Britain accepted the mediation, but France would not reply until the opinion of the American Congress was obtained. Luzerne communicated with that body in May, 1781. Congress assented, and appointed Mr. Adams sole negotiator upon the subject. The French court did not like the appointment, for Mr. Adams could not be molded to its will. A congress of ministers was proposed to be held at Vienna. Mr. Adams went to Paris in July to consult with Vergennes, when the question arose as to what would be his relative position in that Congress. He claimed to be there as the representative of an independent state. France coincided in his views, but Great Britain haughtily demanded a separation of France from the "revolted colonies" before she would consent to negotiate. She would not allow the United States to be treated as an independent power. The views of Russia and other imperial courts were coincident with those of Britain, and Mr. Adams therefore peremptorily refused to attend the Congress at Vienna at all. The Congress was not convened in consequence of this refusal, and that fact was a clear announcement that the United States had already made a deep impression upon the politics of Europe.

The capture of Cornwallis and his army in October, 1781, convinced all parties in England of the folly of a further prosecution of the war. In March, 1782, Parliament resolved on peace. Lord North resigned, the Marquis of Rockingham succeeded him in office, and Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox were

minister of a monarch who had every disposition to favor his country. Laurens withdrew to the opposite side of the room, and replied with emphasis. "Favor, sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation is mutual, and I cheerfully ascribe to the obligation. But as the last argument I shall offer to your excellency, the sword which I now wear in defense of France, as well as my own country, unless the success I solicit is immediately secured, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France as a British subject. I must now inform your excellency that my next memorial will be presented to his majesty in person." This bold reply had great effect upon Vergennes, for the reconciliation of Great Britain and the United States he most dreaded. True to his promise, Laurens attended at the audience-chamber of the king the next day, and presented his memorial in person to his majesty. It was handed to Count Segur, and on the following day Laurens was officially informed that the required aid should be given. The success came, and in the autumn, by the assistance of French funds, and French soldiers and seamen, Cornwallis was captured, and the death blow of British power in America was given.

* Three separate loans were finally effected, amounting in the aggregate to one million seven hundred thousand dollars.

made secretaries of state. Richard Oswald was immediately sent to France to confer with Vergennes on the subject of peace. After several interviews, he resigned the matter into the hands of Thomas Grenville, a son of the author of the Stamp Act, by whom an informal agreement was made that a treaty should be conducted, having, so far as the United States were concerned, the acknowledgment of their independence as a basis. While these negotiations were in progress, Rockingham died, and was succeeded in office by Lord Shelburne. Grenville was recalled, and the negotiations were left in the hands of Mr. Fitzherbert. On the twenty-fifth of July, Parliament adopted a bill to enable the king to consent



to the independence of the colonies, and the monarch signed it, though with reluctance. Richard Oswald was immediately appointed, with full powers, to negotiate a treaty of peace with the United States. Great efforts had been made to induce France and the United States to enter into separate treaties, but both steadily refused.

The American ministers in Europe differed in respect to the character of the French court. Franklin had great faith in its integrity, and was desirous of deferring to its judgment. Adams was more independent, and always assumed the tone of equality when suing for benefits. Jay coincided with Adams, and felt convinced that the French court desired to keep the Americans in a secondary position. These conflicting opinions produced no serious difficulty, and Franklin and Jay prepared for the work before them. Oswald did not show his authority to treat with the American commissioners on terms of independence, whereupon Mr. Jay positively refused to have any thing to do with the matter. He insisted that the recognition of independence should be preliminary to any treaty, and that a treaty should be the consequence of independence. In these views Franklin coincided. Mr. Oswald then showed them an article in his instructions which authorized him to make the concession of independence, if insisted upon. This was not entirely satisfactory, and he applied to the ministry for new instructions. Another commission was issued on the twenty-first of September, and a day or two afterward Mr. Adams arrived from the Hague and joined the commission.

While discussions with Mr. Oswald were progressing, Mr. Jay resumed negotiations with the Spanish court, through the Count D'Aranda, the minister of Charles, at Versailles. The Spanish monarch had receded from his own proposition, and now claimed an equal possession of the territory west of the Alleghenies. The French court favored the Spanish claim, and this fact confirmed the suspicions which Mr. Jay entertained of Gallic faith. Still further to confirm this suspicion, a letter from Marbois, Chargé d'Affaires from France to Congress, in



which he advised the French court to endeavor to restrict the claims of the Americans on the Newfoundland fisheries, was intercepted; and Mr. Rayneval, the confidential secretary of the foreign department, was secretly sent to London, without the knowledge of the commissioners. Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams were coincident in opinion that Vergennes meant to play falsely, while Dr. Franklin's faith in his integrity was unshaken. The claims of Spain could not be assented to, and negotiations with D'Aranda ceased.

On the arrival of Mr. Adams, negotiations with Mr. Oswald commenced. After much discussion, the questions of boundary and the fisheries were settled. The English claim of reparation for the Loyalists was the last and longest theme for debate. While this subject was under discussion, Mr. Laurens

arrived from London and joined the commission. He opposed the Loyalist claim, and as the American commissioners were unanimous and immovable on this point, Mr. Oswald yielded. On the thirtieth of November, 1782, preliminary articles were signed by Richard Oswald on the part of England, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens on the part of the United States. The following were the chief points of the treaty: The independence of the thirteen states was unqualifiedly recognized; the Mississippi was made the western boundary, and Canada and Nova Scotia the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory of the new Republic; the navigation of the St. Lawrence was abandoned to the English; the navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both parties; mutual rights to the Newfoundland fisheries were adjusted; no impediments were allowed in the way of the recovery of debts by *bona fide* creditors; certain measures of restitution of confiscated property to Loyalists was to be recommended by Congress to the several states; and a general cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of troops, and a restoration of public and private property.

These articles were agreed to and signed without the participation or knowledge of the French court. Vergennes complained of this violation of pledged faith, but made no difficulty. Congress ratified the articles, and in April, 1783, David Hartley, the agent who had sounded Dr. Franklin in 1778 respecting a reconciliation, was appointed by the court of London to adjust, with the commissioners, a definitive treaty of peace. Several months were spent in discussions upon the various articles of the preliminary treaty. They could not agree upon any alterations, and on the third of September, 1783, the preliminary articles were signed at Paris as a definitive treaty, by Franklin, Adams, Jay, and David Hartley. The definitive treaties between Great Britain, France, and Spain were signed at the same time; that between Great Britain and Holland on the preceding day. The American definitive treaty was ratified by Congress on the fourteenth of January, 1784.

Many disputes arose between the United States and Great Britain when the several states endeavored to conform to the provisions of the treaty. On this account, Congress resolved to send a minister plenipotentiary to the court of London, and on the twenty-fourth of February, 1783, John Adams was appointed to that important office. Although the circumstance was mortifying to British pride, yet he was received with cordial respect, and it is said that the king remarked to him on that occasion, "I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

III.

THE CONFEDERATION, AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

THE declaration of the representatives of the united colonies of North America, in General Congress assembled, that "these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states," was but the initial act in the great work of founding a free republic out of a dismembered portion of one of the mightiest empires of the earth. It was an easy matter to declare the states free, but they well knew it would be a laborious task to support that declaration, and consummate the work thus begun. Already fleets were hovering upon our coasts, and armies traversed our provinces, with the dire purpose of quelling rebellion by fire and sword, and all the vast iniquities of war. At the very time the declaration was made, a British squadron was near our coast, bearing thousands of hired mercenaries, some of them veterans from the vast armies of Frederick the Great, all eager to win the laurels of glory or the gold of plunder in the exercise of their desolating profession. Combined with these foes from without were the more dreaded foes within—those who, through principle or interest, adhered to the crown. They consisted chiefly of the timid, the time-serving, the ambitious, and the indolent, who feared British power, courted its caresses, sought the preferments it could bestow, or loved ease better than freedom. This class was neither small nor weak, and by its secret treacheries or open resistance, it weakened the bond of the American Union, and greatly strengthened the royal arm.

With such a great work before them—with such besetments in the way—by such dangers surrounded—it is no wonder that great doubt, and anxiety, and dread pervaded the minds of the people, and caused American legislators to desire a more tangible bond of union than a Federal Congress and a Federal

army. The various state governments were in utter confusion, and in their practical operations they harmonized in few things, except in making provisions for the army; and even this paramount claim was often so neglected by particular states as almost to paralyze the military movements. Royal governments in all the colonies had been overturned, and the people, in spontaneous assemblies, collected the best fragments together and formed provincial Congresses, in which they vested local governmental powers. But these were perceived to be but broken reeds to depend upon in the great work of the revolution yet to be performed; and the statesmen of that dark hour, feeling the necessity of a central power, regarded a confederation of the several states with a Federal Congress as a controlling head, a measure essential to the perpetuity, not only of their efforts to become free, but of their very existence.

As early as July, 1775, Doctor Franklin submitted to the consideration of Congress a sketch of articles of confederation between the colonies, limiting the duration of their vitality to the time when reconciliation with Great Britain should take place; or, in the event of the failure of that desirable result, to be perpetual. At that time, Congress seemed to have no fixed plans for the future—the teeming present, with all its vast and novel concerns, engrossed their whole attention; and Doctor Franklin's plan seems not to have been discussed at all in the National Council. But when a declaration of independence was proposed, that idea alone suggested the necessity of a confederation of the states to carry forward the work to a successful consummation. Congress, therefore, on the eleventh of June, 1776, resolved that a committee should be appointed to prepare, and properly digest, a form of confederation to be entered into by the several states. The committee appointed under the resolution consisted of one delegate from each state.* John Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, was chosen chairman, and through him the committee reported a draft of articles of confederation on the twelfth of July. Almost daily debates upon the subject ensued until the twentieth of August, when the report was laid aside, and was not taken up again for consideration until the eighth of April, 1777. In the mean while, several of the states had adopted constitutions for their respective government, and Congress was practically acknowledged the supreme head in all matters appertaining to the war, public finances, &c. It emitted bills of credit, or paper money, appointed foreign ministers, and opened negotiations with foreign governments.

From the eighth of April until the fifteenth of November following, the subject was debated two or three times a week, and several amendments were made. As the confederation might be a permanent bond of union, of course local interests were considered prospectively. If the union had been designed to be temporary, to meet the exigencies arising from the state of war in which the colonies then were, local questions could hardly have had weight enough to have elicited debate; but such was not the case, and of course the sagacious men who were then in Congress looked beyond the present, and endeavored to legislate accordingly. From the seventh of October until the fifteenth of November, the debates upon it were almost daily, and the conflicting interests of the several states were strongly brought into view by the different speakers. On that day the following draft, containing all of the amendments, was laid before Congress, and after a spirited debate was adopted:

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different

states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No state, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defense of such state or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the

* See *Journal*, ii., 197. The committee consisted of Messrs. Bartlett, S. Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickenson, M'Kean, Stone Nelson, Hewes, E. Rutledge, and Gwinnett.

United States, in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each state respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances; provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of pirates and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition, to Congress stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect

to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or, being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward;" provided, also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post-offices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state: which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled: but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the Legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number can not safely be spared out of the

same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislature of every state.

Congress directed these articles to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several states, and, if approved of by them, they were advised to authorize their delegates to ratify the same in Congress, by affixing their names thereto.

After the Articles of Confederation were adopted by Congress, that body directed a copy of them to be sent to the speakers of the various State Legislatures, to be laid before them for action. They were accompanied by a communication, requesting the several Legislatures, in case they approved of them, to instruct their delegates in Congress to vote for a ratification of them, which last act should be final and conclusive. On the twenty-ninth of November, a committee of three (Duer, Lovell, and Francis Lightfoot Lee) was appointed to procure the translation of the Articles of Confederation into the French language; and also to prepare and report an address to the people of Canada, urging them to become a portion of the confederacy.

The letter which accompanied the Articles of Confederation when they were sent to the several State Legislatures, was in

the form of an urgent appeal for immediate and united action. A direful necessity called for some strong bond of union, for the clangor of arms was heard on every side. Foes without and traitors within were every where sowing the seeds of jealousy between the states, and using every effort to sunder the ligaments of a common interest and repress a common aspiration which united them. It was easily foreseen that the conflicting interests of thirteen distinct states would necessarily clash, and that the idea of sovereignty which each possessed would interpose many objections to a general confederation, such as was proposed. Therefore, the letter was an argumentative one, and endeavored to show them that the plan proposed was the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all.

Notwithstanding there was a general feeling that *something* must be speedily done, the State Legislatures were slow to adopt the articles. In the first place, they did not seem to accord with the prevailing sentiments of the people, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence; and in many things that Declaration and the Articles of Confederation were manifestly at variance. The former was based upon declared *right*; the foundation of the latter was asserted *power*. The former was based upon a superintending Providence, and the inalienable rights of man; the latter rested upon the "sovereignty of declared power—one ascending for the foundation of human government, to the laws of nature and of nature's God, written upon the heart of man—the other resting upon the basis of human institutions, and prescriptive law, and colonial charters." Again, the system of representation proposed was highly objectionable, because each state was entitled to the same voice in Congress, whatever might be the difference in population. But the most objectionable feature of all was, that the question of the *limits* of the several states, and also in whom was vested the control or possession of the crown-lands, was not only unadjusted, but wholly unnoticed. These and other defects caused most of the states to hesitate, at first, to adopt the articles, and several of them for a long time utterly refused to accept them.

On the twenty-second of June, 1778, Congress proceeded to consider the objections of the states to the Articles of Confederation, and on the twenty-seventh of the same month, a form of ratification was adopted and ordered to be engrossed upon parchment, with a view that the same should be signed by such delegates as were instructed so to do by their respective Legislatures.

On the ninth of July, the delegates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina signed the articles. The delegates from New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland were not yet empowered to ratify and sign. Georgia and North Carolina were not represented, and the ratification of New York was conditional that all the other states should ratify. The delegates from North Carolina signed the articles on the twenty-first of July; those of Georgia, on the twenty-fourth of the same month; those of New Jersey, on the twenty-sixth of November; and those of Delaware, on the twenty-second of February, and fifth of May, 1779. Maryland still firmly refused to ratify, until the question of the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate states to the crown-lands should be fully adjusted. This point was finally settled by cessions of the claiming states to the United States, of all the unsettled and unappropriated lands for the benefit of the whole Union. This cession of the crown-lands to the Union originated the Territorial System, and the erection of the Northwestern Territory into a distinct government similar to the existing states, having a local Legislature of its own. The insuperable objection of Maryland having been removed by the settlement of this question, her delegates signed the Articles of Confederation on the first day of March, 1781, four years and four months after they were adopted by Congress.† By this act of Maryland, they be-

* John Quincy Adams' Jubilee Discourse, 1830.

† The following are the names of the delegates from the several states appended to the Articles of Confederation:

New Hampshire, Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.
Massachusetts Bay, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovell, Samuel Holten.
Rhode Island, William Ellery, Henry Merchant, John Collins.
Connecticut, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams.
New York, James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris

came the organic law of the union, and on the second of March, Congress assembled under the new powers.

A few weeks previous to the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, Congress made a new arrangement in the machinery of its civil government. A foreign bureau was established, equivalent in its functions to our present Department of State, the head of which was styled *Secretary of Foreign Affairs*. A financial bureau was also established, and a Secretary of the Treasury, called *Superintendent of Finance*, was appointed. Secretaries of War and Marine were also appointed, and, under the power of the Confederation, new energy was manifested in the management of affairs.



Robert R. Livingston,* of New York, was appointed the first Foreign Secretary, and Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, Superintendent of Finance.† Livingston had two under secretaries (Louis R. Morris, and Peter S. Duponceau), and two clerks (John Stone, afterward governor of Maryland, and Henry Remsen, of New York), to assist him. Reverend Mr. Tettard, of Philadelphia, was the translator. The office for the transaction of business was a building on the eastern side of South Sixth Street (No. 13), three stories in height, with only twelve feet

front. From that humble edifice went forth instructions which arrested the attention of European diplomats, and turned their minds with astonishment to the rising nation in the West.

On the twentieth of June, 1782, the device for the present great Seal of the United States was adopted, as follows: *Arms*.—Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules; a chief azure; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed proper, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch, and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with this motto, "*E pluribus Unum*." For the *Crest*.—Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, or breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent, on an azure field. Reverse.—A pyramid, unfinished. In the zenith, an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper. Over the eye these words, "*Annuit Cœptis*." On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI., and underneath the following motto, "*Novus Ordo Seclorum*."†



FOREIGN OFFICE.*

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

It was early perceived that the Articles of Confederation conferred powers upon Congress quite inadequate to the objects of an effective national government. That body, according to the terms of those articles, possessed no power to liquidate debts incurred during the war;‡ it had the privilege only of recommending to the several states the payment thereof. This recommendation was tardily complied with,§ and Congress possessed no power to compel the states to obey its mandates. To a great extent, the people lost all regard for the authority of Congress, and the commercial affairs of the country became wretchedly deranged. In truth, every thing seemed to be tending toward utter chaos soon after peace in 1783, and the leading minds of the Revolution, in view of increasing and magnified evils, and the glaring defects of the Articles of Confederation, were turned to a consideration of a plan for a closer union of the states, and for a general government founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, from which the confederation in question widely departed.

The sagacious mind of Washington perceived with intense anxiety the tendency toward ruin of that fair fabric which his prowess had helped to rear, and he took the initial step toward the adoption of measures which finally resulted in the formation of the present Constitution of the United States. Washington had contemplated a scheme for uniting the Potomac with the Ohio, and through his influence the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland were induced to send commissioners to Alexandria, in March, 1785, to deliberate upon the subject. During their stay at Mount Vernon they devised another commission to establish a general tariff on imports, and to mature other commercial regulations. This convention was held at Annapolis, in September, 1786, but only five states were represented—Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and

New Jersey, John Witherspoon, Nathaniel Scudder.

Pennsylvania, Robert Morris, Daniel Robertson, Jonathan Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

Delaware, Thomas M. Kean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

Maryland, John Hanson, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee.

North Carolina, John Penn, Cornelius Harnett, John Williams.

South Carolina, Henry Laurens, William Henry Drayton, Jonathan Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Heyward, Jun.

Georgia, John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy.

* From an address delivered on the anniversary of one of the literary societies of Columbia College in 1831, by John W. Francis, M.D., of New York, I have gleaned the materials of the following brief notice of the public life of Mr. Livingston:

Robert R. Livingston, great-grandson of the first lord of the manor of Livingston, was born in the city of New York in 1747. He was educated at King's (Columbia) College, where he graduated in 1764. He studied law under William Smith, the historian of New York, and became eminent in that profession. He was an early opponent of British oppression, and took an active part in politics in his native city. His sister was married to the brave Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, and this circumstance fired the zeal of young Livingston. He was a member of the Congress of 1776, and was one of the committee appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence. Called home to attend to duties in the Provincial Congress of his state, he was not present when that instrument was adopted, nor when it was signed. He filled the responsible station of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, from January, 1781, until 1783, when, having been appointed Chancellor of the State of New York, he resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Jay. He was a warm supporter of the Federal Constitution in the convention of New York, assembled at Poughkeepsie in 1788, and the next year he administered the oath of office to George Washington as the first President of the United States, under the new charter. Mr. Jefferson appointed him minister to the court of France, then represented by the youthful Napoleon, the first consul of the French Republic. He performed his duties with signal ability, and accomplished the purchase of Louisiana from the French. By his enlightened patronage of Robert Fulton in his experiments in navigation by steam, he conferred an inestimable benefit upon mankind. He died at Clermont, in Columbia county, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1813, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. "His person," says Dr. Francis, who knew him intimately, "was tall and commanding, and of petician dignity. Gentle and courteous in his manners, pure and spright in his morals. His benefactions to the poor were numerous and unostentatious. In his life without reproach, victorious a death over its terrors."

† In May, 1781, Mr. Morris submitted to Congress a plan for a National Bank, with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars. Congress approved of the plan, offered to incorporate the subscribers by the name of the *President and Directors of the Bank of North America*, and decreed that the bills should be receivable in payment of all taxes, duties, and debts due the United States. This bank, the first in the United States, went into successful operation in December, 1781. It greatly assisted in the restoration of the credit of the government, and was of efficient service in the financial affairs of the country during the remainder of the war.

* This is from a sketch in Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. Mr. Duponceau informed Mr. Watson that Mr. Livingston occupied the front room in the second story, and his two under secretaries an adjoining back room. The two clerks and the translator occupied the only lower room.

† See *Journals of Congress*, vii., 301. In a manuscript letter before me, written in 1818, by Thomas Barritt, Esq., an eminent antiquary of Manchester, England, addressed to his son in this country, is the following statement: "My friend, Sir John Prestwich, Bart., told me he was the person who suggested the idea of a coat of arms for the American States to an ambassador [John Adams] from thence, which they have seen fit to put upon some of their moneys. It is this he told me—party per pale of thirteen stripes, white and red; the chief of the escutcheon blue, signifying the protection of Heaven over the states. He says it was soon afterward adopted as the arms of the states, and, to give it more consequence, it was placed upon the breast of a displayed eagle."

‡ The general government, at the close of the Revolution, was burdened with a foreign debt of eight millions of dollars, and a domestic debt of about thirty millions due to the army and to other American citizens.

§ During fourteen months, only four hundred and eighty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety dollars were paid into the public treasury; and the foreign interest was paid by a fresh loan from Holland.

New York.* The chief object of the convention was to consult on the best means of remedying the defects of the Federal government. The delegates met on the eleventh, and by a unanimous vote chose John Dickinson chairman. After a full interchange of sentiments, they agreed that a committee should be appointed to prepare a draft of a report to be made to the Legislatures of the several states then represented.

The committee reported on the fourteenth, that in consequence of the absence of delegates from a majority of states, it was thought advisable to postpone further action; and they recommended the appointment of deputies by the several states, to meet in convention, at Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May following.

This report was adopted, and transmitted to Congress. On the twenty-first of February, the committee of that body, consisting of Messrs. Dana, Varnum, S. M. Mitchell, Smith, Cadwallader, Irvine, N. Mitchell, Forrest, Grayson, Blount, Bull, and Few, to whom the report of the commissioners was referred, reported thereon, and offered the following for consideration:

"Congress having had under consideration the letter of John Dickinson, Esq., chairman of the commissioners who assembled at Annapolis during the last year; also the proceedings of the said commissioners, and entirely coinciding with them as to the inefficiency of the Federal government, and the necessity of devising such further provisions as shall render the same adequate to the exigencies of the Union, do strongly recommend to the different Legislatures to send forward delegates, to meet the proposed convention, on the second Monday in May next, at the city of Philadelphia."

The delegates for the State of New York thereupon laid before Congress instructions which they had received from their constituents, and, in pursuance of the said instructions, moved to postpone the further consideration of the report, in order to take up the following proposition, viz.:

"That it be recommended to the states composing the Union, that a convention of representatives from the said states respectively be held at —, on —, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the United States of America, and reporting to the United States, in Congress assembled, and to the states respectively, such alterations and amendments of the said Articles of Confederation as the representatives, met in such convention, shall judge proper and necessary, to render them adequate to the preservation and support of the Union."

On taking the question, only three states voted in the affirmative, and the resolution was negative.

A motion was then made by the delegates for Massachusetts to postpone the further consideration of the report, in order to take into consideration a motion which they read in their place; this being agreed to, the motion of the delegates for Massachusetts was taken up, and, being amended, was agreed to, as follows:

"Whereas, there is provision in the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union for making alterations therein, by the assent of a Congress of the United States, and of the Legislatures of the several states; and whereas, experience hath evinced that there are defects in the present Confederation, as a mean to remedy which, several of the states, and particularly the State of New York, by express instructions to their delegates in Congress, have suggested a convention for the purposes expressed in the following resolution; and such convention appearing to be the most probable means of establishing in these states a firm national government:

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the states, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government, and the preservation of the Union."

This preamble and resolution were immediately transmitted

* The names of the members of the convention were as follows: *New York*, Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson; *New Jersey*, Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, James Schureman; *Pennsylvania*, Trench Cope; *Delaware*, George Read, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett; *Virginia*, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Jun., St. George Tucker.

to the several speakers of state legislative assemblies, and they were laid before the representatives of the people in all the states of the confederacy. While a feeling prevailed generally that *something* must be done to avert the threatened anarchy, toward which governmental operations were tending, great caution was observed in the delegation of powers and in instruction to those who should be appointed members of the proposed convention. However, in compliance with the recommendation of Congress, delegates were chosen in the several states for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and assembled in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787. All the states were represented except Rhode Island.* Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. Able statesmen were his associates, and they entered earnestly upon their duties. They had not proceeded far, however, before they perceived that the Articles of Confederation were so radically defective, and their powers so inadequate to the wants of the country, that, instead of trying to amend the code of the old Confederation, they went diligently at work to form a new Constitution. Edmund Randolph submitted a series of resolutions on the twenty-ninth of May, which embodied the plan of a new Constitution. It was proposed to form a general government consisting of a Legislature, executive, and judiciary; and a revenue, army and navy independent of the control of the several states. It was to have power to conduct war, establish peace, make treaties; to have the exclusive privilege of coining money, and the supervision of all national transactions. Upon general principles this plan was highly approved, but in that convention there were many ardent and pure patriots, who looked upon the preservation of state sovereignty as essential, and regarded this proposed form of government as a radical infringement upon those rights. They therefore violently opposed it.

Another plan was proposed by Mr. Paterson, a delegate from New Jersey. It enlarged the power of Congress, but left its resources and supplies to be found through the medium of the state governments. This plan had that serious defect of the Articles of Confederation—a dependence of the general government upon the several states for its vitality. On the twelfth of September, the committee to "revise the Articles" submitted the following resolution to Congress, which was adopted:

"Resolved unanimously, That the said report, with the resolutions and letters accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several Legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case."

Such, in brief outline, is the history of the Confederation, and of our Federal Constitution as it came from the skillful pen of Gouverneur Morris,† a member of the convention. Sufficient

* The following are the names of the delegates:

New Hampshire, John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West.

Massachusetts, Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong.

Connecticut, William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth.

New York, Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jun., and Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey, David Brearley, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, John Neilson, William Livingston, Abraham Clark, and Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Benjamin Franklin.

Delaware, George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, and Jacob Broom.

Maryland, James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin.

Virginia, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, Jun., George Mason, and George Wythe. Patrick Henry having declined his appointment as deputy, James M'Clure was nominated to supply his place.

North Carolina, Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, William Richardson Davis, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Willie Jones. Richard Caswell having resigned, William Blount was appointed a deputy in his place. Willie Jones having also declined his appointment, was supplied by Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina, John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Pierce Butler.

Georgia, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, William Pierce, George Walton, William Houston, and Nathaniel Pendleton.

† Gouverneur Morris was born at Morrisania, near Harlem, New York, on the thirty-first of January, 1756. Very little is known of his early years. He graduated at King's College in 1780, and in 1771 was licensed to practice law. In 1778 he was a member of the Provincial Congress of New York, and was one of the committee appointed to draft the Constitution of the State of New York. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1777, where

as it has proven for the nation in its wonderful growth, it met with a host of opposers when it was submitted to the



people for their action. State rights, sectional interests, radical democracy, all had numerous friends, and these formed the phalanx of opposition; and all the persuasive eloquence of its advocates, with pen and speech, was needed to convince the people of its superiority to the Articles of Confederation, and the necessity for its ratification. Among its ablest advocates was Alexander Hamilton,*



A. Hamilton

he was very active. In 1781 he was made assistant superintendent of finance with Robert Morris. In 1787 he was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He was chosen by his colleagues to arrange the amendments and other heterogeneous material into the present perfect instrument of government. In 1793 he was appointed minister to France, where he remained two years. He was elected United States Senator in 1800, where his abilities and political sagacity made him one of its most useful members. He died in 1816, at the age of sixty-four years. Gouverneur Morris was a vigorous political writer. He had attentively studied the antecedents of the American Revolution, and fully comprehended the great springs of democratic action which produced its wonderful results. He regarded the trial and acquittal of John Peter Zenger (see page 786) as one of the most important of those antecedents, and expressed the unqualified opinion that that trial was "the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."—See *Address of J. W. Francis, M.D.*, on the fortieth Anniversary of the New York Historical Society.

* Alexander Hamilton was born on the island of Nevis, British West Indies, on the eleventh of January, 1757. He was of Scottish descent by his father; French by his mother. He received a fair education, and in 1769 he came a clerk to Nicholas Cruger, a merchant of St. Croix. He devoted all his leisure moments to study, and a production of his pen procured the co-operation of his friends in sending him to New York to be thoroughly educated. He was placed in a grammar school in New Jersey, under the tuition of Francis Barber, who afterward became a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He entered King's (Columbia) College in 1773, and at the age of seventeen appeared as a speaker at public meetings. He wrote political pamphlets in 1774 and 1775, which gave him great reputation. The Revolution now broke out, and he entered the military field as an artillery captain. In that capacity he fought at White Plains, was with his company at Trenton and Princeton, and remained in the field until the first of March, 1777, when

whose pen and sword had been identified with Washington during almost the whole war. He gave to its advocacy the whole weight of his character and power of his genius, and, aided by Jay and Madison, he scattered broadcast among the people those able papers called *The Federalist*. These, like Paine's *Crisis*, stirred the masses, and soon eleven states, in convention assembled, gave it their support. It thus became the organic law of the nation, and under its provisions George Washington, by a unanimous vote, was elected the first chief magistrate of the nation, with John Adams as Vice-president. Washington was certified of his election on the fourteenth of April, 1789, at Mount Vernon, and two days afterward he was on his way toward New York, the chosen seat of the Federal government. We have already had occasion to notice the honors which attended him in his journey from Mount Vernon to New York. It was like a triumphal procession. He arrived there on the twenty-third of April,* and on the thirtieth of the same month the oath of office was administered to him by Chancellor Livingston,* upon the balcony of the old Federal Hall, in the presence of a vast concourse of gratified



THE FEDERAL HALL.

citizens. That was the crowning act of the Revolution—then constitutional republicanism, pure, vigorous, and abiding, was first inaugurated upon earth.

IV.

BRITISH PRISONS AND PRISON SHIPS.

ASSOCIATIONS of intense horror are linked with the memory and the records of the cruelties practiced and sufferings endured in the prisons and prison ships at New York, in which thousands of captive patriots were from time to time incarcerated during the war for Independence. Those who were

Washington appointed him his aid de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was Washington's chief secretary and confidential aid until 1781, when, with the same rank, he obtained the command of a light corps. With these he fought bravely at Yorktown, under La Fayette. He left the army, and in 1783 was admitted to practice at the bar of the Supreme Court of New York, and became a member of Congress. His pen was always busy upon national subjects, and by it he did much, with others (see page 384, volume i.), in preparing the people in favor of the Federal Constitution. His great financial knowledge caused Washington to choose him for his first Secretary of the Treasury, and he was very useful to the president during his whole administration. In the winter of 1804 he became involved in a political dispute with Colonel Aaron Burr, by whom he was challenged to mortal combat. They fought, on the twelfth of July, at Weehawken, on the west bank of the Hudson, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. He was taken across the river to the house of Mr. Bayard, near Greenwich Village, where he expired soon after the arrival of his wife and children. That widow of forty-eight years yet (December, 1869; see page 406) lives, an honored denizen of the Federal metropolis. The American republic never had a truer friend nor abler supporter than Alexander Hamilton. His country residence, called *The Grange*, after the seat of his paternal grandfather in Scotland, is yet standing on the bank of the Harlem River, near Fort Washington. On the lawn in front of it is a group of thrifty elms, consisting of thirteen, which he planted by his own hand, and named them after the several original thirteen states. All are straight and comely but one; that one is very crooked.

* The Bible upon which Washington laid his hand when this oath was administered was then, and is now, the property of St. John's Lodge of Free masons. It is preserved as a most precious memento.

† This is a view of the old Federal Hall, which stood on the site of the present Custom House in Wall Street, at the head of Broad Street. The view is from Wall Street, looking toward Broadway. Upon the balcony seen in front, the oath of office was administered to Washington. It was erected at the beginning of the last century. Its upper part projected over the side walk, and formed an open arcade. Apartments in it were used as jails, until the erection of the "new jail," the proudest prison of the Revolution.

made prisoners on land were confined in the foul jails of the city, while captive seamen, and sometimes soldiers too, were kept for months in floating dungeons,

"—doomed to famine, shackles, and despair,
Condemned to breathe a foul, infected air
In sickly hulks, devoted while they lay—
Successive funerals gloomed each diurnal day."

PHILIP FRENEAU.*

We have before observed that the prisoners taken in the battle near Brooklyn in August, and at Fort Washington in November, 1776,† almost four thousand in all, were confined in prisons in the city of New York. Probably more than a thousand private citizens, arrested by the British on suspicion or positive proof of their being active Whigs, were also made prisoners, and at the close of the year, at least five thousand American captives were in the power of the invaders. The only prisons proper in the city were the "New Jail" and the "New Bridewell." The former, entirely altered in appearance, is the present Hall of Records in the Park, east of the City Hall; the latter stood between the present City Hall and Broadway. These were quite insufficient, and the three spacious sugar-houses then in the city, some of the Dissenting churches, Columbia College, and the Hospital, were all used as prisons. The disastrous effects of the great fire in September, the demands of the British army for supplies, the indolent indifference of Sir William Howe, and the cruel conduct of Cunningham, the provost marshal, combined to produce intense suffering among the prisoners.

Van Cortlandt's Sugar-house, which stood at the northwest corner of Trinity church-yard, corner of Thames and Lumber Streets; Rhinelander's, on the corner of William and Duane Streets, now (1852) Lightbody's Printing-ink Manufactory; and



VAN CORTLANDT'S SUGAR-HOUSE.

the more eminently historical one on Liberty Street (numbers 34 and 36), a few feet eastward of the Middle Dutch church, now the Post-office, were the most spacious buildings in the city, and answered the purposes of prisons very well. Rhinelander's is the only one remaining, the one on Liberty Street having been demolished in June, 1840, and Van Cortlandt's during the summer of 1852. The North Dutch church, yet standing on William Street, between Fulton and Ann, was made to contain eight hundred prisoners, after taking out the pews and using them for fuel;‡ and placing a floor across from gallery to gallery. For about two months several hundred prisoners were huddled together in the Middle Dutch church (see page 835), when they were removed, and it was converted into a riding-school, after taking out the pews.§ The "Brick church," yet standing in the triangle be-

* I have had frequent occasion to quote for epigrams, appropriate sentences from the terse rhymes of Freneau. He was a staunch Whig, and his

Philip Freneau

natures, aimed at the opponents of the Revolution, were very popular. He was for sometime a captive in the *Scorpion* prison-ship, moored in the Hudson, at New York, and has left a vivid poetic record of the sufferings of himself and fellow-captives. He was a warm supporter of Mr. Jefferson, and was for many years an industrious political writer in favor of the Democratic party. Mr. Freneau's remains are in his family burial ground at Freehold, New Jersey, where the body of his venerable widow was placed at her death, which occurred in 1849. I am indebted to Dr. J. W. Francis for the original of the signature given above. † See pages 810-837.

‡ The mahogany pulpit was carefully removed, sent to London, and placed in a chapel there.

§ The church was not repaired until 1798, when it was re-dedicated to

tween Park Row and Beekman and Nassau Streets, was used for a prison a short time, when it, with the Presbyterian church in Wall Street, the Scotch church in Cedar Street, and the Friend's Meeting-house in Liberty Street, were converted into hospitals. The French church in Pine Street, and a portion of Van Cortlandt's Sugar-house, were used as magazines for ordnance and stores; and the old City Hall (Federal Hall, page 864) was converted into a guard-house for the main guard of the city. The latter had dungeons beneath it, wherein civil officers, and afterward whale-boatmen and land marauders, were confined. None of these buildings now remain except the two Dutch churches and the "Brick church."

The "New Jail" was made a provost prison, where American



PROVOST JAIL.*

officers and the most eminent Whigs who fell into the hands of the British were confined. Here was the theatre of Cunningham's brutal conduct toward the victims of his spite. The prisoners were formally introduced to him, and their name, age, size, and rank were recorded. They were then confined in the gloomy cells, or to the equally loathsome upper chamber, where the highest officials in captivity were so closely crowded together, that when, at night, they laid down to sleep upon the hard plank floor, they could change position only by all turning over at once, at the words *right—left*. Their food was scanty and of the poorest kind, often that which Cunningham had exchanged at a profit for better food received from their friends or the commissariat. Little delicacies brought by friends of the captives seldom reached them, and the brutal Cunningham would sometimes devour or destroy such offerings of affection, in the presence of his victims, to gratify his cruel propensities. Thus for many months gentlemen of fortune and education, who had lived in the enjoyment of the luxuries and refined pleasures of elegant social life, were doomed to a miserable existence, embittered by the coarse insults of an ignorant, drunken Irish master, or to a speedy death caused by such treatment, the want of good food, and fresh air, and innumerable other sufferings, the result, in a great measure, of the criminal indifference (it may be *commande*) of Loring, Sproat, and Lennox, commissaries of prisoners at various times. Still greater cruelties were practiced upon the less conspicuous prisoners, and many were hanged in the gloom of night, without trial or known cause for the foul murder.† And yet, in the

Christian worship, by Reverend John Livingston, D.D., as chief officiating clergyman. The bell which formerly hung in the tower is now in a church in Ninth Street, New York, where it may be heard every Sabbath.

* This was a small stone building, nearly square in form, and three stories in height, erected in "the fields" in 1768. Its old walls now form a part of the *Hall of Records*. The main entrance to the prison was on the south. It had two lobbies, with strong barricades between the external and internal ones. On the right of the entrance was the room occupied by Cunningham, and opposite was that of Sergeant O'Keefe, his deputy in office and cruelty. A grated door was at the bottom of the stairs leading to the second and third floors. The northwest chamber on the second floor was devoted to officers and civilians of highest rank, and was called, in derision, *Congress Hall*. The late venerable John Pintard related the following anecdote of O'Keefe: As the Americans were moving down Chatham to Pearl Street, on the day of the British evacuation, O'Keefe thought it time for him to depart. A few British subjects, convicted of various crimes, were yet in his custody. As he was leaving, one of them inquired, "Sergeant, what is to become of us?" "You may all go to the devil," he replied, in anger, as he threw the keys upon the floor behind him. "Thank you, sergeant," was the answer; "we have had too much of your company in this world to follow you to the next."

† During the whole time of the occupation of the city by the British, a gallows stood upon the brow of a hill, near the site of Burton's Theater, in Chambers Street. It was called Gallows Hill, and overlooked the Fresh Water Pond, and the little island near the junction of Center and Pearl Streets, whereon for many years a powder-house stood. From this circumference, that portion of Pearl Street was long called Magazine Street. The execution of American prisoners generally took place soon after midnight. The victims were accompanied to the gallows by Cunningham and his deputy, with a guard of eight men, and mercilessly murdered by the cord. When

presence of the known fact that British power administered by military despotism was the cause of these sufferings, that infamous time-server, Hugh Gaine, who six months previously was professedly a zealous patriot, dared to insult truth and a common honesty by publishing in his paper false-
Nov. 25, 1775. hooded like this: "There are now five thousand prisoners in town, many of them half naked. Congress, deserting the poor wretches, has sent them neither provisions nor clothing, nor paid attention to their distress, or that of their families. Their situation must have been doubly deplorable, but for the humanity of the king's officers. Every possible attention has been given, considering their great numbers and necessary confinement, to alleviate their distress arising from guilt, sickness, and poverty."

The heart sickens at the recital of the sufferings of these patriots, and we turn in disgust from the view which the pen of faithful history reveals. Let us draw before it the veil of forgetfulness, and, while contemplating the cruelties and woes of that hour of the past, listen to the suggestions of Christian charity, which observes that much of the general suffering was the result of stern necessity, and that the cry of individual wrongs, inflicted by Cunningham and his hirelings, did not often reach the ears of the more humane officers of the British army.

Next to the provost prison, the sugar-house in Liberty Street was most noted for the sufferings of captive patriots. It was a dark stone building, five stories in height, with small deep windows like port-holes, giving it the appearance of a prison. Each story was divided into two apartments. A large, barred door opened up-



SUGAR-HOUSE IN LIBERTY STREET.*

on Liberty Street, and from another, on the southeast side, a stair-way led to gloomy cellars, which were used as dungeons. Around the whole building was a passage a few feet wide, and there, day and night, British and Hessian sentinels patrolled. The whole was inclosed by a wooden fence nine feet in height. Within this gloomy jail the healthy and the sick, white and black, were indiscriminately thrust; and there, during the summer of 1777, many died from want of exercise, cleanliness, and fresh air. "In the suffocating heat of summer," says Dunlap, "I saw every aperture of those strong walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air." At length, in July, 1777, a jail fever was created, and great numbers died. During its prevalence the prisoners were marched out in companies of twenty, to breathe the fresh air for half an hour, while those within divided themselves into parties of six each, and there alternately enjoyed the privilege of standing ten minutes at the windows. They had no seats, and their beds of straw were filled with vermin. They might have exchanged this horrid tenement for the comfortable quarters of a British soldier by enlisting in the king's service, but very few would thus yield their principles. They each preferred to be among the dozen bodies which were daily carried out in carts and cast into the ditches and morasses beyond the city limits. Sheds, stables, and other outhouses received hundreds of prisoners, who suffered terribly from cold and hunger during the winter succeeding their capture at Fort Mifflin. Few now live to recite their experience of this horrid sacrifice to the demon of discord, and humanity would gladly drop a tear upon this chapter of the dark record of man's wrongs, and blot it out forever. Escapes, death, exchange of prisoners, and a more humane policy, gradually thinned the ranks of the sufferers in the city prisons, and when peace came,

few were left therein to come out and join in the general jubilee. Hundreds had left their brief records upon the walls and beams (the initials of their names), which remained until these prisons were demolished.*

PRISON-SHIPS.

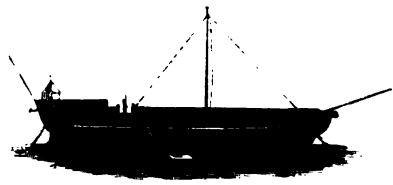
The sufferings of American captives in British hulks were greater even than those in the prisons on land. We have already alluded to the woes of those captured at Savannah and Charleston; we will now note briefly the condition of those at New York.

The prison-ships were intended for seamen taken on the ocean, yet some soldiers were confined in them. The first vessels used for the purpose were the transports in which cattle and other stores were brought by the British in 1776. These lay in Gravesend Bay, and there many of the prisoners taken in the battle near Brooklyn were confined until the British took possession of New York, when they were removed to prisons in the city, and the transports were anchored in the Hudson and East Rivers. In 1778 the hulks of decaying ships were moored in the Wallabout or Wallaboch, a sheltered bay on the Long Island shore, where the present Navy Yard is. There, in succession, the *Whitby*, *Good Hope*, *Scorpion*, *Prince of Wales*, *Falmouth*, *Hunter*, *Stromboli*, and half a dozen of less note were moored, and contained hundreds of American seamen captured on the high seas.† The sufferings of these captives were intense, and at the close of 1779 they set fire to two of them, hoping to secure either liberty or death. They felt it

"Better the greedy wave should swallow all,
 Better to meet the death-conducting hall,
 Better to sleep on ocean's oory bed,
 At once destroyed and numbered with the dead,
 Than thus to perish in the face of day,
 Where twice ten thousand deaths one death delay.

FRENEAU.

In 1780, the *Jersey*, originally a sixty-four gun ship (but, because unfit for service, was dismantled in 1776), was placed in



THE JERSEY PRISON-SHIP.‡

the Wallabout, and used as a prison-ship till the close of the war, when she was left to decay on the spot where her victims had suffered. Her companions were the *Stromboli*, *Hunter*, and *Scorpion*, then used as hospitals. The latter was moored in the Hudson, toward Paulus's Hook. The large number confined in the *Jersey*, sometimes more than a thousand at a time, and the terrible sufferings which occurred there, have made her name pre-eminent, and her history a synonym for prison ships during the war. Her crew consisted of a captain, two mates, cook, steward, and a dozen sailors. She had also a guard of twelve old invalid marines, and about thirty soldiers.

* When the Liberty Street Sugar-house was taken down, some of its timbers were converted into canes and other objects, by persons of antiquarian taste. Among these was Mr. David Barker, a merchant of New York, who possessed a cane made of the wood. Toward the close of 1851, he communicated, through a city paper, his desire to present the cane to a survivor of the sugar-house prisoners, if one was living. Several claimed the prize, all of whom were undoubtedly prisoners there. In determining the award by lot, the precious relic fell to Levi Hanford, of Walton, Delaware county, New York, who is yet (November, 1868) living in the enjoyment of fair health and vigor. He was confined in the sugar house for seventeen months.

† The venerable Jeremiah Johnson, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, who died in October, 1869, deposited in the Naval Lyceum a very valuable plan of the Wallabout as it was in the Revolution, showing the position of the several prison-ships, the houses upon the shore, burial place of the victims, &c.

‡ This is from a sketch in *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-ship*, prepared from the manuscript of Thomas Dring, a prisoner, by Albert G. Greene, Esq. of Providence, Rhode Island. The tent seen upon the quarter-deck near the stern, was used by the guard for a covering during hot weather. A flag staff for signals was in the center. On the quarter-deck was a barricade, ten feet in height, with a door and loop holes on each side. The officers' cabin and the steering for the sailors were under the quarter-deck.

fresh and blood were wanting, effigies were often suspended upon that gibbet; and for a long time a tolerably correct portrait of John Hancock might be seen dangling from the cross-beam.

* This is from a sketch by Mr. William J. Davis, of New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a knowledge of many interesting relics of the "olden time" in the city.

drafted from British and Hessian corps lying on Long Island. These were the jailers of the American captives, and were the instruments of great cruelty. Unwholesome food, foul air, filth, and despondency soon produced diseases of the most malignant nature. Dysentery, small-pox, and prison fever were the most prevalent, and, for want of good nurses and medical attendants, they died by scores on the *Jersey* and the hospital ships. The voice of human sympathy seldom reached the ears of the captives, and despair was the hand-maid of contagion. No systematic efforts for their relief were made, and, because of the contagious character of the diseases, no person ever visited the hulks to bestow a cheering smile or a word of consolation.* All was funeral gloom, and hope never whispered its cheering promises there. When the crews of privateers were no longer considered prisoners of war by the British (see page 850), the number of captives in confinement fearfully increased, and Congress had no adequate equivalents to exchange. Policy, always heartless, forbade the exchange of healthy British prisoners for emaciated Americans, and month after month the hapless captives suffered, and then died.

The name and character of each prisoner were registered when he first came on board. He was then placed in the hold, frequently with a thousand others, a large portion of them covered with filthy rags, often swarming with vermin. In messes of six they received their daily food every morning, which generally consisted of moldy biscuit filled with worms, damaged peas, condemned beef and pork, sour flour and meal, rancid butter, sometimes a little filthy suet, but never any vegetables. Their meat was boiled in a large copper kettle. Those who had a little money, and managed to avoid robbery by the British underlings, sometimes purchased bread, sugar, and other necessities, which an old woman used to bring alongside the hulk in a little boat.† Every morning the prisoners brought up their bedding to be aired, and, after washing the decks, they were allowed to remain above till sunset, when they were ordered below with imprecations, and the savage cry, "Down, rebels, down!" The hatches were then closed, and in serried ranks they laid down to sleep, if possible, in the putrid air and stifling heat, amid the sighs of the acutely distressed and the groans of the dying. Each morning the harsh order came below, "*Rebels, turn out your dead!*" The dead were selected from the living, each sewed in his blanket, if he had one, and thus conveyed in a boat to the shore by his companions under a guard, and hastily buried.

"By feeble hands their shallow graves were made;
No stone-memorial o'er their corpses laid.
In barren sands, and far from home, they lie,
No friend to shed a tear when passing by."

FRÉNEAU.

Several times successful attempts at escape were made, and these drew the cords of captivity closer, until the name of "Hell" for the *Jersey* was a proper synonym. Various minute accounts of the sufferings of the prisoners have been published, the substance of which, with other interesting matter concerning the prisons and prison-ships at New York, may be found in Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, II., 207-250 inclusive.

So shallow were the graves of the dead on the shores of the Wallabout, that while the ships were yet sending forth their victims, the action of the waves and the drifting of the loose sand often exposed the bones of those previously buried. Year after year this revolting exhibition might be seen, and yet no steps were taken to preserve the remains of the martyred Feb. 10, patriots, until 1803, when Samuel L. Mitchill presented a memorial to Congress, in behalf of the Tammany Society of New York, soliciting a tomb for the *Martyrs*. This petition caused propositions for the erection of a great number of monuments, ordered by the Continental Congress to be reared in memory of various revolutionary worthies. The prayer of the petitioners was not granted, and no further legislative action was had. The Tammany Society resumed

the consideration of the subject in the winter of 1807, appointed a committee, and on the thirteenth of April, 1808, the cornerstone of a vault for the remains was laid, with imposing ceremonies upon land presented for the purpose by John Jackson, Esq., situated on the southwestern verge of the Navy Yard, near the termination of Front Street, at Hudson Avenue, Brooklyn. Joseph D. Fay, Esq., delivered an eloquent address on the occasion. On the twenty-sixth of May, 1808, a grand funeral procession, formed of societies and citizens of New York and Brooklyn, marched to the finished vault, and there, in the presence of at least fifteen thousand persons, thirteen coffins, filled with remains taken from the shore of the Wallabout, were placed in it.* Doctor Benjamin Dewitt delivered a pathetic funeral oration to the vast crowd, "while tears of sympathy bedimmed their eyes." A small wooden building was erected



THE ANTE-CHAMBER.†

over the vault, as an ante-chamber, intended to be temporary. In front of it was placed a wooden fence, with thirteen posts, and upon the bars were painted the names of the original thirteen states. The ante-chamber yet (1852) remains, and some of the posts are yet there, but the original design has never been accomplished. Forty-four years have elapsed, and yet no enduring monument has been raised to the memory of those martyrs for freedom. Efforts toward that end are now in progress. A committee has been appointed in Brooklyn, and it is to be hoped that a worthy memorial will be speedily reared upon the spot.

V.

BOARD OF WAR AND ORDNANCE.

ON the twelfth of June, 1776, Congress resolved that a committee of five should be appointed "by the name of the Board of War and Ordnance;" to have a secretary and one or more clerks. On the following day, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Harrison, James Wilson, and Edward Rutledge were elected commissioners, and Richard Peters, secretary. The duties of the Board were to consist in obtaining and keeping an alphabetical register of all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, their rank and dates of commissions; an exact account of all artillery and military stores; an account of the troops in the respective colonies; to forward all dispatches for Congress to the colonies and the armies; to superintend the raising, fitting out, and dispatching all land forces, under the general direction of Congress; to have charge of all prisoners of war, and to keep correct copies, in books, of all the correspondence and dispatches of the Board. The secretary and clerks were required to take an oath of secrecy before entering upon their duties. The salary of the secretary was fixed at the rate of eight hundred dollars a year; of the clerks, two hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six cents.

A seal was adopted soon after the organization of the Board, of which the engraving on the next page is an exact copy. Additions were made to the number of the commissioners, and there were frequent changes in the administration of its affairs. Owing to the extent of the field of war, subordinate boards were authorized in February, 1778. These were to consist of the commanding officers of artillery in any division of the grand army, the eldest colonel in the camp, and the chief engineer, who were to have the general supervision of the ordnance de-

* The number of American prisoners buried at the Wallabout is not known. At the time of the interment in 1808, it was stated to be more than eleven thousand. Among the remains gathered and deposited in the vault at the Navy Yard, are doubtless many British and Hessian soldiers, known to have been buried there. Of course, no distinction could be made when the remains were collected. They probably form a very small part of the gathered relics of the martyrs.

† This is a sketch of the ante-chamber, taken from Hudson Avenue. The building is eight feet square, and ten in height. Upon the cupola, surmounted by an eagle perched upon a globe, are long inscriptions, all irrelevant except the one upon the west side, which contains a brief history of the interment.

* Philip Freneau related a remarkable fact to his friend, Dr. Francis. He says that while Northern and Southern men, used to different climates, were crowded together during the rage of the pestilence, many of whom had never been inoculated for small-pox, at least sixty or seventy of them, now for the first time exposed to the disease, escaped its effects.

† This was a corpulent old woman known as "Dame Grant." She visited the ship every alternate day. Her boat was rowed by two boys, who delivered what she brought in parcels, with the price affixed. She at length became a victim to the diseases of the hulk, and her death was a great loss to the captives.

partment of the camp and field, under the commander-in-chief of the division.

A new Board was organized in November, 1777, consisting of three persons not members of Congress, to sit in the place



SEAL OF THE BOARD OF WAR.

where Congress should be in session. This Board was composed of General Mifflin, and Colonels T. Pickering and Robert H. Harrison. They were each to have a salary of two thousand dollars a year. Mr. Harrison declined the service, and on the twenty-seventh, General Gates, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters were elected commissioners. Gates was appointed President of the Board, and at the same time he retained his rank and pay of major general in the army. Colonel Pickering and Mr. Peters, who were the "acting members of the Board," received each a salary of four thousand dollars a year. In October, 1778, another organization of the Board took place. It consisted of two members of Congress, and three persons not members, any three to constitute a quorum for business. The salary of the secretary, at that time, was increased to two thousand dollars.

On the new organization of the civil government, under the Articles of Confederation, Congress made another arrangement, and resolved to elect a Secretary of War on Feb. 1781.

Richard Peters continued to discharge the duties of the Board until October 30th, 1781, when General Lincoln was elected Secretary of War, with a salary of five thousand dollars a year. Peters then resigned, and received the thanks of Congress for his industry and fidelity.

Lincoln held the office until the close of the war.

Richard Peters

VI.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is a fact worthy of special record, and one which ought to excite the honest pride of every American, that not one of that noble band who pledged life, fortune, and honor to the support of American independence, ever fell from his high moral position before the world, or dimmed, by word or deed, that brilliant page of history on which their names are written. In the following brief sketches of their public career this fact is illustrated. Correct portraits of forty-nine of the fifty-six signers will be found in the frontispiece to the second volume of this work. The group in the center of the plate represents the committee who prepared the *Declaration*, as arranged by Trumbull in his celebrated picture of the event. I have arranged the sketches in the order of States as they appear in the Journals of Congress.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett was born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, in November, 1729. He studied the science of medicine, and commenced the practice of a physician at Kingston, in New Hampshire. There he soon became a politician, was elected a member of the Colonial Legislature, and was always found in opposition to measures of oppression, unmindful of the flatteries and bribes of the chief magistrate. He was one of a Commit-

tee of Safety in 1775, held the office of colonel of a militia regiment, and, at the close of the year, was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress. He voted for independence, and was the first to sign the Declaration, after John Hancock. He subsequently filled the offices of Judge of Common Pleas and of the Supreme Court of his state, and in the convention to consider the Federal Constitution, he took an active part in the affirmative. He was elected first president, and then governor of New Hampshire. He died May 19th, 1795, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

William Whipple was born at Kittery, in Maine, in 1730. He was partially educated at a common school, and at an early age went to sea. In 1759 he commenced business as a merchant at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He was chosen a representative in the Provincial Congress of that state in 1775, and in 1776 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress. In 1777 he was made a brigadier general of the New Hampshire militia, and was active in calling out troops to oppose Burgoyne. He was in the battles at Stillwater and Saratoga, assisted in negotiations for the surrender of Burgoyne, and was one of the officers who conducted the captive army to Cambridge. He remained in active public service, and in 1782 was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. He died on the twenty-eighth of November, 1785, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Matthew Thornton was born in Ireland in 1714. He came to America, with his parents, at the age of three years. His father first settled at Wiscasset, in Maine, but soon went to Worcester, Massachusetts, where his son received an academic education. He studied for, and became a physician, and in 1745 was appointed surgeon to the New Hampshire troops in the expedition against Louisburg. He also held royal commissions as justice of the peace and colonel of militia. He was chosen a delegate for New Hampshire to the Continental Congress in 1776, and during that year he was made chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire. He was soon raised to the bench of the Superior Court. He died on the twenty-fourth of June, 1803, while on a visit to his friends in Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of September, 1722. He was educated for the ministry at Harvard College, but, preferring politics to theology, he never took orders. During the ten years of excitement preceding the Revolution, Mr. Adams was a conspicuous leader on the popular side. In the Continental Congress, where he was a representative of his native state, he was one of the warmest advocates for independence. After he left Congress he was very active in Massachusetts, especially in framing the State Constitution, under which he was chosen governor. He was a man eminently fitted for the times in which he lived, and he made a powerful impression upon the political features of his generation. He died on the second of October, 1803, at the age of eighty-one years.

John Adams was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the nineteenth of October, 1735. He graduated at Harvard University, at the age of twenty years, and soon afterward commenced the practice of the law in Boston. He was brought prominently into political life by his defense of Captain Preston after the "Boston Massacre" in 1770, and he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774, where he was always a leading spirit. He was sent on missions to England and Holland, and on his return he assisted in framing a constitution for his state. He assisted in negotiating peace with Great Britain, and was our first minister to London. He was elected vice-president of the United States in 1789, and president in 1797. He retired to Quincy in 1801, and engaged but little in public life afterward. He died on the fourth of July, 1826, at the age of ninety-one years.



ADAMS'S RESIDENCE AT QUINCY.

John Hancock was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1737.

He graduated at Harvard College in 1734, and entered into mercantile life with his uncle, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who was childless, and adopted him as a son. He was successively elected a selectman of Boston and a member of the General Court. He became very popular, and on the formation of the Provincial Congress of his state, he was elected its president. In 1775 he was made president of the Continental Congress, and in that capacity placed his bold signature first to the great Declaration. Ill health compelled him to leave Congress, but not the duties of public life. He assisted in forming a Constitution for his native state, and served as governor under it from 1780 till 1793, with the exception of one year. He died of the gout on the eighth of October, 1793, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His residence is delineated on page 507, volume I.

Robert Treat Paine was a native of Massachusetts, born in 1731. He graduated at Harvard College, studied theology, and was a chaplain in the army, on the frontier, in 1758. He afterward turned his attention to the study of the law, and became a good practitioner. He was brought into public life by acting for the attorney general in the trial of Captain Preston, which case he managed with great ability. He was a delegate from Massachusetts in the Continental Congress of 1774, and was there again in 1776. Under the Massachusetts Constitution, adopted in 1780, he was appointed attorney general. He held that office until 1796, when he was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of his state. He resigned in 1804, and was appointed one of the state counselors. In the course of a year he retired from public life. He died on the eleventh of May, 1814, in the eighty-third year of his age.

Elbridge Gerry was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of July, 1744. He graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and prepared for commercial life. He was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1773, was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and was soon afterward sent a delegate to the Continental Congress. He held a front rank in that body on commercial and naval subjects, and was a very useful committee-man. He was opposed to the Federal Constitution, but yielded his opinion when it became the organic law of the republic. He was appointed an envoy to France in 1797, and was popular there. He was elected governor of Massachusetts on his return, afterward was made vice-president of the United States, and died in Washington City, while holding that office, on the twenty-third of November, 1814.

RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins was born at Scituate (then a part of Providence), Rhode Island, on the seventh of March, 1707. He was a self-taught man. He was a member and speaker of the Rhode Island Assembly, and in 1754 was a member of a convention of delegates from the several colonies held at Albany. He wrote and acted against the unjust measures of the mother country, long before the Revolution. He was a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and was also a member in 1776. He left that body in 1778, and was subsequently a member of the Legislature of his native state, where he was highly esteemed. He died on the nineteenth of July, 1785, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His monument is delineated on page 56 of this volume.

William Ellery was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on the twenty-second of December, 1737. He graduated at Harvard College in 1747, where he commenced the study and practice of law in his native town. He was an early opponent of British misrule, and having the confidence of his fellow-citizens, he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1776. He suffered much from the enemy during the war. He continued a member of Congress until 1785, at the same time holding the office of judge of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. He was made first collector of the port of Newport, under the provisions of the Federal Constitution, which office he held until his death on the fifteenth of February, 1820, in the ninety-second year of his age.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman was born at Newtown, near Boston, on the nineteenth of April, 1721. He was bred a shoemaker, and followed that business until his twenty-second year, when he opened a small store and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1754, and was soon afterward elected a member of the Connecticut Legislature. A few years afterward, he was

appointed a judge of the Common Pleas, and was soon elevated to the bench of the Superior Court of Connecticut. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1775, where his services were of great utility. He was one of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, and he cheerfully signed that instrument. He continued a member of Congress until 1769. He died on the twenty-fifth of July, 1793, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Samuel Huntington was born in Windham, Connecticut, on the second of July, 1732. He received only a common school education, but, choosing the law for a profession, he became so proficient that he was appointed king's attorney. He was soon raised to the bench of the Superior Court. In 1775 he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was chosen president of that body in 1779. He served several years in Congress, at different times, and was always active in public life in his native state. He was appointed chief justice of Connecticut, elected lieutenant governor, and in 1786 he succeeded Governor Griswold as chief magistrate. He died on the fifth of January, 1796, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His residence and tomb are delineated on pages 38, 39 of this volume.

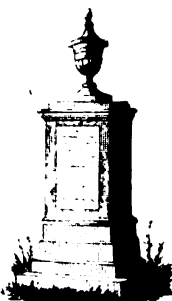
William Williams was born in Connecticut on the eighteenth of April, 1731, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751. He studied theology, but abandoned it for the field of Mars. He was the aid of his brother, who, with Hendrick, was killed near Lake George in 1755. After his return, he was chosen clerk of his town, which office he held almost fifty years. He was a member of the Connecticut Legislature for forty-five years. He was a delegate in the Continental Congress in 1776, and was a warm advocate of independence. He died on the twentieth of August, 1811, in the eighty-first year of his age. His residence is delineated on page 35 of this volume.

Oliver Wolcott was born in Connecticut in 1726. He graduated at Yale College in 1747. In 1774 he was elected a member of the Council of State, which office he held until 1786. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and was an active officer throughout the Revolution. He was a member of Congress until 1786, and was either in that body or in the field the whole time. He was elected lieutenant governor of his state in 1786, which office he held until elected governor, ten years afterward. He died on the first of December, 1797, in the seventy-second year of his age.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd was born on Long Island on the seventeenth of December, 1734. He was an early patriot, and being opulent and popular, he was chosen to represent that section of New York in the Continental Congress of 1774. During the entire war he was engaged in public life, and suffered much loss of property at the hands of the British. He moved to the banks of the Mohawk after the war, and there engaged in the delightful pursuit of agriculture. He died on the fourth of August, 1821, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

Philip Livingston was born in Albany, New York, on the fifteenth of January, 1716. He graduated at Yale College in 1737, and then entered into mercantile business in the city of New York, where he was eminently successful. He was an alderman, and in 1754 was a member of the Colonial Convention at Albany. He was a delegate in Congress in 1776, and was one of the committee who drafted the Declaration of Independence. After the adoption of the Constitution of his state, he was a member of the Senate. He was also again elected a member of Congress, but death soon deprived his country of his services. He died, while attending Congress, at York, Pennsylvania, of dropsy in the chest, on the twelfth of June, 1778, in the sixty-second year of his age.



LIVINGSTON'S MONUMENT AT YORK.*

* This monument is at York, Pennsylvania (see ante, page 336), and bears the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the Honorable *Philip Livingston*, who died June 12, 1778, aged sixty-three years, while attending the Congress of the United States at York, Pennsylvania, as a delegate from the State of New York. Eminently distinguished for his talents and rectitude, he deservedly enjoyed the confidence of his country, and the love

Francis Lewis was born in South Wales in 1713. He was partly educated in Scotland, and was then sent to Westminster. He entered a mercantile house in London, and at the age of twenty-one years came to America, and commenced business in New York. He was an agent here of British merchants in 1756, and was made a prisoner and sent to France. He returned to America, and became an active politician. He was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775, and served there for several years. He owned property on Long Island, which the British destroyed. He died on the thirtieth of December, 1803, in the ninetyeth year of his age.

Lewis Morris was born in New York in 1726. He graduated at Yale College in 1746, and then retired to the farm of his father, in Lower West Chester, near Harlem. He took sides with the patriots when the war broke out, and was sent to the Continental Congress as a delegate in 1775. He was a member in 1776, and continued in office until 1777, when he was succeeded by his brother, Gouverneur Morris. He suffered much in loss of property during the war. He died in January, 1798, in the seventy-second year of his age.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton was born near Princeton, on the first of October, 1730. He graduated at Princeton College in 1748, studied law with David Ogden, and rose rapidly to eminence. He visited Great Britain in 1767, where he became acquainted with many distinguished men. He was an ardent patriot, and in 1776 was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. In the autumn of that year, while returning from an official visit to the Northern army, he was made prisoner, and was treated with much cruelty. His constitution became shattered before his release, and, sinking gradually, he died on the twenty-eighth of February, 1781, in the fifty-third year of his age. His residence is delineated on page 242 of this volume.

John Witherspoon was a native of Scotland, and was born on the fifth of February, 1732. He was educated at Edinburgh, studied divinity, and was ordained a minister in the Scotch Church. He came to America, by invitation, in 1768, and was inaugurated president of Princeton College, where he became very popular. He was a warm patriot, and espoused the cause of freedom with great energy. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1776, and with pen and speech he ably advocated American independence throughout the war. He continued in Congress several years. His death occurred on the fifteenth of November, 1794, at the age of seventy-two years.

Francis Hopkinson was born in Pennsylvania in 1737. He became distinguished in the profession of the law, and was always noted for his wit. He was a poet of considerable merit, and wrote several pamphlets on political subjects. He was a delegate from New Jersey (his residence being at Bordentown), in the Continental Congress in 1776, and in 1780 he was elected judge of admiralty for the State of Pennsylvania. In 1790 he was appointed district judge in the same state. He died in May, 1791, in the fifty-third year of his age. For his poem called *The Battle of the Clouds*, see page 310 of this volume.

John Hart was born in New Jersey, at what precise time is not recorded. He was a man of strong mind and decided principles. He was an agriculturist by profession, and was called from his plow to a seat in the Continental Congress in 1774. He remained there until after he had affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence. He was an active patriot during the war, and suffered much at the hands of the Loyalists. Broken in constitution, Mr. Hart died in 1780, and was buried at Rahway, New Jersey.

Abraham Clark was born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on the fifteenth of February, 1736. He was a self-taught, strong-minded, energetic man, able and willing to perform a variety of service. He became very popular, and in 1776 he was elected a delegate in the Continental Congress. He was active in the public affairs of his state until his death, which occurred suddenly in the month of June, 1794, at the age of sixty-eight years.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris was born in England in January, 1733, came to this country while yet a child, and was educated in Philadelphia. He served an apprenticeship with a merchant, and

at twenty-one commenced business for himself. Remarkable for energy, acuteness, and strict integrity, he was very successful, and possessed the entire confidence of the community. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1777, and throughout the war was considered the ablest financier in the country. For a long time his individual credit was superior to that of Congress itself. He lost an immense fortune, and died in comparative poverty on the third of May, 1806, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Benjamin Rush was born near Philadelphia on the twenty-fourth of December, 1743, O.S. He graduated at Princeton College in 1760, commenced the study of medicine the next year, and in 1766 went to Edinburgh, where, two years afterward, he received the degree of M.D. He returned to Philadelphia in 1769, where he was elected professor of chemistry in the College of Pennsylvania. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and from that period until his death he took an active part in public affairs, politics, science, and general literature. He stands in the highest rank of American physicians and philosophers. Dr. Rush died on the nineteenth of April, 1813, in the seventieth year of his age.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of January, 1706. He learned the business of printing with his brother, and while yet a lad wrote many excellent articles for publication. He left his brother at the age of seventeen years, went to New York, and from thence to Philadelphia, in search of employment. He settled in the latter city, became acquainted with men of learning and science, and finally went to London, where he worked at his trade for some time. He returned to Philadelphia in 1732, and pursued the profession of printer for many years with great success. He was appointed clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1736, and the next year, postmaster. He commenced a popular magazine in 1741. He was very active in public affairs, and was sent to England as agent for several of the colonies. He returned to America in 1775, and was immediately elected a delegate in the Continental Congress. He was appointed commissioner to the court of France in 1776, where he remained several years in efficient service. He was the first minister to that court, and assisted in negotiations for peace with Great Britain. He returned to Philadelphia in 1785, when he was elected president of Pennsylvania, and continued in office for three years. He died on the seventeenth of April, 1790, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. On his death, Congress ordered a general public mourning throughout the United States.

John Morton was born in Delaware, of Swedish parents, in 1724. He took an active part in political affairs, and in 1763 was elected a delegate from Pennsylvania to the "Stamp Act Congress," which assembled in New York. He filled various civil offices in Pennsylvania, and in 1774 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He remained a member for about three years. He was one of the committee which reported the Articles of Confederation, and died soon after that report was presented to Congress, in the fifty-third year of his age.

George Clymer was born in Philadelphia in 1739. Being left an orphan, he was reared by a paternal uncle, who gave him a good education. He entered his uncle's counting-room to prepare for the mercantile profession, but general science and literature had more charms for him. He was a decided patriot, and in 1776 was elected to the Continental Congress. He served several years in that body, and in 1781 was a member of the Legislature of his native state. He was a revenue officer at the time of the "Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania, and there did efficient service in quelling the rebellion. His last public duty was a mission to the Cherokees in 1796. He died on the twenty-fourth of January, 1813, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

James Smith was born in Ireland, but would never give the date of his birth. He was educated by Dr. Allison of Philadelphia, and studied law. He commenced professional life on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, where he had great influence. In 1776, he was elected to the Continental Congress, where he remained several years. He resumed his profession in 1781. He relinquished practice in 1800, after a professional career of about sixty years. He died in 1806, at the supposed age of eighty-six years.

George Taylor was born in Ireland in 1716. He came to America when a young man, with no fortune but good health and industry. He performed menial labor for some time, and

and veneration of his friends and children. This monument is erected by his grand-son, Stephen Van Rensselaer."

then became a clerk in a large iron establishment. Many years afterward, he married his employer's widow, and became possessed of considerable property. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature before the Stamp Act excitement. Being an ardent Whig, he was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress in 1776. Although he was not present to vote on the resolution for independence, he gladly affixed his name to the Declaration. He retired from Congress the following year, and moved to the State of Delaware, where he died on the twenty-third of February, 1781, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

James Wilson was born in Scotland in 1742. He was thoroughly educated in Edinburgh, emigrated to America in 1768, and became a tutor in the Philadelphia College, where he studied law. He became eminent in his profession, and in 1774 was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress of Pennsylvania. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, where he continued for several years. He was appointed an assistant judge of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1789, and held that office until his death, which occurred on the twenty-eighth of August, 1798, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

George Ross was born at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1730, and at the age of twenty-one years began the practice of law in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1768. In 1776 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, advocated the Declaration of Independence, and signed his name to the important document. He was very active in public life until 1789, when death terminated his labors in July of that year, in the fiftieth year of his age.

DELAWARE.

Cassius Rodney was born at Dover, Delaware, in 1730. He was an active politician as early as 1762. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, and in 1768 was speaker of the Assembly of his state. He was a fine writer, and his pen was actively employed in the cause of liberty. He was a member of the first Continental Congress, and remained in that body until the close of 1776, when he took the field as brigadier of militia. He was chosen president of the state after the adoption of a State Constitution. A cancer in the cheek finally incapacitated him for business, his health rapidly failed, and he died early in 1783, in the fifty-third year of his age.

George Read was born in Maryland in 1734, and was educated by Dr. Allison, in Philadelphia. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar while yet a youth. He commenced practice at Newcastle, Delaware, and was soon afterward elected a member of the State Legislature. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774, where he remained for several years. He was president of the convention which framed a State Constitution for Delaware. He was appointed an admiralty judge in 1782. In 1786, he was a member of the first convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. In 1793 he was made chief justice of the Supreme Court of Delaware, which office he held until his death, in the autumn of 1798, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Thomas McKean was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in 1734. He was educated by Dr. Allison, and entered a law office at an early age. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, and from that time he was active in public affairs, always on the side of popular rights. He was chosen a member of the Continental Congress for Delaware in 1774, where he was a leader. He was a member for the same state in 1776, and voted for independence. He took an active part in military affairs during the war, and after its close he was called to fill many important civil offices. He was president of Congress in 1781. For twenty years he was chief justice of Pennsylvania, and in 1799 was elected governor of that state. He retired from public life in 1812, and died on the twenty-fourth of June, 1817, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase was born in Maryland on the seventeenth of April, 1741. He received a good classical education in Baltimore, studied law, and commenced its practice in Annapolis. He soon became a popular and distinguished man. In 1774 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress. He was re-elected in 1775, and remained a member of that body until 1778. In 1786 he moved to Baltimore, and, two years after-

ward, was appointed chief justice of the Criminal Court of that district. He was soon afterward appointed chief justice of the state. In 1796 he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, which office he filled for fifteen years. He died on the nineteenth of June, 1811, in the seventieth year of his age.

Thomas Stone was born in Maryland in 1740. He was a lawyer by profession, and an early patriot. In 1774 he was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress, to which he was again chosen the following year. He remained a member of that body until early in 1778, having, in the mean while, signed the Declaration of Independence, and assisted in the formation of the Articles of Confederation. He was active in his own state until 1783, when he was again elected to Congress. He was present when Washington resigned his commission, and in 1784 was elected president of that body, *pro tempore*. He died at his residence, at Port Tobacco, on the fifth of October, 1787, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

William Paca was born in Hartford, Maryland, on the thirty-first of October, 1740. He was well educated by Dr. Allison in the Philadelphia College, and then studied law at Annapolis. He soon became conspicuous, and in 1771 was elected a member of the State Legislature. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774, was re-elected in 1775, and remained in that body until 1778, when he was appointed chief justice of the State of Maryland. In 1782 he was chosen governor of the state, and was very popular. He was appointed district judge for the State of Maryland in 1789, which office he held until his death, which occurred in 1799, when he was in the sixtieth year of his age.

Charles Carroll was born at Annapolis, Maryland, on the twentieth of September, 1737. His father being a Roman Catholic, he was sent to France to be educated. He returned to Maryland in 1765, a finished scholar and gentleman. He took an active part in public affairs, and was elected a member of the Continental Congress in July, 1776, and, with others, signed the Declaration of Independence on the second of August following. He retired from Congress in 1778, and, after taking part in the councils of his native state, was elected United States Senator in 1789. He retired from public life in 1801, and lived in the enjoyment of accumulated honors and social and domestic happiness, until November 14, 1832, when he died at the age of ninety-four years. Mr. Carroll was the last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe was born in Elizabeth county, Virginia, in 1726. His parents were wealthy, and as the law opened a field for distinction, he chose that as a profession. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature of Virginia, and in 1775 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. Like other signers of the great Declaration, Mr. Wythe suffered much from foes, especially in loss of property. He was speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates in 1777, and the same year was appointed judge of the High Court of Chancery. He was afterward appointed chancellor, and filled that office with distinction for more than twenty years. He died on the eighth of June, 1806, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Richard Henry Lee was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the twentieth of January, 1732. He was educated in England, and soon after his return, in 1757, he was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774, and in 1776 had the honor to offer the resolution declaring the colonies free and independent. He was a very active member of Congress during a greater part of the war. He was appointed United States Senator under the Federal Constitution, which office he filled with great ability. He died on the nineteenth of June, 1794, in the sixty-second year of his age. A notice of Mr. Lee's birth-place may be found on page 423 of this volume.

Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, Albemarle county, Virginia, on the thirteenth of April, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary College, from which he early graduated. He studied law with George Wythe, and when a very young man, was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature before the Revolution, where his talents as a writer were appreciated. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and in 1776 was one of the committee appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Ill health prevented his acceptance of an embassy to France, to

which he was appointed in 1778. He was elected governor of Virginia in 1779. In 1781 he retired from public life, and devoted his time to literary and scientific pursuits. He was sent to France to join Franklin and Adams in 1783, and in 1785 succeeded Franklin as minister there. Washington appointed him Secretary of State in 1789, which office he held until 1793. He was elected vice-president of the United States in 1797, and in 1801 was elevated to the chief magistracy. He was re-elected in 1805, and after eight years service as president, he retired from public life. He died on the fourth of July, 1836, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, just fifty years after voting for the Declaration of Independence. His residence and seal are delineated on pages 547 and 548 of this volume.

Benjamin Harrison was a native of Virginia. He was educated at William and Mary College, and commenced his political career in 1764, when he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1774, where he continued until the close of 1777. He was chosen speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses early in 1778, and held that office until 1783, when he was elected governor of Virginia. He retired from that office in 1785, but remained active in public life until his death, which was caused by gout, in April, 1791. Mr. Harrison was father of the late W. H. Harrison, president of the United States. His residence is delineated on page 441 of this volume.

Thomas Nelson, Jun., was born at York, Virginia, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1738. He went to England to be educated, at the age of fourteen years, and graduated at Cambridge with a good reputation. He entered upon political life soon after his return to America, and in 1775 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He held a seat there during the first half of the war, and in 1781 was elected governor of Virginia. He was actively engaged in a military capacity at the siege of Yorktown, when Cornwallis and his army were made captives. Governor Nelson died on the fourth of January, 1789, in the fiftieth year of his age. His residence is delineated on page 521 of this volume.

Francis Lightfoot Lee was born in Westmoreland, Virginia, on the fourteenth of October, 1734. He was educated at home by Doctor Craig. In 1765 he was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, in which he continued a delegate until 1775, when he was sent to the Continental Congress. He remained a member of that body until 1779, when he retired to private life. Himself and wife died of pleurisy at about the same time. Mr. Lee's death occurred in April, 1797, at the age of sixty-three years.

Carter Braxton was born in Newington, Virginia, on the tenth of September, 1736, and was educated at William and Mary College. Possessed of wealth, he went to England, where he remained until 1760, when he was called to a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses. He distinguished himself there in 1765, when Patrick Henry's Stamp Act resolutions agitated the Assembly. He was elected to succeed Peyton Randolph in the Continental Congress in 1775. He was active in the National Legislature and in that of his own state until his death, which occurred on the tenth of October, 1797, from the effects of paralysis, in the sixty-first year of his age.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of June, 1742. He graduated at Harvard College in 1760, and then commenced the study of law. He visited North Carolina in 1767, and fixed his permanent residence at Wilmington. He represented that town in the General Assembly in 1773, and the next year was elected a member of the Continental Congress. After affixing his name to the Declaration in 1776, he resigned his seat, in consequence of the embarrassments of his private affairs, and returned home. He was elected a Judge of the Federal Court in 1786, but ill health compelled him to re-



HOOPER'S RESIDENCE.*

* This is in Wilmington, North Carolina. The property is owned by Dr. J. F. McKee, who is also the possessor of Harnett's house. I am indebted to Mr. Barr, of Wilmington, for this sketch.

tire from office the following year. He died in October, 1790, at the age of forty-eight years.

Joseph Hesse was born at Kingston, New Jersey, in 1730, and was educated at Princeton College. He prepared for mercantile life, entered successfully upon that pursuit, and at the age of thirty, located at Wilmington, North Carolina, where he soon accumulated a fortune. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature several consecutive years, and was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774. He continued in that body until 1779, when sickness compelled him to leave. He died on the tenth of November of that year, in the fiftieth year of his age.

John Penn was born in Carolina county, Virginia, on the seventeenth of May, 1741. His early education was neglected, but a strong mind overcame many obstacles. He studied law with Edmund Pendleton, and commenced its practice in 1762. He went to North Carolina in 1774, took a high position at the bar, and in 1775 was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress. He was an active member of that body until 1779, when he returned home. He retired from public life at the close of the war, and died in September, 1786, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edvard Rutledge was born in Charleston in November, 1749. He was educated at Princeton, and studied law with his elder brother, John. He completed his legal education in England, and returned to America in 1773. In 1775, at the age of twenty-five, he was elected to the Continental Congress. He remained a member until the close of 1776, and was re-elected in 1779. He was made a prisoner at Charleston in 1780. After his release, he engaged in the duties of his profession until 1796, when he was elected governor of the state. He died on the twenty-third of January, 1800, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Thomas Heyward, Jun., was born in South Carolina in 1746. After receiving a thorough classical education, he commenced the study of the law. He completed his legal education in England, and, returning to America, married and settled. He was an early opponent of British oppression, and in 1773 was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. He left that body in 1778, to fill a judicial seat in his native state. He commanded a battalion of militia during the siege of Charleston in 1780, was made a prisoner, and was sent with others to St. Augustine. He continued in public life as judge until 1796, when he retired. He died in March, 1809, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Thomas Lynch, Jun., was born in South Carolina on the fifth of August, 1749. He was educated in England, and graduated at Cambridge with honor. He studied law in London, returned home in 1772, and immediately took an active part in politics. He was appointed to the command of a company in a South Carolina regiment in 1775, and was soon afterward elected to a seat in the Continental Congress. His health failed, and, soon after affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence, he returned home. With his wife, he sailed for the West Indies at the close of 1776. The vessel was never heard of afterward.

Arthur Middleton was born in South Carolina in 1743. He graduated at Cambridge, England, and returned to America in 1773. He was elected a member of the Council of Safety at Charleston in 1775, and in 1776 was sent a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was in Charleston when it was surrendered to the British in 1781, was made prisoner, and remained in captivity more than a year. A large portion of his ample fortune was melted away by the fires of the Revolution. He was engaged in active political life until his death, which occurred on the first of January, 1789, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett was born in England in 1732. He was well educated, and after being engaged in mercantile business in his native country for several years, he came to America, settled first at Charleston, and afterward purchased a large tract of land in Georgia, where he made his permanent residence. He was a delegate for Georgia in the Continental Congress in 1776, but returned home soon after signing the Declaration of Independence. He assisted in framing the State Constitution of Georgia, and under it was elected president of the state, an

office equivalent to that of governor. He had a quarrel with General M'Intosh which resulted in a duel. Gwinnett was mortally wounded, and his life ended at the age of forty-six years.

Lyman Hall was born in Connecticut in 1731. He graduated at Yale College, studied medicine, and went to South Carolina in 1752. He removed to Georgia, and was practicing the profession of a physician when the Revolution broke out. The parish of St. John's elected him to a seat in the Continental Congress in 1775. Georgia soon afterward joined the confederation of revolted colonies, and Dr. Hall was elected a general delegate, with Gwinnett and Walton. He resided at the North while the British held possession of Georgia, and all his property was confiscated to the crown. He returned to his adopted state in 1782, and was elected governor the following year. After exercising the duties of his office for some time, he retired from public life. He died in Burke county in 1784, in the sixty-third year of his age.

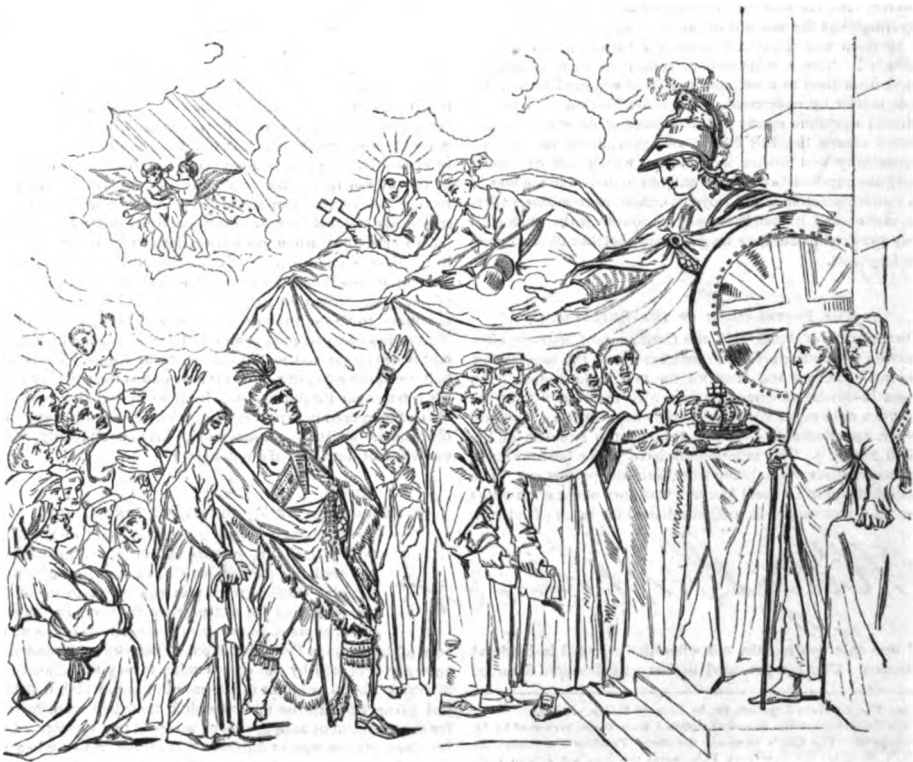
George Walton was born in Frederick county, Virginia, in 1740. He was bred a mechanic, but on attaining his majority, he went to Georgia, and commenced the practice of the law. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and remained active in that body until near the close of 1778, when he returned home. He was wounded and made prisoner at Savannah when it was taken by Campbell. In October, 1779, he was elected governor of the state, and in 1780 was again sent to Congress. He was again governor of Georgia, then chief justice, and in 1798 was a United States Senator. There he remained one year, and then retired. He died at

Augusta on the second of February, 1804, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

VII.

THE LOYALISTS.

THE Loyalists of the Revolution were of two kinds, active and passive, and these were again divided into two classes each, the mercenary and the honest. We have elsewhere observed that when the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, many influential men, who were fully alive to the importance of demanding from Great Britain a redress of existing and increasing grievances, were not prepared to renounce all allegiance, and they adhered to the interests of the crown. These formed a large class in every rank in society, and, being actuated by conscientious motives, command our thorough respect. Many of these took up arms for the king, remained loyal throughout the contest, and suffered severely in exile when the contest was ended. Others, for purposes of gain, and some to indulge in plunder and rapine under legal sanction, were active against the patriots, and their crimes were charged upon the whole body of the Loyalists. The fiercest animosities were engendered, and common justice was dethroned. The Whigs, who suffered dreadfully at the hands of marauding Tories, hated the very name of Loyalist, and, through the instrumentality of confiscation acts and other measures, the innocent were often punished for the crimes of the guilty. But when peace came, and animosities subsided, justice bore away, and much property was restored. Yet the claims of the British commissioners in negotiating the treaty



RECEPTION OF THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS IN ENGLAND.*

* This is from an allegorical picture by Benjamin West. Religion and Justice are seen extending the mantle of Britannia, while she herself is holding out her arm and shield to receive the Loyalists. Under the shield is the crown of Great Britain, surrounded by Loyalists. The group has representatives of the Law, the Church, and Government, with other people. An Indian chief extends one hand toward Britannia, and with the other points to Widows and Orphans, rendered so by the war. In a cloud near Religion and Justice is seen the Genii of Great Britain and America, in an opening glory, binding up the broken *saucers* of the two countries, as emblematic of the treaty of peace. At the head of the Loyalists, with a large wig, is seen Sir William Pepperell, one of their most efficient friends in England, and imme-

diately behind him, with a scroll in his hand, is Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey, son of Dr. Franklin, who remained loyal until the last. The two figures on the right are Mr. West and his wife, both natives of Pennsylvania.

I have already noticed Governor Franklin (page 635, volume I., and 517, volume II.) as prisoner in Connecticut. Among other places where he was in custody in that state was Wallingford, at the house of Doctor Jared Potter, where he spent his time mostly in reading, walking in the garden, and conversations with the family, to whom he became much attached. Franklin and Joseph Galloway were among the most prominent of the loyal refugees who sought shelter in England.

of peace, to indemnity for the Loyalists by the United States government, could not be allowed, for it was justly argued that during the war the Whigs had lost as much and more by the machinations of the Tories, as the latter had done by confiscations and the consequences of exile.

It is estimated by Sabine* that at least twenty thousand Loyalists took up arms for the king during the war. The first organizations were under Governors Dummore and Martin; and besides those under Butler and Johnson, in New York, and Colonel Ferguson, at King's Mountain, there were twenty-nine or thirty regiments, regularly officered and enrolled.† These were disbanded at the close of the war, and some of the officers were transferred to the regular army and continued in service for life. Others, less fortunate, went, with a host of military and civil companions, into exile, the Northern ones chiefly to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Southern ones to the Bahamas, Florida, and the British West Indies. Many also went to England, and for years they were importunate petitioners to the government for relief. The officers generally received half pay.

Toward the close of 1782, a committee of Parliament was appointed to attend to the claims of the Loyalists. The result of their investigations was to deny the claims of some who had already received aid, and to allow more to others of greater worth. By their decision in June, 1783, £43,245 per annum were distributed among six hundred and eighty-seven Loyalist pensioners. The claimants finally became so numerous, that a permanent Board of Commissioners was appointed, which continued for almost seven years. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1784, the number of claimants was two thousand and sixty-three, and the amount of property claimed to have been lost by them was £7,046,978, besides debts to the amount of £2,354,183. The commissioners continued their labors, reported from time to time, and in 1790 Parliament settled the whole matter by enactment. It appears that on the final adjustment of claims nearly fifteen millions of dollars were distributed among the Loyalists, "an unparalleled instance of magnanimity and justice in a nation which had expended nearly one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars in the war."‡

A minute account of the Loyalists, their aggressions, sufferings, claims, and indemnities, may be found in the Historical Essay prefixed to Sabine's biographical sketches of the American Loyalists.

VIII.

THE FOSTER-CHILD OF THE REPUBLIC.

On the fifth of April, 1777, the Continental Congress, after resolving to erect appropriate monuments to the memory of Generals WARREN and MERCER, the first in Boston, and the second in Fredericksburg, Virginia, also resolved "That the eldest son of General Warren, and the youngest son of General Mercer, be educated from this time at the expense of the United States."§ The monuments have never been erected, but the promises to the living were faithfully performed. The "youngest son of General Mercer" was born about six months after the father made his will|| and joined the army of patriots,

Hugh Mercer

and was only five months old when the hero fell in battle at Princeton. That son yet survives, bears the honored name of

* See *The American Loyalists*, &c., by Lorenzo Sabine, page 58.

† The following are the names of many of these corps, preserved by Sabine, page 60. The King's Rangers; the Royal Fencible Americans; the Queen's Rangers; the New York Volunteers; the King's American Regiment; the Prince of Wales's American Volunteers; the Maryland Loyalists; De Lancey's battalions; the second American Regiment; the King's Rangers, Carolina; the South Carolina Royalists; the North Carolina Highland Regiment; the King's American Dragoons; the Loyal American Regiment; the American Legion; the New Jersey Volunteers; the British Legion; the Loyal Forester; the Orange Rangers; the Pennsylvania Loyalists; the Guides and Pioneers; the North Carolina Volunteers; the Georgia Loyalists; the West Chester Volunteers. To these may be added the Newport Associates; the Loyal New Englanders; the Associated Loyalists; Westworth's Volunteers; Johnson's Royal Greens, and seventeen companies of Loyal militia, under Colonel Archibald Hamilton of New York.

‡ Adolphus.

§ The signatures of General Mercer I copied from his will, which is dated February 6, 1776; about eleven months previous to his death.

|| See *Journals*, iii., 98.

his father, and is justly entitled to the respect and veneration of every American, as the only foster-child of the republic among us. At my earnest request, Colonel Mercer courteously consented to the publication of his portrait in the Field-Book. The following brief sketch of his life is from the pen of an affectionate friend:

Colonel Hugh Mercer was born at Fredericksburg, Virginia,



Hugh Mercer.

in July, 1776. His mother was Isabella Gordon. She survived her martyred husband about ten years, and during that time made an indelible impression of her own excellence upon the character of her son. He was educated at William and Mary College during its palmiest days, while under the charge of Bishop Madison. For a long series of years he was colonel of the militia of his native county (Spotsylvania), and for twenty years he was an active magistrate. For five consecutive years Colonel Mercer represented his district in the Virginia Legislature, when, preferring the sweets of domestic life to the honors and turmoils of office, he declined a re-election. He was soon afterward elected president of the Branch Bank of Virginia, located at Fredericksburg, which station he has continued to fill until the present time. Through life Colonel Mercer has enjoyed good health, and has ever been distinguished for energetic and methodical business habits. He is now in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and at the "Sentry Box," his estate near Fredericksburg, he lives in dignified ease, one of the few remaining specimens of a Virginia gentleman of the old school. He is the last survivor of his father's family, which consisted of four sons and a daughter.

IX.

AUTOGRAPHS OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD.

SINCE the publication of the account of Washington's Life Guard, on page 120, of this volume, I have received from Schuyler Colfax, Esq., grandson of General Colfax (who was the commander of the Guard during the last years of the war), an interesting document, containing the signatures of the members of the corps in February, 1783. These were appended to an order accepted by the commander, to pay to Melancthon, Smith, & Co. the amount of one month's pay, which that firm had advanced with the understanding that they were to wait for reimbursement until the corps was paid by Congress. Colfax's acceptance was as follows: "Accepted to pay when received from the paymaster general." It appears by the amount set opposite each man's signature or "mark" (for several of them, it will be observed, could only make their mark), that the pay of officers and privates was as follows, per month: the commander and his lieutenant, twenty-six dollars and sixty cents each; sergeants, ten dollars each; corporals and drummers, seven dollars and thirty cents each; drum-major (Diah Manning), nine dollars; and privates, six dollars and sixty cents each. I have grouped the autographs as closely as possible, so as to economize space. I am also indebted to Mr. Colfax for the following brief sketch of the public life of the "captain commandant:"

the militia of New Jersey. He was a presidential elector in 1796. He was commissioned brigadier general of the Jersey Blues in 1810, and was active during the earlier periods of the war of 1812. He was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas

of Bergen county, which office he held until his death, which occurred in 1838, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was buried with military honors.

Benjamin Bonnell Stephen Netfield Thomas Gillen
 Samuel Bailey Joel Crosby Thom^s. Dorrest
 Lewis Campbell William^s. Mentin
 John Taggerson John^s. Doughton Jonathan Moore
 Benjamin Catron Mark Luke London
 Paul^s Workman John Barlow^s Mark
 Edward Wiley & Mark Peter & Holly Mark
 John & Coler Albert. B. Davis Jacob Schriever
 Aaron Deley John^s William Danner
 Joseph Vinal

X.

CONTINENTAL LOTTERY.

On the first of November, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved "That a sum of money be raised by way of lottery for defraying the expenses of the next campaign, the lottery to be drawn in Philadelphia." A committee was appointed to arrange the same, and on the eighteenth reported the following scheme:

To consist of 100,000 tickets, each divided into four billets, and to be drawn in four classes.

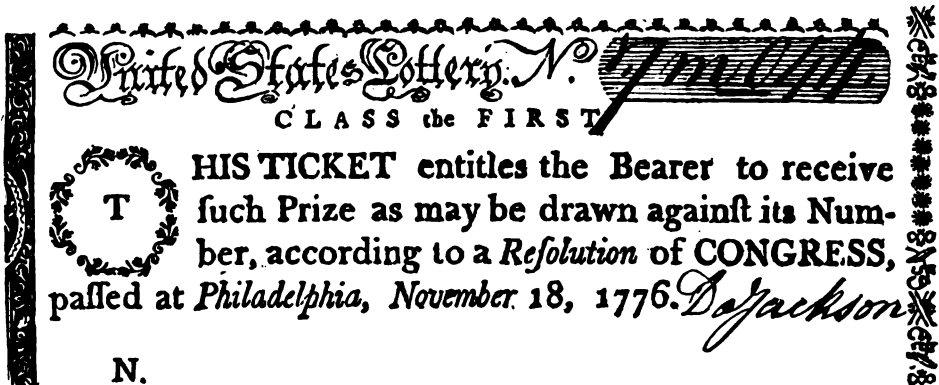
FIRST CLASS, at \$10 each billet=\$1,000,000. *Prizes*: 1 of \$10,000; 2 of \$5000; 30 of \$1000; 400 of \$500; 20,000 of \$20. Carried to the fourth class, \$200,000.

SECOND CLASS, at \$20 each billet=\$2,000,000. *Prizes*: 1 of \$20,000; 2 of \$10,000; 10 of \$5000; 100 of \$1000; 890 of \$500; 20,000 of \$20. Carried to the fourth class, \$500,000.

THIRD CLASS, at \$30 each billet=\$3,000,000. *Prizes*: 1 of \$30,000; 1 of \$20,000; 2 of \$15,000; 2 of \$10,000; 10 of \$5000; 900 of \$1000; 1000 of \$500; 2000 of \$40. Carried to the fourth class, \$900,000.

FOURTH CLASS, at \$40 each billet=\$4,000,000. *Prizes*: 1 of \$50,000; 2 of \$25,000; 2 of \$10,000; 10 of \$5000; 100 of \$1000; 900 of \$500; 1000 of \$300; 15,000 of \$200; 20,000 of \$50. Brought from the first three classes, \$1,600,000. Total, \$5,500,000.

This lottery was intended to raise a sum of money on loan, bearing an annual interest of four per cent, which, with the sums arising from deductions of fifteen per cent upon the amount of each class, making in the aggregate one hundred and five thousand dollars, was to be applied to the public use. The drawer of more than the minimum prize in each class was to receive either a Treasury Bank-note, payable in five years, with an annual interest at four per cent, or the pre-emption of such billets in the next succeeding class. This was optional with the adventurers. Those who should not call for their prizes within six weeks after the end of the drawing were considered adventurers in the next succeeding class. Seven managers were appointed, who were authorized to employ agents in the different states to sell the tickets. The first drawing was decided to be made at Philadelphia on the first of March, 1777, but purchasers were comparatively few and tardy, and the drawing was postponed from time to time. Various impediments continually presented themselves, and the plan, which promised such success at the beginning, appears to have been a failure. Many purchasers of tickets were losers; and this, like some other financial schemes of the Revolution, was productive of much hard feeling toward the Federal government. The adventurers in the Continental Lottery have long since passed away, and very few of the tickets are left. The one here counterfeited was presented to me by Mr. George W. Pettis, of Providence, Rhode Island.



United States Lottery. No. 711111

CLASS the FIRST

T HIS TICKET entitles the Bearer to receive
such Prize as may be drawn against its Num-
ber, according to a *Resolution* of CONGRESS,
passed at *Philadelphia, November 18, 1776.* *D. Jackson*

N.

XI.

THE ENGLISH STAMPS.

THE annexed engraving represents one of the famous government stamps, manufactured for the American market in 1765. The impression was made upon dark blue paper, similar in appearance to that commonly known as *tobacco paper*, to which was attached a narrow strip of tin foil, represented by the light oblong in the engraving. The ends of the foil were passed through the parchment or paper to which the stamp was to be attached, flattened on the opposite side, and a piece of paper, with the rough device and number of the



STAMP.

stamp, seen in the following cut, pasted over it to secure it.



The device of the stamp was a double Tudor rose, inclosed by the Royal Garter. Above this was a crown, and below was named the money value of the stamp. The specimen here given was a shilling stamp.

The idea of producing a revenue by the sale of stamps and stamped paper in America was promulgated almost forty years before its final develop-

ment in legislative enactment in 1765. Sir William Keith advised the policy as early as 1738. In 1739 the London merchants advised the ministry to adopt the measure, and public writers from time to time suggested various schemes predicated upon the same idea. In 1750, Douglas, in his work on British America, recommended the levying of a stamp duty upon all legal writings and instruments. Dr. Franklin regarded the plan favorably; and Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, was confident, in 1754, that Parliament would speedily make a statute for raising money by means of stamp duties. Lieutenant-governor Delancey spoke in favor of it in the New York Assembly in 1753, and the following year, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, urged Parliament to adopt a Stamp Tax. The British press urged the measure in 1757, and it was confidently stated that at least three hundred thousand dollars annually might thus be drawn from the colonies, without the tax being sensibly felt. But William Pitt would not listen to the recommendation, for, like Walpole twenty-five years before, he preferred to draw money into the treasury by the exercise of a liberal commercial policy toward the Americans. Notwithstanding public opinion in England appeared to be decidedly favorable to the measure, it was not proposed by the ministry until 1764. It became a law in 1765, and was repealed in 1766. Had not ministers been deceived by the representations of the stupid and selfish royal governors in America, it probably would never have been enacted. Those men were frequently too indolent or indifferent to make themselves acquainted with the real temper of the people. Regarding the mass as equally servile as their flatterers, they readily commended that fatal measure which proved the spark that lighted the flames of Revolution, and severed forever the political connection between Great Britain and thirteen of her American colonies.

* See *Journals*, ii. 412.

XII.

BURGOYNE'S CAPTIVE OFFICERS.

THE following are the names of the commissioned officers, English and Hessian, captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga. I copied them from the original paroles of honor, signed by them at Cambridge (see pages 25, 55 of this volume), and now in possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston:

ENGLISH.—J. Burgoyne, *Lieutenant General*. W. Phillips, *Major General*. James Hamilton, *Brigadier General*. *Lieutenant-colonels*—Lord Balcarras, J. Lind, Nicholas Sutherland, John Anstruther (see page 55, volume i.), John Hill. *Majors*—Balcarras, G. Forbes, George Foster, William Agnew, Henry Harnage (see page 55, volume i.), John Holmes, Jun. *Captains*—Thomas Hoemer, Ellis Walker, artillery, William Cotton, J. W. Heman, Noah Simpson, Nicholas Alward Vigora, John Carter, James Sheldon, W. Lindsay, Neill MacLean, Alexander Baillie, George Swetterham, J. Rollinson, Francis Wemyss, Robert W. Winchester, William Maxwell, Paul Banks, James Lovell, J. Farmer, George Petrie, Thomas Kirkman, George Brodie, Stephen Strangway, R. Master, H. Pelmor, of grenadiers, William Ferguson, George Coote, A. Jameson, James England, J. D. Alcock, Henry Marr, Thomas Blomfield, George Marlay, Earle Hawker, Alexander Campbell (messenger to Sir H. Clinton, see page 79, volume i.), John Shrimpton, H. Bothurn, Thomas Amburey, the author. *Lieutenants*—William Cox, David Davids, and James Hudden, of artillery, James Dunbar, William P. Smith, William Houghton, William Collier, H. T. Thomson, Bright Nodder, Robert Storday, James Battersby, W. Houghton, Edward Townsend Jones, grenadiers, Hamilton Maxwell, W. Digby, Charles Williams, Sewall Mansuett, grenadiers, William Mure, Thomas Steel, grenadiers, Napier, Anson Nutt, Archibald Fife, George Rawdon, John McNeill, James Murray, George Vincent, James Kimmie, W. Prince, Joseph Stroetly, J. Sleet, grenadiers, John Gaskell, Richard Norman, W. R. Gilbert, Richard Croft, Robert Dobson, W. Charlton, Clifton Wheat, Charles Torriana, W. Fitherston, John Hepburn, George Edward Shlagel, William Douglas, B. Innes, Robert Burnet, John Blackwood, John Dalglish, Torphuhen, Weston Alcock, Richard Brown, R. Steele, Charles Williams, William Doyle, Thomas Bibby, George Coffee, Charles Johnston, Charles Earle, John Ferguson, W. Campbell, Thomas Reed, Thomas Storey, T. Poe, Henry Baldwin, A. French, Bernard G. Ward, John Rotton, Abraham Banbury, C. J. Jones, Arthur Blackwell, William Wilkinson, Connolly Coane, Low'n Mathews, Gonville Bromhead. *Ensigns*—Henry May, W. Hovey, Thomas Deane, Thomas Orchard, James Moon, Robert Grier, — Cooper, Richard Bateman, E. F. Merida, William Noble, M. Burroughs, G. Stephens, John Percy, Richard James, H. Blacker, George Henway, James Porver. *Surgeons*—G. Wyld, William Burke, M. Cahill, W. Pemberton, Samuel Sone, Leonard Dorffen, Alexander Moodie. *Surgeons' Mates*—Alexander Melville, William Brown, A. B. Carroll, Charles Watson, Colin MacLasty, Joseph Alder. *Adjutants*—Isaac Fielding, J. Dalladine. *Assistant Adjutant-general*—Bt. Kingston, mentioned on page 78, vol. i. *Chaplains*—Richard Montagne Money, Andrew Browne, Charles Morgan, R. Higginbotham, Edward Brudenell, mentioned on page 67, volume i. *Commissary-general*—Jonathan Clarke. *Assistant Commissaries*—J. Roseau, Andrew Foster, L. Cromanteau, Nathaniel Collyer, John Powell of Beer, John McKenzie. *Quarter-master General*—William Paxton. *Assistant Quarter-master*—George Vallarucry. *Deputy-paymaster General*—David Geddes. *Acting Physician*—Sind Wood. *Mates of General Hospital*—Richard Woodthorp, John Park. *Aid-de-camp*—Charles Green, R. R. Wilford, Robert Hoakalyn. *Wagon-master General*—P. O'Donnell. Philip Skene (see page 138, volume i.), "a poor follower of the British army:" such was the expression which Skene appended to his signature.

HESSIANS.—*Major-general*—Reidesel. *Brigadier-generals*—Specht, W. R. De Gall, mentioned on page 50, volume i. *Lieutenant-colonel*—Leutz. *Majors*—Von Lucke, Von Mengen, Ehrencrook, Von Passera. *Brigade Major*—H. U. Cleve (see page 55 of this volume). *Captains*—J. Willoc, De Schlagentuffel, De Lohneyesen, C. A. Alera, J. G. P. Arane, Morgenstern, Bertling, Harbord, Girssewald, Lutzow, C. L. Schotteluis, F. De Germann, Scheel, Schacten, Pausch, Trott. *Lieutenants*—Borneman, Ulig, Trott, Rudolphe, De Meyer, Steuffel, C. G. S. Wintersmith, Helmeke, Curt von Healer, Meyer, Courradl, Von Dobeneck, Peterson, Mosrach, Von Unger, Feichel, Rein

king, W. Hoger, Morgenstein, Burgadorff, Brandes, Meljern, Craunn J. Meyer, Augustus Passet, Milkan, Ole Kop, D'Ameria, J. S. Kettner, A. H. Du Roi, Unger, G. P. S. Crua, J. F. Pfäger, J. G. H. Gladen, G. T. Fricka, C. F. Rohm, P. W. L. Rhenodie, M. Von Budar, Von Lindau, Von Eschwege, Von Bischnhausen, Von Trott, Count Von Pickler, Sartorius, *Lieutenant and quarter-master*, F. V. Geyling, W. Dufala, C. D. Spangenberg. *Ensigns*—Baudel, Enrich, Bode, Sileborn, Bernewitz, Ulmenstein, E. Grimpe, Von Richteralerben, Von Weykers, Heerwagen, *ensign and adjutant*. *Chaplains*—Voegel, Millus, Kohle, Theobald. *Surgeons*—Schroeder, Prall, Bouse, J. H. Kunze. Poellnis, *deputy adjutant-general*. J. D. Gerlach (see page 551 of this volume), *quarter-master general*. A. Edmunstone (see page 551 of this volume), *aid-de-camp and secretary to Reidesel*. Languemeyer, *secretary*. T. F. Heildebach, *sergeant-major*. *Auditors*—Schmidt, Zinck, A. H. Bähr.

XIII.

The following poem was written by Major André after the attack of Wayne upon a block-house, near Bull's Ferry (see page 828), in 1780. The last canto was published in Rivington's *Gazette*, on the day when André was captured at Tarrytown. I copied this from an original copy in the handwriting of André himself; and I have made a fac simile of the last stanza as it appears in that copy. It is written upon small folio paper, and under the endorsement of André himself are the following lines:

"When the epic strain was sung,
The poet by the neck was hung;
And to his cost he finds too late,
The dung-born tribe decides his fate."

COW CHASE—BY MAJOR ANDRÉ.

Elizabethtown, Aug. 1, 1780.

CANTO I.

To drive the kine one summer's morn,
The tanner took his way,
The calf shall rue that is unborn
The jumbling of that day.

And Wayne descending steers shall know,
And tauntingly deride,
And call to mind, in ev'ry low,
The tanning of his hide.

Yet Bergen cows still ruminate
Unconscious in the stall,
What mighty means were used to get,
And lose them after all.

For many heroes bold and brave
From New Bridge and Tapan,
And those that drink Passaic's wave,
And those that eat soupman.

And sons of distant Delaware,
And still remoter Shannon,
And Major Lee with horses rare,
And Proctor with his cannon.

All wondrous proud in arms they came—
What hero could refuse,
To tread the rugged path to fame,
Who had a pair of shoes?

At six the host, with sweating buff,
Arrived at Freedom's Pole,
When Wayne, who thought he'd time enough,
Thus speechified the whole:

"O ye whom glory doth unite,
Who Freedom's cause espouse,
Whether the wing that's doomed to fight
Or that to drive the cows;

Ere yet you tempt your further way,
Or into action come,
Hear, soldiers, what I have to say,
And take a pint of rum.

Intemperate valor then will string
Each nervous arm the better,
So all the land shall IO! sing,
And read the gen'ral's letter.

Know that some paltry refugees,
Whom I've a mind to fight,
Are playing h—l among the trees
That grow on yonder height.

Their fort and block-house we'll level,
And deal a horrid slaughter;
We'll drive the scoundrels to the devil,
And ravish wife and daughter.

I under cover of th' attack,
Whilst you are all at blows,
From English Neighb'rhood and Tinack
Will drive away the cows.

For well you know the latter is
The serious operation,
And fighting with the refugees
Is only demonstration."

His daring words from all the crowd
Such great applause did gain,
That every man declared aloud
For serious work with Wayne.

Then from the cask of rum once more
They took a heady gill,
When one and all they loudly swore
They'd fight upon the hill.

But here—the muse has not a strain
Befitting such great deeds,
Hurra, they cried, hurra for Wayne!
And, shouting—did their needs.

CANTO 2.

Near his meridian pomp, the sun
Had journey'd from the horizon,
When fierce the dusky tribe mov'd on,
Of heroes drunk as poison.

The sounds confused of boasting oaths,
Re-echoed through the wood,
Some vow'd to sleep in dead men's
And some to swim in blood. (clothes,

At Irvine's nod, 'twas fine to see
The left prepared to fight,
The while the drovers, Wayne and Lee,
Drew off upon the right.

Which Irvine 'twas Fame don't relate,
Nor can the Muse assist her,
Whether 'twas he that cocks a hat,
Or he that gives a glistar.

For greatly one was signalized,
That fought at Chestnut Hill,
And Canada immortalized
The vender of the pill.

Yet the attendance upon Proctor
They both might have to boast of;
For there was business for the doctor,
And hats to be disposed of.

Let none uncandidly infer
That Stirling wanted spunk,
The self-made peer had sure been there,
But that the peer was drunk.

But turn we to the Hudson's banks,
Where stood the modest train,
With purpose firm, though slender ranks,
Nor car'd a pin for Wayne.

For then the unrelenting hand
Of rebel fury drove,
And tore from ev'ry genial band
Of friendship and of love.

And some within a dungeon's gloom,
By mock tribunals laid,
Had waited long a cruel doom,
By ignominious o'er their heads.

Here one bewails a brother's fate,
There one a sire demands,
Cut off, alas! before their date,
By ignominious hands.

And silver'd grandaires here appear'd
In deep distress serene,
Of reverend manners that declared
The better days they'd seen.

Oh! curs'd rebellion, these are thine,
Thine are these tales of woe;
Shall at thy dire insatiate shrine
Blood never cease to flow!

And now the foe began to lead
His forces to th' attack;
Balls whistling unto balls succeed,
And make the block-house crack.

No shot could pass, if you will take
The gen'ral's word for true;
But 'tis a d—ble mistake,
For ev'ry shot went through.

The firmer as the rebels pressed,
The loyal heroes stand;
Virtue had nerv'd each honest breast,
And industry each hand.

In* valor's phrensy, Hamilton
Rode like a soldier big,
And secretary Harrison,
With pen stuck in his wig.

But, lest chieftain Washington
Should mourn them in the mumps,†
The fate of Withrington to shun,
They fought behind the stumps.

But ah! Thaddeus Posset, why
Should thy poor soul elope?
And why should Titus Hooper die,
Ah! die—without a rope?

Apostate Murphy, thou to whom
Fair Shela ne'er was cruel;
In death shalt hear her mourn thy doom,
Och! would ye die, my jewel!

Thee, Nathan Pumpkin, I lament,
Of melancholy fate,
The gray goose, stolen as he went,
In his heart's blood was wet.

Now as the fight was further fought,
And balls began to thicken,
The fray assum'd, the gen'ral's thought,
The color of a licking.

Yet undismay'd the chiefs command,
And, to redeem the day,
Cry, "Soldiers, charge!" they hear, they
They turn and run away. (stand,

CANTO 3.

Not a.l delights the bloody spear,
Or horrid din of battle,

* Vide Lee's trial.

† A disorder prevalent in the rebel lines.

There are, I'm sure, who'd like to hear
A word about the rattle.

The chief whom we beheld of late,
Near Schralenberg haranguing,
At Yan Van Poop's unconscious sat,
Of Irvine's hearty banging.

While valiant Lee, with courage wild,
Most bravely did oppose
The tears of women and of child,
Who begg'd he'd leave the cows.

But Wayne, of sympathizing heart,
Required a relief,
Not all the blessings could impart
Of battle or of beef.

For now a prey to female charms,
His soul took more delight in
A lovely Hamadryad's* arms,
Than cow driving or fighting.

A nymph, the refugees had drove
Far from her native tree,
Just happen'd to be on the move.
When up came Wayne and Lee.

She in mad Anthony's fierce eye
The hero saw portray'd,
And, all in tears, she took him by
— the bridle of his jade.

Hear, said the nymph, O great command—
No human lamentations, [er,
The trees you see them cutting yonder
Are all my near relations.

And I, forlorn, implore thine aid
To free the sacred grove:
So shall thy prowess be repaid
With an immortal's love.

Now come, to prove she was a goddess!—
Said this enchanting fair,
Had late retired from the *Bodies*,†
In all the pomp of war.

That drums and merry fife had play'd
To honor her retreat,
And Cunningham himself convey'd
The lady through the street.

Great Wayne, by soft compassion away'd
To no inquiry stoops,
But takes the fair, afflicted maid
Right into Yan Van Poop's.

So Roman Anthony, they say,
Disgraced th' imperial banner,
And for a gipey lost a day,
Like Anthony the tanner.

The Hamadryad had but half
Received redress from Wayne,
When drums and colors, cow and calf,
Came down the road again.

All in a cloud of dust were seen,
The sheep, the horse, the goat,
The gentle heifer, as obscene;
The yearling and the goat.

And pack-horses with fowls came by,
Befathered on each side,

* A deity of the woods.

† A cant appellation given among the soldiery to the corps that has the honor to guard his majesty's person.

Like Pegasus, the horse that I
And other poets ride.

Sublime upon the stirrups rose
The mighty Lee behind,
And drove the terror-smitten cows,
Like chaff before the wind.

But sudden see the woods above
Pour down another corps,
All helter skelter in a drove,
Like that I sung before.

Irvine and terror in the van,
Came flying all abroad,
And cannon, colors, horse, and man,
Ran tumbling to the road.

Still as he fled, 'twas Irvine's cry,
And his example too,
"Run on, my merry men all—for why?"
The shot will not go through.*

* Five refugees ('tis true) were found
Stiff on the block-house floor,
But then 'tis thought the shot went round,
And in at the back door

As when two kennels in the street,
Swell'd with a recent rain,
In gushing streams together meet,
And seek the neighboring drain,

So meet these dung-born tribes in one,
As swift in their career,
And so to New Bridge they ran on—
But all the cows got clear.

Poor Parson Caldwell, all in wonder,
Saw the returning train,
And mourn'd to Wayne the lack of plun-
For them to steal again. [der,

For 'twas his right to seize the spoil, and
To share with each commander,
As he had done at Staten Island
With frost-bit Alexander.

In his dismay, the frantic priest
Began to grow prophetic,
You had sworn, to see his lab'ring breast,
He'd taken an emetic.

"I view a future day," said he,
"Brighter than this day dark is,

And you shall see what you shall see,
Ha! ha! one pretty marquis;

And he shall come to Paulus' Hook,
And great achievements think on,
And make a bow and take a look,
Like Satan over Lincoln.

And all the land around shall glory
To see the Frenchman taper,
And pretty Susan tell the story
In the next Chatham paper."

This solemn prophecy, of course,
Gave all much consolation,
Except to Wayne, who lost his horse
Upon the great occasion.

His horse that carried all his prog,
His military speeches,
His corn-stalk whiaky for his grog—
Blue stockings and brown breeches.

And now I've closed my epic strain,
I tremble as I show it,
Lest this same warrio-drover, Wayne,
Should ever catch the poet.

The Cow Chase
My
Napier André

*And now I've clos'd my Epic strain,
I tremble as I shew it,
Lest this same warrio-drover Wayne
Should ever catch the poet.*

Finis

